
THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.
VOL. XIII.

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OF AN
Universal History,
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Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

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Modern History:

BEING A
CONTINUATION
OF THE
Universal History.

BOOK XV.

CHAP. XX.

The Reign of Soleymân II.

SECT. I.

Troubles in the Othmân Empire. The Siege of Belgrade, and Battle of Nissa.

WHEN the *Bostânji Bâsbi* (A) brought *Soleymân* 20 Soltân
the news of his brother's deposition, and his own *Soleymân*
advancement to the *Ali Othmân* throne, that 11.
prince, contrary to every body's expectation,
was extremely grieved at the message; "Why, says he, in
"the name of the immortal god, do you endeavour to dis-
"turb my tranquillity? Suffer me, I beseech you, to pass
"in quiet, in my cell, the few days I have to live; and let
"my brother rule the *Othmân* empire: for he was born to go-
"vern, but I to the study of eternal life." The *Bostânji Bâsbi*,
at first, is amazed at these words: but, recovering himself,
continues to press the prince; alledging, that the resolution

(A) The chief of the gardeners.

A. D. 1687. of the *Wazîrs*, *Ulema*, nobles, and the whole people, could not be altered; nor *Soltân Mohammed* restored without great detriment to the empire. *Soleyman*, still in fulgence, replies, "That he owed too great a reverence to his brother to take possession of his throne, which he had quitted with reluctance: I would come forth, however, continues he, but am afraid of my brother."

His timorous behaviour.

At last the *Bostânji Bâşî*, impatient of delay, says, "You must give way, most resplendent emperor, to the entreaties and wishes of the *Mussulman* people;" and, with these words, forces him, as it were, out of his chamber, and leads him to the room where the throne was usually placed. When he came there, he first, not without signs of fear, desires his conductor and the door-keepers "to take care, lest his brother should be within; since he dreaded to appear in his presence." Having been assured, that his brother was removed to another apartment, he, at length, mounts the throne, and is saluted emperor by all the courtiers. But, as soon as the ceremony was performed, he leaps down again, as from an impure place, and demands *abdest* (B). This done, he defers returning to the throne; and, when the courtiers press him to it, he puts his finger to his mouth, and enjoins them silence (C). At last, notwithstanding his reluctance, he is again seated there; and admits the *Ulema* and nobles to kiss his robe.

A new sedition.

BEING thus advanced, he confirms the *Wazîr*, *Siavus Pasbâ*, and commands him to appease the sedition. On the *Wazîr's* return to his palace, the *Bulûk Agalari* (D) do him their reverence; but then demand their pay, and a new *Bakhshîsh* (E), which used to be given to the soldiers at the beginning of a new succession. *Siavus Pasbâ*, finding the trea-

furies

(B) That is, water to wash his hands, head, and feet, as enjoined by the *Kurân*, before prayers

(C) The *Turks* draw presages from the first words or actions of their *Soltâns*, of their future conduct. *Cant.*

(D) Commanders of the regiments of *Janizaries*, and the superior officers made from among them. — *Cant.* — *Bulûk* signifies a company of soldiers.

(E) A gift, or bounty bestowed out of kindness, by a new

Soltân, to all the chosen troops that were at *Constantinople*. It was first introduced by *Soleyman Kânûni*; and although it seems to encourage seditions, and has been the source of many rebellions, the *Janizaries*, for sake of the *Bakhshîsh*, having joined with the *Soltân's* enemies: yet, whoever considers the end and design of this law, can never sufficiently admire the divine prudence of the legislator, and his consummate knowledge in politics: for this was calculated to preserve

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furies empty, abuses the officers for some time with words, and then endeavours to separate the chief authors of the disturbances, under pretence of promoting them, in order to send them to remote cities. By this conduct, the former hatred of the soldiers is revived against him, when assembled in the *Orta Jâmi*; they run through the streets, crying out, the *Wazîr* ought to be put to death, as an enemy to *Soltân Soleyman*, a deserter, and a violater of his promises.

PRESENTLY after they surround his palace, whither, on the first alarm of their meeting, he had retired with his officers; and, on being denied admittance to speak to that minister, attempt to break open the gates: but *Siavus Pasbâ* repels them with the arms which he found by chance in the palace; and kills above twenty *Janizaries*. The soldiers, more enraged at this slaughter, rush with their whole force upon the gates, and break them open. Mean time the *Wazîr* shoots several with arrows from his chamber opposite to the gate, while his officers, about 100 in number, prevent the rebels from ascending, and force them into the *Divân Khâneh* (F). A bloody conflict hereupon ensues, wherein above 150 of the conspirators are killed upon the stairs, and as many wounded. But, at last, many of the *Wazîr's* party being slain, the rest fly to the top of the house, and throw themselves into the street. Upon this, *Siavus Pasbâ* retires again to his chamber; and, in the door, kills twelve *Janizaries* with his sword. At last, rather wearied with conquering than conquered himself, he is beaten down, and killed by the soldiers, who cut his body in pieces, and throw them into the street^a.

The Wazir's bravery:

he is slain.

RIGAUT relates several matters, which passed before the death of the *Wazîr*, not mentioned by our *Turkish* his-

^a CANT. Hist. Othm. p. 350, & seqq.

preserve the empire, and be a check to the tyranny, and vices of his successors, as well as of his ministers, by being an encouragement to the soldiery to watch over the conduct of the *Pasbâ's*, and reform the government when grown negligent or corrupt. Cant.

(F) That is, the house of judgment, or place where the people's complaints are heard. It is a large hall on the second floor of the *Hâkîm's* palace, open to-

wards the stair-case; where people standing may hear what is doing above. The *Wazîr* sits opposite to the stairs, in an alcove made in the wall. He is obliged to administer justice there *Fridays*, *Saturdays*, *Mondays*, and *Wednesdays*. *Thursday* is a day of rest: the other two days are for the *Soltân's divân*. If hindered by business of state, which is rare, the *Chausb Bâshi* supplies his place — Cant.

A. D. 1687. *torians.* According to him, *Shams Pâshâ* made his entry into *Constantinople*, on the 1st day of *November*, with great solemnity; and presented the prophet's standard to the *Soltân*, who, moving three steps forward, took it from him, and gave it to *Mostafa*, the *Seliktâr*, or *Silabdar*: then receiving his brother's seal, in the same manner, returned the *Wazîr* another with his own name upon it.

Changes at court.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, the fury of the mutineers was not yet abated: for they committed several great men to prison; and had *Rajeb Pâshâ* strangled; although it was believed that the chief promoter of his death was the *Wazîr*, who envied him on account of his great abilities. They likewise turned out their *Aga*, and chose in his room the *Seliktâr*, a man but twenty-five years old, who had formerly been a surgeon in the *Saray*, and of no experience in military affairs.

Money provided.

THIS, however, proved a merit in his character, as it made him the fitter to be governed by them: for now the *Wazîr* himself was forced to grant them all their demands, and approve in writing such methods as they judged proper for raising money; one of which was to tax the great officers belonging to the late *Soltân*, down to the astrologers and goldsmiths, most of whom were fined to the full of what they were worth. The next method of raising money was, by admitting to ransom those who were imprisoned. These sums, thus collected, being insufficient to discharge the arrears due to the soldiers, things grew calm for a time; so that, on the 17th of *November*, *Soltân Soleymân* went in the morning by boat to the *Saray of Ayâb*; where he was girt with the sword by the *Nakîb Edjerdî*; and, when the ceremonies were over, rode back through the city, but with no great pomp.

Civil list reduced.

AFTER this, he began a reform at court, by lessening the number of hawks and hounds. He reduced that of his horses to one hundred; made one hundred-and-fifty of his pages *Spahî's*, and changed the rest. The like was done in the court and chambers of the women: by which retrenchments eight thousand purses were saved yearly to the treasury. These proceedings greatly pleased the soldiers; but, the money falling short to pay them, it created new commotions. And now it was the *Wazîr's* turn to conjure up more; which he performed by the old method, in going over with the rich men once again. Among the rest, the *Kizlar Aga*, whom he began with, was forced to pay nine hundred purses, besides his effects to a great value; and then banished to *Rhodes*. But the money raised, still falling short by two hundred purses, the

the sum was made-up by coining the silver and gold taken from the horse-furniture in the *Soltân's* stables. A. D. 1688.

AFTER this, things became quiet for the space of two months; during which time the *Soltân* had thoughts of sending an ambassador to *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, to notify his advancement to the empire: but this uncustomary project was superseded by the preparations for war, and breaking out of new commotions. For the soldiers, assembling with more insolence than before, in a very rude manner, demand of the *Wazîr*, the removal of *Kyoprili*, the *Kaymakâm*, from his office; which was immediately done, and he sent to the castle of the *Dardanelis*, very glad to get safe out of their hands. At the same time, several other officers were discharged; and such as the rebels nominated from among themselves, put in their room by the *Wazîr*, whom they also forced to renew his oath to stand by them. This done, he set up the horse-tail, as a signal of his march into the field, in order to divert them from their designs; and made *Shabân Aga*, his *Kyehaya*, *Kaymakâm*, as a man whom he could trust in his absence to govern the city. But, having nominated *Zulfikar Effendi*, a person obnoxious to the mutineers, to the post of *Kyehaya*, *Tesfuji*, the most able and active among them, came and told him, that if he made that man *Kyehaya*, he would kill him before his face. This affront the *Wazîr* dissembled, hoping they would soon render themselves odious to the people; as in fact they did, by taxing chimnies, giving orders for quartering soldiers, and raising money by extraordinary methods.

MEAN time the *Wazîr*, in concert with *Kyoprili*, and the *Janizar-Aga*, procured a *Khatti Sharif*, importing, "that the grievances of the soldiers having been redressed, and all their just demands, gratified, it was their duty to be obedient to the *Soltân*, as well as those officers set over them by his authority, and not to meddle with affairs relating to the government; and that, whoever was refractory, should be punished as a rebel." This mandate, being sent to the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, he assembled the chief officers; and, having read it to them, asked, whether they would obey it or not? They answered, yes; for none but the common soldiers joined with the mutineers. But *Tesfuji* cried out, *he is a villain who obeys that mandate*. Whereupon he was, by the *Aga's* order, carried into an inner room, and put to death. The *Wazîr* also sent to seal up his house, in order to confiscate his estate; as he did by several others of the chief mutineers, whose persons he ought first to have secured.

A. D. 1788. So that this day might be called the first of the *Soltân's* reign, who began with suppressing taverns and smoking; in which he was so strict, that, one day walking incognito to see if his orders had any authority, he commanded two poor fellows to be executed for selling tobacco ^d.

New disturbances. BUT this calm did not last long: for, a few days after, *Soleyman* having ordered the new *Wazîr*, *Koja Ismael Pasbâ*, to seize privately the leaders of the rebellion, and put them to death (K); the *Janizaries* again take arms, and threaten destruction to both. The *Soltân*, to prevent the storm falling on his head, by the advice of *Kyobrili Mostafa Pasbâ* (L), throws the whole blame upon the *Wazîr* (M); spreading a report, that he had acted therein without the *Soltân's* knowledge; and, to give it the better gloss, banishes him to *Rhodes*; appointing *Tekkiur Dâghi Mostafa Pasbâ* in his room.

Rebellions abroad.

THE flames from the capital spread into the provinces. In *Rûm Ili*, *Eghen Ozmân Pasbâ* (N), assembles a considerable body of *Spahi's*, and engages them to demand of the *Wazîr*

^d RICAUT ubi supr.

(K) *Ricaut* says, above 1000 of the *Gyurbas*, or ringleaders servants, were thrown into the sea one night after another: but speaks of no new commotion thereupon.

(L) According to *Ricaut*, he was, at this time, removed from the prison of the *Dardînels* to that of *Rhodes*.

(M) When troubles arise, this is the only shield which the *Soltâns* have to defend themselves; and, by sacrificing the *Wazîr*, they are sure to secure their own safety. It is thought, *Mohammed IV.* would not have been deposed, had he given up *Ayneji Solymân Pasbâ*, when first applied to. So that, altho' the almost unlimited power, which the *Soltân* gives the *Wazîr*, might be dangerous in other states; yet it is the chief, if not only, support of the *Othmân* empire; since the *Soltân* can,

when he pleases, cut off the *Wazîr*, who will never depose the *Soltân*; because he must lose by a change; nor can ever hope to usurp the crown; because the *Turks* have so great a veneration for the *Othmân* race. — *Cant.*

(N) A man noted for his robberies in *Asia*. His followers were reckoned the stoutest men in that quarter. He threatened to destroy *Iskinder*, and even the royal city. At last, being pardoned, he brought with him above 1000 freebooters against the *Germans*; but was put to death as soon as he came to *Constantinople*. *Cant.*—Prince *Cantemir* seems to confound *Eghen* with *Gyeduc*, if *Iskinder* be a mistake for *Iskudar* (or *Skutari*). *Ricaut* calls him *Yeghen*; and makes both him and *Gyeduc*, whom he names *Yedik*, generals in Hungary.

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the *Bakhshîsh Jûlus* (O), due to them on *Soleyman's* advancement to the empire. On the *Wazîr's* pleading inability for the present, they levy the money on the inhabitants of the country, and plunder all *Bulgaria*, as far as *Sophia*. In *Asia*, *Gyeduc Pasbâ* moves his troops to sedition; and, being joined to several thousand banditti, threatens to attack *Constantinople* itself. Having plundered and subdued all the provinces of the *Anadol Beglerbeglik*, he marches his army to *Ismid Gyechid* (P), and prepares to besiege *Krisopolis* (or *Skutari*), thinking the *Janizaries* were too busily employed to mind him; but they, laying aside their rage the night before the city was to be attacked, pass over, and surround it with trenches; on which the *Pasbâ* retires, and is soon after defeated by the *Othmân* army.

WHILE the *Turkish* empire is thus shaken by intestine commotions, the imperial army subdues the most considerable bulwarks of *Hungary*. *Agria*, the strongest fortress of *Upper Hungary*, after four months close siege, is obliged by famine to surrender, on the 20th of *Moharram*, 1099 (Q). The same fate befalls *Mongatzs*, an almost impregnable castle in the same country, fortified by *Tekeli*, and made the repository of his wife, treasures, and records. After he was seized, as before related, and *Kassovia* lost, his princess, the heroine of the age, assembled there what forces she could, and stored the place with plenty of provision; in hopes to defend it till the war should be finished, or the *Turkish* army march to her relief. But those forces being withdrawn from the neighbourhood, count *Terci*, in the year 1098, attempted to take the castle: but, after assailing it for several months with cannon and bombs to no purpose, he blocked it up at a distance; and cut off all provision to such a degree, that the princess *Tekeli* conquered rather by famine than the enemy's sword, on the 14th of *Rabî'lawel*, 1099 (R), surrendered both herself and castle to the emperor's mercy.

THESE surrender having been made before the instructions which her husband had sent to her on that head came to her hands.

* CANT. p. 353, & seqq. RICAUT.

(O) Called also *Julus Akbeshi*, that is, the money of the new, or the renewed, empire. The nature of the *Bakhshîsh* is explained a few notes before. CANT.

(P) That is, the passage of *Izmid*. So is the gulf of *Nikomedie* called. CANT.

(Q) That is, the 16th of *November*, 1687; but *Ricaut* puts it on *December* 16. and says, it surrendered at discretion upon the news of the battle of *Mohatz*.

(R) *January* 6th, 1688.

hands,

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hands, he was so incensed, that he destroyed all the places he came at, as far as *Peterwaradin*; and then fortified himself with some thousand followers in the village of *Theleigh*, near that city. But general *Heusler*, on the 6th of *February*, fell upon him in his trenches with such fury, that he was put to flight, leaving six hundred of his men slain, and four hundred taken prisoners; among whom was *Genay*, the chief commander next to himself^f.

Other com-
motions,seasonably
prevented.

THE common people and soldiers at *Constantinople* were in hopes, that; on the advancement of *Soleymān*, a prince, as they imagined, of great sanctity, the divine wrath would be appealed, and the enemy repelled. But when, on the news of those misfortunes, they find themselves deceived, they throw satyrical libels, both in prose and verse, into the *Jāmi* and *Divān*, reproaching not only the *Wazīr* and other nobles, but the *Soltān* himself, with negligence, and other faults (S). The minister, to obviate farther mischief, orders a guard to pass night and day through the city; prevents nocturnal assemblies, and seizes some persons who talked too freely; but, not to add oil to the flames, dismisses, without punishing, them (T). At last, the *Soltān*'s natural timoroufness produces a better remedy than courage could have done: for, under pretence of changing the air, he withdraws from the seditious, by removing with his court to *Adrianople*. The people indeed seemed to have reason to complain of the ill administration of affairs; but did not impute it to the proper persons. How much the treasury was exhausted; and to how great a necessity that opulent empire was reduced, appeared on this occasion: for there was not in the imperial stables a number of horses, mules, and camels, sufficient for the courtiers; nor money enough in the treasury to pay for the hire of what were wanting: so that he ordered the gold and silver vessels, with his jewels, to be publicly sold, in

^f RICAUT.

(S) *Ricaut* informs us, that the libels reflected on the *Soltān*'s intention to remove; and that they petitioned the *Wazīr* to dissuade him.

(T) According to the same author, he seized all the conspirators in their houses, on the eve before the plot was to be executed; and punished them as their crime deserved. Many

officers were displaced; and 50⁺ persons, most *Janizaries*, were cut off. But *Yeghen*, thought to be the ringleader, was too great to be meddled with. At last, 2500 purses, the estates of two *Kizlar Agas*, who were put to death, coming in seasonably to pay the soldiers arrears, the *Soltān* removed to *Adrianople* in July.

order

order to supply his necessities. At length, departing on hired horses and chariots, he prevents the sedition just ready to break out. A. D. 1688.

WHEN he arrives at *Adrianople*, he pretends to apply himself to the care of the war; but, as his devotions were more agreeable to him, he sent *Zuo'lfikar Effendi* (U), clerk of the *Janizaries*, and *Alexander Maurokordatus* (W), interpreter to the *Diwân*, ambassadors to the emperor of *Germany*: under pretence of informing him of his election (X); but, in reality, to settle a peace upon what terms they could procure.

Turks sue
for peace.

THE *Turks*, brought to this extremity, dispatch an *Aga* to *Apafi*, prince of *Transylvania*, with a patent to confirm him in his principality; and orders to demand a considerable sum of money, to pay the garrisons on the *Borysthenes* (or *Nieper*); which the declining state of the empire, he said, obliged the *Porte* to exact: at the same time threatening him with a *Tatar* incursion, in case he did not comply with the demand. General *Caraffa*, being informed of this affair, immediately hastes thither; and so well disposed *Apafi*, and the states, then met at *Hermanstadt*, that, rejecting the *Aga's* proposal, and despising his threats, they, on the 9th of *May*, 1688, absolutely renounce all obedience to the *Othmân Porte*; and confirm the treaty made with the duke of *Lorrain*. Hereby they put themselves under the emperor's protection, and receive his forces into their garrison places (Y), on con-

Transil-
vania re-
volts.

§ CANT. p. 355, & seqq. & RICAUT.

(U) *Yengbicheri Effendi*, a post of great profit; he was in great account at court for his learning.—Cant.

(W) Grandson of *Skarlatos*, vulgarly *Skariotti*, who was *Sorguj*, or purveyor, to the court of sheep and oxen, in the reign of *Morâd IV*. His father, *Pantelis Maurokordatus*, married *Loxandra*, daughter of *Skarlatos*, who, disfigured by the small-pox, was very rich, and fell in love with him. *Alexander* first practised as a physician; and then, for his skill in the oriental languages, was made *Bâsh Turjemân*, in the death of the

famous *Panayotti*. He experienced various turns of fortune at that ticklish court; yet died immensely rich. In 1709, his son *Nikholas* thereupon was made prince of *Moldavia*, then despot of *Walakhia*, and his brother *Jabu*, chief interpreter. Cant.

(X) And of renewing the ancient amity, which his predecessor had violated: for the *Turks* thought it below the dignity of the empire to sue for peace in plainer terms. Ricaut.

(Y) *Cronstadt*, or *Stephanopolis*, after this, rejecting their

dition,

A. D. 1688. dition, that their privileges, and the exercise of their religion, should be confirmed to them ^h.

Alba Regalis surrendered.

THE *Wazir Tekhiurdâghi* (Z), *Mosâfa Pasbâ*, either thro' fear of the *Germans*, or lest the *Soltân*, in his absence, should be persuaded to put him to death, declines the command of the army; and appoints *Rejeb Pasbâ Seraskier* of Hungary. But, before the *Othmân* forces took the field, the garrison of *Alba Regalis*, which had been blocked up all winter by the *Imperialists*, surrendered (A), on the 19th of *Rajeb*. May 8, 1688, *Caraffa* had taken the city of *Lippha* by storm, and the castle yielded in a few days (B). Soon after he reduced *Solmaz* and *Logosb*, or *Lagos*. That general, who commanded the *Imperial* army in the elector of *Bavaria's* absence, after he had taken *Illök* and *Peterwaradîn* from the *Turks* (C), sent *Wallis* and *Henßler* to seize (D) *Tiral*, a castle on the river *Tibiskus* (or *Teisse*); which being vigorously pressed, the garrison surrendered, on the 28th of *Ramazân*, with leave to depart ⁱ.

Eghen Pasbâ's fear.

MEAN time *Teghen Bey* was on his march to oppose the elector of *Bavaria*, who commanded the *Imperial* army, the duke of *Lorrain* being then sick; and designed to besiege *Belgrade*: but, before he reached that city, he returned to *Sofia*, declaring it impossible for him to keep such numerous forces in obedience, unless he had the seal and the prophet's standard. However, on news of the enemy's approach, he marched back to *Belgrade*; where all the forces in those parts submitted to his command, as general of Hungary. After this, he seized on *Hassân Pasbâ*, on account of an old quarrel, and would have strangled him, but for the son of the *Hân* (or *Khân*) of *Tartary*. Then, with ten thousand men

• ² RICAUT ubi supr. ³ CANT. p. 358.

allegiance, and refusing to admit a *German* garrison, was forced to yield at discretion by *Felerani*, appointed general of that province by count *Caraffa*. Ricaut.

(Z) So *Rodossus*, of which he was a native, is called by the *Turks*. He was raised from a *Janizary* to the dignity of *Wazir*: but did nothing remarkable. Cant.

(A) On the 19th of May 8000 *Turks* marched out, of whom 300 were soldiers. Ricaut.

(B) In storming the town 500 *Turks* were killed, and 2000, able to bear arms, made slaves out of the castle. But the women and children were set at liberty. Ricaut.

(C) According to Ricaut, the garrisons of these two cities, on the approach of *Caprara*, set fire to them, and fled to *Belgrade*.

(D) A mistake, perhaps, for *Titul*.


joined

joined to *Tekeli's* troops, he resolved to pass the *Save*, and encamp at *Semlin* on the other side: but, upon information, that prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, in conjunction with *Caprara*, was marched towards *Illok*, they changed their resolution; and sent letters by two peasants to the imperial generals at *Essek*, to intercede with the emperor for peace. But the messengers, appearing more like spies than ambassadors, were imprisoned; and no notice taken of what they came about: Soon after which, they seized *Illok*, as before-mentioned.

In the interim, prince *Lewis* of *Baden* arriving at *Poffega*, *The Turks* capital of *Scalvonia*, was perplexed how to pass the *Save* at *defeated*. *Proost*, since its banks were guarded by two thousand *Turks*: but *Hoffartin* and *Serini*, passing the river in barges with five hundred *Heyluks*, and three hundred dragoons, routed the enemy, and killed two hundred. Then, more troops ferrying over, they fortified the place. Three days after *Topul Pashâ*, joined by two others, arrives with eight thousand *Turks*, and, at midnight, attacks the *Germans*; who, tho' but thirteen hundred in all, repulse them with vigour. In a second assault they kill five hundred; and then, being reinforced, sally on the *Turks*, and beat them out of their trenches, killing seven hundred more, and taking their baggage: after which they set fire to the place, and abandon it.

The elector of *Bavaria*, being arrived at the *Save*, was informed that the *Othman* army, consisting of twenty-five thousand men, lay intrenched on the other side of that river, with a design to obstruct his passage. *Tekeli* also was posted with a strong body, in order to receive them at their landing. It was therefore agreed to alarm the *Turks* that night in divers places, whilst the generals *Serini*, *Strium*, and *Aspremont*, should endeavour to pass at some distance off, with six thousand men. This was effected without any opposition: but, at day-break, they were attacked by eight thousand *Janizaries*, of whom six hundred were cut off. During this engagement, which lasted two hours, a bridge was thrown across the river, and the whole army crossed the same day. After gaining this difficult point, the *Turks* quitted their trenches, and fled; while the elector marched towards *Belgrade*, which was three days distant^k. Here let us return to the *Turkish* authors.

The way being opened to *Belgrade* by the taking of *Tiral Belgrade* (*Titul*), the elector of *Bavaria* directs his course thither with *beford* the army; and, having repulsed the *Turks*, who, at the ill of *Sabats*, opposed his passage over the *Save*, proceeds to at-

A. D. 1688.  tack the *Serafskier*, who had encamped round that city: but that general, not caring to wait his approach, set fire to his camp, and the lower part of the city; and retired to *Semen-dria*. The *Germans* arriving, lay siege to *Belgrade* on all sides; and, having demolished the walls, on the 11th of *Zio'lkaadeh* (or *August* 26th), give a general assault. After a sharp battle of six hours, the *Turks* are driven from the walls, and retreat to the castle; but with so little circumspection, that the *Germans*, mixing with them, seize the gate, where a fiercer battle than the former ensues; in which, it is said, the whole garrison, consisting of nine thousand men, were put to the sword¹.

Breaches made.

It may be proper to enlarge from our own historians, upon the siege of this important fortress. On the duke of *Bavaria's* approach, the inhabitants embarked, with all their moveables, for different places along the *Danube*; yet many were killed and taken in their flight. When they were gone, the garrison set fire to the suburbs; where the army, on their arrival, got a very considerable booty. Having furnished their trenches and other works, on the 25th of *August*, they began from three batteries to play on the castle with twenty-six pieces of cannon, besides fifteen mortars. Mean time the garrison, though but three thousand men, made several vigorous sallies, being encouraged by their commander *Ibrâhîm Pasbâ*, with a promised relief from *Ozmân, Pasbâ* of *Hâleph*, who, with twenty-five thousand men, was then encamped at *Nissa*; while *Yeghen* (E), retired to *Sofia* with his horse, for the foot had deserted him, consumed the forage round the country. After this, two other batteries were erected; yet the garrison made stout resistance, and did great execution with their artificial fire, as well as great shot and bombs; one of which blew up a large magazine of powder.

A general assault,

THE duke of *Lorrain*, being recovered, came to the camp, but left the whole conduct of the siege to the duke of *Bavaria*, who, on the 6th of *September*, gave a general assault in four quarters at once. The elector himself commanded in the front; the prince *de Commercy* on the right; general *Heusler* on the left; and *Pini*, serjeant-major of the regi-

¹ CANT. p. 358, & seqq.

(E) As the *Turkish* historians may be presumed to be right in the names of their generals, *Ricant* must have mistaken *Yeghen* for *Rejeb*, the *Serafskier*; and *Yeghen*, if at all concerned in

the war in this part, seems to have been *Ozmân Pasbâ*, mentioned just before; for he is called by the *Turks*, *Egben Ozmân Pasbâ*.

ment of *Lorrain*, in the quarter near the water. The assailants entered the ditch with much bravery, through showers of bullets; and made themselves masters of the breach. From the top hereof they were dismayed with the sight of another more difficult ditch, well pallisadoed on the further side, as well as with the loss of their leader count *Schaffenberg*: also the counts *Emanuel of Fustenberg*, and *Henrik of Starem-berg*; with many others who were slain at the beginning of the danger. In effect, the *Germans* began to give ground a little; and the advantage must have been lost, had not the brave elector exposed himself on the breach, and threatened death to any who offered to retire. The soldiers awed, and animated by the example of their general, descend the second ditch, and mount to the pallisades with such surprizing boldness, that the *Turks* fled; and, crowding into the castle separated from the town only by a bridge, hung out a white flag: but some of the most desperate assailants got in after them, and put all to the sword.

THEY entered with the like success in the other quarters; though in that of *Commercy* one hundred dragoons were cut off; and general *Heusler* had his thumb carried away with a musket ball: for all this, he boldly with his soldiers, in spite of the enemy's fire, scaled the walls, and made himself master of an iron gate, by which they got into the town; where the *Germans* were insatiable in their slaughter, putting all to the sword without distinction. They had also spilt the blood of the *Pâshâ*, the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, and other officers, retired into a small trench behind the castle, if the elector's clemency had not interposed^m.

*The city
taken.*

AFTER *Belgrade* was reduced, the *Turkish* ambassadors arrive in the imperial camp; and declare, that they came to settle a peace, as well as to notify the election of *Soltân Soleymân*: but the elector told them, he was sent only to conquer *Servia* and *Bulgaria* (F); and that, if they had any thing to propose to the emperor, they must proceed to *Vienna*.

*Success in
Bosnia.*

THE prince of *Baden* had no less success in *Bosnia*: for, having defeated a considerable body of *Turks*, who opposed his passage of the river *Unna*, he pursued them so briskly, that they abandoned *Gradiška* and *Košaniza*. After this, on the 10th of *Zio'lkaadeh* (or *August* 15) he was met at the

^m RICAUT ubi supr.

(F) According to *Ricaut*, *Zil-fikar*, the ambassador, was invited to the camp by the elector, in order to hear his proposals;

and also to a great feast made the 8th of *September*, on occasion of his success.

little

1688.

The Pashâ
defeated.

little city of *Brod* by the *Pashâ* of that province, with the whole army, whom he routed and slew with five thousand of his men^a.

THERE is but a very imperfect account of the affairs of *Bosnia*, as related by the Christian historians. According to them, prince *Lewis*, setting out from *Possëga* (where we left him) passed the *Save*, *September* the 3d; and marched, upon a false information of the numbers of the enemy, to attack *Topal*, *Pashâ* of *Bosnia*, who was encamped with fifteen thousand men under *Tervat*, or *Terwent*, near the river *Okraina* about six miles from *Prout*. Although the prince had not above three thousand horse, and three hundred *Krouts*, yet they repulsed the enemy three times; and then coming so close, that, having time to recharge their fire-arms, they fell on with their swords. On this occasion they performed such wonders, that, forcing the horse to abandon the foot, they slew five thousand on the spot, among whom was the *Pashâ*, two *Agas*, and his *Kychaya*, besides two hundred drowned: the rest submitted. In this surprizing action, the imperialists lost no more than one hundred and fifty men.

The Ras-
cians sub-
mit.

THUS ended the campaign in *Hungary*; after which the elector of *Bavaria* was recalled to defend his own territories threatened by the king of *France*: who was incensed at the choice made of prince *Joseph Clement* of *Bavaria*, to be elector of *Eologn*, in prejudice of cardinal *Furstenberg*, whose interest he resolved to support by force of arms. The command of the imperial army by this means devolved on marshal *Caprara*, who marched from *Belgrade*, and took possession of *Semandria*, the capital of *Servia* (G), and *Poskarowert*, a small town; both abandoned by the *Turks*. These successes induced the *Rascians* to submit to the emperor; and, having made up a body of twenty thousand men, they surprised *Wachva* and *Zolkolova*, both on the *Drina*; killed a thousand *Turks*, and routed the rest. Mean time twelve thousand of the enemy, most of them rabble, waste and plunder the country about the *Morava*: but were soon dispersed by general *Heussler*; while the inhabitants of those parts, provoked by their insolence, took up arms, and seizing on the city of *Uziga*, killed five hundred *Turks*, and made two thousand prisoners.

^a CANT. p. 359.

(G) The *Turks* say, the elector, being informed the *Othmâns* had abandoned that capital, sent 1000 men during the siege, to take possession. But, in this case, the Christian writers may be presumed to know best.

By this time, prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, having fortified *Prout* and *Gradiška*, marched towards *Bertzka*, the only place unsubdued in *Bosnia*; on whose approach the *Turks* abandoned the town. Prince *Lewis*, having in about nine weeks reduced that whole province, was called home to resist the *French*; and left *Picolomini* to oppose the *Pashâ* of *Bosnia*, who was raising forces in those parts. A. D. 1688. *Bosnia subdued.*

ABOUT this time *Tekeli*, reinforced with a party of *Turks* and *Tatars*, ravaged the borders of *Walakhia* and *Transylvania*: but on the approach of four thousand *Rascians* hastily retreated; and endeavoured by letter to draw over the *Transilvanians*, telling them, they must by that time have experienced the mildness of the *Germans*; and that now was the juncture to redeem themselves and posterity from the barbarous slavery they lay under.^o *Tekeli retreats.*

MEAN time, the *Venetians* carry on the war in other parts with more variable fortune. In the *Morea*, the *Seraskier* is before them in the field; and obliges the garrison of *Athens* to abandon the city with great loss. Their army soon after march to *Egribuz* (or *Negropont*); and, passing the narrow sea which divides the island from the continent, lay close siege to the city: but are obliged, by the disagreement of their own officers, and bravery of the besieged, to retreat with loss. On which, the valiant general count *Koningmark*, to whom the *Venetians* owe almost all the victories gained in the *Morea*, fell sick and died.^p Venetian successes.

BUT neither of these assertions is fact, if we may depend on the Christian historians; who are very particular in their account of this unfortunate siege. According to them, the captain general *Francisco Morosini*, newly elected *Doge* of *Venice*, resolving to besiege *Negropont* (H), set sail with the fleet; and the 14th of *July* landed eight thousand foot and *Negropont besieged.*

^o RICAUT, ubi supr.

^p CANT. p. 359.

(H) It was antiently called *Kbaktis*, and is seated on the famous *Eurippus*, or *Narrow Channel*, between the isle and *Greece*, which ebbs and flows, at certain seasons, many times in twenty-four hours. The city stands at the narrowest part of the channel (which is there covered with a bridge), and is two miles round; but the suburbs much more large and populous, separated

from the town by a deep ditch. The *Greeks* call it *Egripes*, a corruption of *Euripus*, as *Negropont* is of it. The inhabitants might amount in all to 15,000 people. It is the residence of the captain *Pashâ*, or *Turkish* high admiral. On a point of land towards the *Eurippus* is a castle called *Karababa*, or *Black Father*.

A. D. 1688. five hundred horse. The city was garrisoned by six thousand men; and its walls, lined with earth, well fortified on all sides with bastions, forts, mines, and cannon; on the right hand of the bridge the *Turks* had raised a battery, and pitched their tents along the side of the aqueducts; and, on the left hand, had formed a line of communication between the suburbs and a hill, which had a battery commanding the sea, where *Mostafa Pasbâ*, one of the governors, was posted; the other, called *Ibrahim Pasbâ*, defended the outworks. There were besides, divers other trenches in different forms, strengthened with pallisades, and a deep ditch thirty paces long, reaching to the gate of the city, and covered with a horn-work. Below the mills, was another battery of three pieces of great cannon, which commanded the shore. Every work had some soldiers to defend it, especially *French*, who were skilled in throwing bombs and other fireworks. As a farther strengthening, the *Seraskier* of the *Morea* lay six miles off with four thousand men.

The Turks defeated. THE *Venetians* made their approaches with little obstruction from the besieged; and, on the 30th, began to batter the town. One of the bombs fell into the *Pasbâ's* palace, and put things there into great confusion; while the excessive heats, producing malignant fevers in the camp, killed many of the officers as well as soldiers, and made others retire to the fleet; among whom was the brave general *Koningmark*, who died the 15th of *September* following.

THE *Turks*, finding the *Venetians* to be in these bad circumstances, incommoded them with sallies. On the 16th of *August*, they attacked the *Maltese* trenches, but were repulsed; and had the fort near the mills taken from them: yet recovered it next day. This made the *Doge*, on the 20th, attack the enemies trenches, which extended three miles from the hill to the sea, and effectually covered the soldiers. The marquis of *Corbon*, with his cavalry, was the first who broke in upon the enemy, and opened a way for the foot to come to handy-blows; where for two hours the event was doubtful; for the *Venetians* were repulsed twice or thrice in some places. But, at length, the enemies horse retired in great confusion, leaving their infantry to the mercy of the besiegers, who pursued them to the very gates of *Negropont*, with great slaughter; and mastered the suburbs. In this action a thousand *Turks* were killed, and as many wounded, among whom were the *Seraskier's* son, and *Mostafa Pasbâ*. On the *Venetian* side, two hundred were slain; and among others, the prince of *Wirtemberg* mortally wounded.

SEPTEMBER

SEPTEMBER the 5th, five hundred *Turks*, falling on the quarter of the *Slavonians*, beat them out of their trenches; but they recovered them again: and a breach being made in the tower, on the sea-side at the end of the ditch, engineer *Romagnat* offered with fifty men to mount the same, although but narrow, and void of any cover from the enemy's shot. The *Doge* landed to be a spectator of this enterprize; which on the 8th was executed, with so much valour, that they gained the breach: but being very narrow, as well as without cover, and the descent into the town very steep, they were forced to quit it again with the loss of six or eight men. About the same time, count *Waldek* and colonel *Piltz*, advancing with their regiments, one to the brink of the ditch, the other to the foot of the tower, were both cut off, with seven captains and two hundred men.

A. D.
1688.

A bold attempt.

HOWEVER the *Venetians*, nothing discouraged, raised new batteries beyond the water; from whence they made a breach in the other tower, and battered the curtain between the two. But the season being now far spent, and the sickness increasing, there seemed to be little hopes this year of taking the city; which was continually supplied from the camp with men and provisions. For all this, the *Doge* would not give up the enterprize; and, leaving no means untried to reduce the place, ordered a traverse to be made over the ditch which was thirty paces wide, to convey the forces under the wall. But this design proved more difficult than was expected, by the violent current of the water; and the labourers being greatly exposed to the small shot of the enemy, who now raised a work in the false bray to obstruct the progress of the traverse. However they were driven out of this work by the besiegers, who took a small bonnet by the way. Yet the *Turks* recovered it, though they soon lost it again to the *Venetians*, who fortified and secured it by a new battery and line of communication.

A bonnet taken.

FOR all this, the *Venetian* forces daily diminished by diseases and the sword, the galleys of *Málta* and *Tuscany* now left them also; yet, far from abandoning the siege, they resolved on a general assault, which was deemed practicable; and, on the 12th of *October*, began it about ten in the morning, with eight thousand men in four several places: but the besieged poured such volleys of small shot upon the troops appointed to storm the breach; that, after many officers and soldiers were killed, they founded a retreat, not being supported by those who were to have assisted them. No better success attended the other attacks. In one place, they found the entrance into the town obstructed by a very steep descent;

General assault.

A. D. 1688. in another, the town being inaccessible without, they stood in the ditch up to the middle in water, exposed to the enemy's shot. The attack lasted for several hours, in which they lost above a thousand men, and divers officers. The galleys also suffered much on this occasion.

The siege raised.

It was now found impracticable, from the decrease of their troops, to make another attack. But to avoid the shame of quitting the siege, after consuming all the summer before the place, it was proposed in council, to continue there all winter : but the foreign troops declaring they would not stay, the siege was raised, with the loss of many in getting away.

Thus ended the unfortunate siege of *Negropont*. On the other hand, the *Venetians* had better success in *Dalmatia*; where *Kain* (I), of which *Steaglik* (K), the deposed *Sofa* of *Bosnia*, was governor, with several thousand soldiers, was by them taken : besides the castles of *Verlikka*, *Quonigrad*, and *Graßach*. On the 17th of *August*, *Klin* was invested by the procurator *Girolamo Cornaro*; and a breach being made in the outer wall, the *Venetians* became masters of it by the 2d of *September*, the besieged retiring within the second. By the 4th, several new batteries were raised; and the defendant's magazine of powder was blown up by a bomb: for all this, they maintained the castle and lower town with great resolution. At length, the regiments of *Corbon* and *Sebenica* being ordered to cross a water, which was all the defence the town had on that side, the soldiers swam over with their swords in their mouths, while the *Turks* retired from their intrenchment into the castle. The besiegers, thus left in possession of it, presently cut-off the pipes, and destroyed the aqueducts which conveyed water to the castle. Hereupon the *Pashá*, on the 12th of *September*, surrendered at mercy.

Narim deserted.

AFTER this general *Cornaro* having a design upon *Narento*, an antient port where formerly commodities arrived from *Thrace*, *Servia*, *Bosnia*, and other parts, sailed with his forces to the town of *Narim*, built three years before at the mouth of the harbour. There landing some troops, and battering the place from a galley, the garrison fled; most of whom were killed, and the rest taken by the *Morlaks*; who afterwards ravaged the country, and returned with great plunder.

* *RICAUT*, ubi sup. † *CANT*. ubi sup. • *RICAUT*, ubi sup.

(I) Doubtless a mistake for (K) *Ricaut* calls him *Atla-Klin*; the *Alif* being very like the *Lam* in the *Arabik* characters.

IN the interim, the *Turkish* ambassadors were come to Vienna, and being introduced to the emperor *Leopold*, in the name of the *Soltân*, presented the letters *Julus Nameh* (L), informing him of *Soleymân's* election; but made no mention of peace, in hopes the *Germans* would first propose it, and so render the negotiation more easy. When they find themselves balked in their expectation, they offer to his imperial majesty his choice of a short truce or a peace: that, in case he desired the former, all *Hungary* should continue in his hands; *Transilvania* be tributary to both empires; *Kamenick* dismantled be restored to the *Poles*, and *Belgrade* to the *Turks*. But if a peace was more agreeable, some part of *Hungary* with *Belgrade* should be restored to the *Othmân* empire.

A. D.
1688.

*Turkish
proposals*

LEOPOLD, having consulted with the ambassadors of the other confederate powers, returns this answer: That although, from the present state of things, he had great hopes, not only of recovering the rest of *Hungary*, but also of subduing the whole *Turkish* empire, yet he was ready to agree to a peace, provided the kingdom of *Hungary*, with the provinces belonging thereto, *Sclavonia*, *Kroatia*, *Bosnia*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Transilvania*, should be resigned to him; *Moldavia* and *Walakhia* remain free; the exercise of the *Romish* religion permitted throughout the *Turkish* empire; the *Franciscan* friars put in possession of the holy sepulchre at *Jerusalem*; and *Tekeli* delivered up to him. The *Poles* demanded, that the antient boundaries of their kingdom should be restored; and all *Krím Tartary*, *Moldavia*, *Walakhia*, and the whole country extending on both sides of the *Borysthenes* as far as the *Danube*, resigned to them. And to shew themselves greater friends to religion than the other confederates, they insisted, that all the Christians, who lived under the *Othmân* government, should be freed from tribute. Lastly, the *Venetians* besides the *Morea*, the several isles and cities elsewhere already in their possession, demand the sea-coast of *Negropont* from *Korcyra* to *Korinth*; and part of *Dalmatia*, with the demolition of the havens of *Dulcigno* and *Antivari*.

THE ambassadors immediately inform *Soleymân* of the answer they had received; and, undoubtedly, the peace would have been settled, had not the most Christian king, jealous

*of the
obstructed
by France.*

(L) or more properly *Namei Julusi Humayûn*, that is, *The letters of the most sublime new dominion*: so are stiled the *Soltân's* letters which he sends to all

Pasbás, and to the neighbouring princes, with whom he is at peace, to notify his accession to the throne. *Cant.*

A. D. 1688. of the great advantages which the Christians had gained against the *Othmân* empire, proclaimed war, without any just cause, against *Leopold*; advising the *Soltân*, by his ambassador *Chateauneuf*, not to make peace with the emperor (M), since he would the next year penetrate into the heart of *Germany*; and had actually four hundred thousand men ready for that expedition. He adds, that if the event should answer his wishes, he would reserve to himself all *Germany*, with *Vienna* its capital; but restore *Hungary* to the *Soltân*. These encouraging promises reviving the spirits of the *Turks*, *Soleyman* neglects his ambassadors (N), whom he sent to sue for peace, and thinks of nothing but war.

*Rebellion
suppressed.*

He first applies himself to settle affairs at home; and as soon as the *Germans* were retired to winter-quarters, sends the greater part of his forces against *Eghen Ozmân Pasbâ*, and *Gyeduc Pasbâ*, who had almost the whole year disturbed the *Othmân* empire: which was freed from this danger by their taking the two rebels prisoners.¹

*Eghen
slain.*

ACCORDING to *Ricaut*, *Yeghen Pasbâ*, after his flight from *Belgrade*, quarreled with *Noraddin Gâlgû*, son of the *Khân* of *Tartary*; who thereupon calling him coward, and saying he was fitter to command thieves than soldiers, *Yeghen* ordered him to be strangled before several *Tatar* lords. On complaint of this outrage at the *Othmân* court, the *Wazîr* endeavoured to palliate the matter in favour of *Yeghen*; who, when he was *Janizar Aga*, had saved his life in a mutiny. But the *Khân* himself arriving at *Adrianople*, to consult about the operations of the ensuing campaign, so warmly urged the affair, that *Yeghen* was by the *divân* sentenced to be put to death. On this news, he flew into open rebellion, wrote to his old master *Yedîk* to do the like in *Asia*, and plundered the country. But the *Pasbâ* of *Sofia* being ordered to take him dead or alive, he fled into *Albania* to his old friend *Mahmûd Bey Oglî*; who, having been before gained by the *Porte*, cut off his head, and sent it to the *Soltân*.

¹ CANT. p. 359. See also RICAUT.

(M) Likewise, by transmitting vast sums into *Poland*, he so far corrupted the avaritious king, that, though he did not quit the alliance, yet he usually took care to come no sooner into the field than it was time to leave it. *Ricaut*.

(N) *Ricaut* says, that the am-

bassadors having proposed to *Leopold* the quiet possession of all he had conquered, the emperor, by what fatality our author knew not, not only rejected this, but, contrary to the custom of nations, imprisoned them in the castle of *Puffendorf*, near *Vienna*, for some years,

MEAN

MEAN time the followers of *Yedik* (or *Gyedük*) increasing in *Asia*, the ministry to pacify them, promised to employ them in the *Hungarian* war, and make *Teghen* their general. But as soon as news was brought of that rebel's death, the mind of the *Porte* altered; and orders were sent to the *Kaymaykâm*, not only to prevent the *Asiatics* from passing into *Europe*, but also to destroy them in their own country. Accordingly he attacked, and defeated a large party of them near *Skutari*. Yet this did not discourage *Yedik*, who, with six thousand men, marched towards *Prusa*; and, having defeated the *Pasbâ* of that place, with the *Nesirân*, or militia, caused himself to be proclaimed king of *Anatolia*. After this, he laid siege to *Angora* (*Enguri*, or *Ancyra*) which was forced to redeem itself by the payment of eighty purses, each containing five hundred dollars.

Gyedük's
success.

HEREUPON the *Turkish* court returned to their old method of fair promises, assuring *Yedik* and his accomplices both of pardon and reward, in case they would return to their duty. But this had no effect; for under pretence of zeal for religion, which they alledged was corrupted by the then governors, they summoned all the inhabitants of *Anatolia* to defend the same. At length, the *Beglerbeg* of that province being honoured with the title of *Tefiş*, or inquisitor, first exposed to the people the perfidious designs of *Yedik* against the faith; and then, with six thousand choice men, attacked his camp with such success, that he gained a complete victory. Most of the commanders were either slain (among whom was *Yedik*), or taken; and the men who survived the battle, suffered to return to their respective homes. In the mean time, *Rejeb Pasbâ* was made *Serafskier*, in the room of *Teghen*; whose nephew, with forty of his followers, and the governor of *Widin* put in by *Teghen*, being taken, were put to death.

THE domestic enemies being suppressed, the *Soltân* is more at liberty to prepare against the foreign. And first, in order to secure the southern provinces against the *Venetian* arms, he sets free *Liberius Gheralkhari* (O), who had been confined

Affairs of
the Morea.

RICAUT, ubi sup.

(O) Better known to *Europeans* by the name of *Liberaki*, which is a corruption of *Liberius*, according to the manner of the *Greeks*. He was a native of *Mania*, the antient *Lakonia*. He in his youth served in the *Venetian* fleet; then turned pi-

lot for several years: but at length taken by the *Turks*, was sent to the galleys; from whence he was set free, for advice mentioned in the text; and honoured with a *Sânjâk*, but no *Tûg*, under the title of *Mania Beghi*.—*Cant.*

A. D. 1688. in the gallies; and appoints him prince of *Mania*, or the *Maynotta*. He was induced to this, partly by the success of his arms in *Moldavia*, which convinced him that a Christian governor could much more easily keep his Christian subjects in obedience, than a *Turkish*; and partly, by the assurances of *Liberius*, that all the people of *Morea* were alienated from the *Venetians*, for endeavouring to force on them the *Romish* religion; and that therefore, they would soon submit again to the *Othman* dominion, in case a prince of the *Greek* church was made governor of that province (O).

Seghed-war taken. THE affairs being settled, *Soleymân*, to terrify the enemy, and animate his own soldiers, declares, that he will command the army in person against the *Germans*; and having raised as many troops as he could, marches towards *Servia*, as if he intended to besiege *Belgrade*: but being informed at *Sofia*, that *Seghedwar* (or *Sigeth*), famous for the martyrdom of *Soleymân I.* had been forced by famine to surrender (P); and that the imperial army, which, he imagined, had been wholly employed against the *French*, was marching from *Belgrade* against him with great expedition; he, in a fright, stops at *Sofia*, and leaves the army to the conduct of the *Seraskier Rejeb Pasbâ*, with orders not rashly to hazard a battle, but only prevent the progress of the enemy. The *Seraskier* being come to the river *Morava*, in sight of the *Germans*, and deceived by his astrologer (Q), who, from his observation of the stars, promised him certain victory, bravely attacks them; but is obliged to retire, with great loss, to *Nissa*. Yet his eyes were so far from being open at this misfortune, that having recruited his forces, he engages them a second time, depending on the predictions of the same astrologer: however being quickly defeated, and almost his whole

The Seraskier routed.

(O) The truth of this we shall find verified in the beginning of the 18th century.

(P) After it had been blocked up for two years, and the articles signed, on the 28th of January 1688, by the emperor. But *Kanisa* and *Great Waradin*, though brought to the like extremity, held out still. *Ricaut*.

(Q) Although the *Turks* are forbidden forcery, and all kinds of divination; for the *Korân* expressly declares, *Kiulli Munejimin Kiezzakûn*, that is, *All astrologers are liars*; yet they

easily give credit to their predictions, fancying that the heavenly bodies are the instruments by which providence performs every thing; and which by their figures express what ought to be done. Likewise, that on the foreheads of all men are written, in their mother's womb, whatever is to befall them, according to the harmony of the stars. The *Wazir's* courts are full of such prophets, but they never dare foretell unhappy events.—*Cant.*

army destroyed, he escapes with a few followers, perceiving, too late, the vanity of his superstition. After this, the *Germans* over-run at once all *Servia*, take *Widdin*, *Nissa*, *Shirkioi*, and burn *Siopia*, a city of *Bulgaria* *.

As the merit of a victory depends much on the knowledge of the strength of both armies, an historian cannot shew greater partiality, or want of skill, than in omitting to mention what number of men each consisted of. According to the foregoing account of the *Seraskier's* defeat, the reader will be apt to conclude, that the *Turks* were much inferior to the imperialists in force; whereas, if the Christian writers may be credited, they had twice or thrice the advantage in numbers. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, having reinforced *Belgrade* with two thousand foot, and fortified *Semendria*, marched with his army, and encamped near *Morava*: but on news of the *Turks* retreat, on the 2d of *August*, he pursued them towards *Nissa* with the rest of his army, which consisted only of eighteen thousand men; whereas the *Turks* amounted to forty thousand, besides undisciplined troops. They had not marched far, before their out-guards were attacked by a body of *Tatars*; two of whom being taken, informed them, *The Turks* that a great body of *Turks* and *Tatars* under *Soltân Galga*, *routed*, the *Khân's* son, designed to attack them on one side near *Pasfarovitz*, while the *Seraskier* inclosed them on the other side, with an army of fifty thousand men, in order to cut-off their provisions. The prince thereupon resolved to dislodge the *Seraskier*, who was encamped within two hours march, and, on the 29th of *August*, advanced briskly against him. On this unexpected motion the *Turks* retreated for three hours; when coming to a pass, they stood their ground, but were soon routed, and dispersed in the woods, with the loss of four hundred horse and twelve standards. Many were killed afterwards by the hussars who hunted them; and the roads strewed with arms and cloaths, which to escape the better, they threw away.

ENCOURAGED with this success, owing chiefly to the conduct of the generals *Veterani* and *Picolomini*, the prince repassed the *Morava*; in order to attack *Soltân Galga* encamped with his *Tatars* beyond that river, before he could join with the *Turkish* cavalry lately defeated. As the road lay by a very narrow passage through a thick wood, half an hour's march in length, which opened into a small plain; five hundred men were sent under count *Solaro* to secure that passage. In this design they were opposed by three thousand *Janizaries*, and a good body of horse. But general *Heisser* coming to

The Tatars pursued.

A. D. 1688. their assistance, so advantageously posted himself within the woods and thick bushes, that he maintained the pass till next morning; when prince *Lewis* advanced with his main force in a great fog, and posted himself before the wood. On the right hand, he was sheltered by thickets, and bushy grounds almost impassable; and his left wing extended to the bank of the *Morava*.

Join the
Turks.

BUT before the cavalry could arrive, the fog dissipated, and unexpectedly discovered the whole *Turkish* army drawn up in order of battle, just fronting the imperial infantry; which the *Turks* instantly attacked with such unusual violence, that prince *Lewis* had scarce time to range his second line in a posture of defence. However the imperialists stood the shock from their great and small shot, with much firmness; then playing their parts, the fight grew very hot for two hours together within pistol-shot; when the music of the cavalry, which now came up, sounding without the forest, the enemy was struck with such fear, that they retreated into the neighbouring wood, and thence into a plain behind it, where they entrenched themselves. Here being followed by the imperialists, the cannon was played hotly on both sides for an hour and half; after which, the *Turks* retired to another trench encompassed with a ditch of water, and accessible only in one place.

Both armies routed.

* HEREUPON count *Passi* was ordered with his regiment, to enter the wood, and sound all his warlike instruments, in order to make the enemy believe some great body was advancing to fall on their rear, while count *Picolomini* with the van attacked them in front. This he did with such resolution, in spite of their cannon, that they presently quitted that post also, and retreated in disorder through the woods, followed by the imperialists; who would have made a dreadful slaughter had not the ways been narrow, and unknown to them: however they pursued them to their camp at *Patafschin*, which they abandoned, leaving behind all their artillery (R), ammunition, provision, and baggage. In their way to *Jagodina* on the *Morava*, whither they fled in great disorder, numbers of them were cut-off by the *Hungarians* and *Rascians*; who brought also to the camp many prisoners, and thirty-six pieces of cannon of the largest size*.

Battle of
Nissa.

THE prince, after he had refreshed his forces, began his march to *Nissa*, twenty leagues distant, through woods and

* *RICAUT*, ubi supr.

(R) 105 brass cannon, and three mortars.

mountains,

mountains. The *Turks* had still most of their army intire, and were besides reinforced with twenty thousand men; yet on his approach, the *Seraskier* quitted that city, and encamped near it by the side of the *Nissava*. The prince pitched his tents within a league of *Nissa*, near a little river which falls into the *Nissava*; and on the 24th of *September*, about five in the evening, possessed himself of the sides of the hill over the enemy's camp, in spite of all their opposition. This done, lest the *Turks* should fortify their camp in the night, he resolves to attack them off-hand; extending his right wing towards the foot of the hill, and his left along the plain to the banks of the *Nissava*. The *Seraskier* hereupon caused the greater part of his cavalry, drawn-up on the declivity of the hill, to charge the infantry of the left wing: but seeing them advance with their cannon in front, they wheeled about towards the right wing; and attacked them at the foot of the hill on the flank, which could not be secured.

THIS produced some confusion among the *Hussars*: but being timely supported by other troops, the *Turkish* horse must have been routed, had not some of their own troops fired on them, and forced them to stand their ground. However the main body under *Heisler*, being ordered to attack the enemy on the hill, after a long conflict gained the top; whither the duke of *Croy*, who commanded towards the river, soon after arriving, the *Turks* were quickly driven from thence with great slaughter. Notwithstanding this, the enemy's horse rallying again in the plains, made another vigorous assault on the left wing, but were repulsed; when the *Janizaries*, who were making new trenches, fired on them, and forced them to stand another charge, which they did with great firmness against the *Hussars*. However these, being succoured by the Regiment of *Caprara*, at last forced them intirely to quit the field, and furiously pursued them to their very camp. Mean time another party of horse attacked their main body: but count *Staremburg* coming to their assistance, the enemy was put to a disorderly flight, and pursued till night parted them.

In this action ten thousand *Turks* were killed, and not above three hundred *Germans*; which was the more surprising, as the former were reckoned to amount to eighty thousand, the latter to scarce fifteen thousand men. The booty too was very great, consisting of thirty pieces of cannon, many thousands of tents, and divers standards, besides store of provision.

A. D. AFTER this second victory, prince *Lewis* ordered *Nissa* **1688.** to be strongly fortified, and sent out a party; who, having advanced as far as *Dragoman* within four hours of *Sofia*, brought word that the *Turks* had deserted the fortrefs of *Moftafa Pafbâ Palanka*, and other castles in that abandoned country. The news of this great defeat was carried to court by *Moftafa Aga*, who had been sent thither with letters by *Julfigar*, the *Turkifh* ambaffador at *Vienna*, and detained for some months by prince *Lewis*. Mean time, that general being informed, that *Orfowa* and *Fetiflau* were burnt, and *Tekeli*, with some *Turkifh* troops, was encamped near *Widdin*, where he had a ftately houfe, he refolved to return that way to the *Danube*, and defeat him. Accordingly, fetting out *Oftober* 4th with but a few forces, on the 14th came unexpectedly on the enemy; who, haftily getting in order of battle to the number of twelve thoufand men, maintained a doubtful fight for some time with unusual bravery, but, at length, were routed, leaving one thoufand flain, with a great quantity of ammunition and provifion, behind them. The caſtle, refuſing to ſurrender, was ſo battered, that, on the 19th, the beſieged, to the number of two thouſand five hundred fifty-nine, capitulated to be convoyed to *Nikopolis*, whither *Tekeli* had fled before the battle; and there, with tears in his eyes, came out to meet them. The taking of *Widdin* was the more important, as it ſecured all the country gained by the two laſt victories; and cut off relief from *Temefwar*, and other *Turkiſh* garrifons in *Hungary*.

Widdin
taken.

SECTION II.

Administration of Ahmed Kyoprili, with the Recovery of Belgrade, and other Conqueſts.

The treaty renewed. UPON the news of theſe miſfortunes, *Soleymân*. haſtens from *Sofia* to *Adrianople*, and returns an answer, till then deferred, to his ambaffadors at the *German* court; ordering them to inſiſt only on the reſtoration of *Belgrade*, without mentioning the other provinces of *Hungary*. But *Maurocordatus* finding ſuch things could not be propoſed, conceals his orders; and pretends the *Soltân* would not give up any-thing, excepting what he had before-mentioned. Yet afterwards being reminded by his colleague, that both their lives would be in danger, if they ſhould be found to neglect the *Soltân's* commands, he communicates the real ſtate of the affair to the emperor; and receives ſuch an answer as he expected: for although *Leopold*, who was unable

to carry on the war with success against two enemies, would gladly have made a truce upon terms, yet he was obliged to put off the affair to another time; because the *Turkish* ambassadors had not full power to make a peace; and he thought it dishonourable, after so many victories, to send any of his own to the *Porte*, as it were to sue for peace.

THESE great advantages were lost which were never to be procured again, only to preserve a trifling punctilio. *Soltân Soleyman*, before he left *Sofia*, with consent of his council, had agreed to almost all the demands of the confederates; and caused instructions to be drawn up for his ambassador, to the following purpose: "that he should use his utmost endeavours to procure a peace, and give no ear to the *French* promises; that he should labour to persuade the emperor to restore *Belgrade*, and make it the limit of both dominions; that, in case of any scruple, he should first offer *Kanisia*, then *Giula*, *Temeswar*, or else *Great Waradin*, instead of it; that, to content the *Poles*, he should propose to demolish *Kaminiek*; and, if that would not do, to surrender it. Lastly, as to the *Venetians*, that they should keep what they had taken, and no mention be made of *Negropont*. These instructions were carried back by *Mos-tafa Agâ*, who brought the letters from the ambassador."

MEAN time the two armies in *Poland* do nothing but shew themselves to each other, being divided by the river *Tyras*, or *Neister*. But the *Czars* of *Russia*, raising, it is said, four hundred thousand men, send them, with fourteen hundred cannon, under the conduct of *Basilus Galliczin*, against the *Tatars*. Yet these vast preparations were rendered useless by the *Czar's* own regiment, which revolted while the *Russians* were besieging the city *Or*, commonly called *Prækop* (S); and, by drawing into their party many of the most considerable officers, the army is forced to return home without success. In their retreat, they are attacked by the *Tatars*; and, thro' the perfidiousness of their intestine enemies, suffer a great loss in the rear. At their return, *Peter Alexiowitz*, who then reigned alone, making a strict enquiry into the sedition, shuts up his sister, who had been the chief cause of the rebellion, in a monastery; banishes *Galliczin*, as privy to the conspiracy, to *Archangel*, and confiscates his estate; kills, like wild beasts, twelve thousand *Streltzi's* (T), publicly in the

† RICAUT, ubi sup.

(S) It stands on the isthmus, thence, by some, *Presopenian* which gives entrance to the peninsula of *Krim*, called from (T) Or *Sterlits*.

market

A. D. 1688. market places and streets ; and, having abolished this military order, forms a regular militia after the manner of other Christian princes.

IN the *Morea* this year, the *Venetians* besiege *Monembassia* (or *Malvasia*), and cut-off all provisions ; while *Libe-raki*, lately made prince of that country, attempts to relieve the city, but is repulsed with loss².

Affairs of Albania. THIS war in the *Morea* requires a more particular account from the Christian historians : but, before we proceed to it, it will be proper to speak of what passed in *Albania*. Count *Piccolomini*, who commanded in those parts, sent word in *October* to prince *Lewis*, that all the *Albanians* having submitted to him, he intended soon to subdue the country from *Skutari* to *Novibazar*, but wanted forces ; hereupon the prince sent him three regiments under the prince of *Hanover*. With this reinforcement, he marched from *Procopia* to *Pristina* and *Klina* (or *Klin*), where six thousand *Arnauds* (or *Albanians*) met him with thirteen hundred carts of provisions. After this, he arrived at *Kazianck*, a little city with a castle ; from whence he marched to *Scopia* (or *Uzkopia*), whose *Greek* and *Turkish* inhabitants had abandoned it, and fled to *Mahmûd Pasbâ* encamped in a valley with ten thousand men. But these were so terrified at the bare shouts of the *Germans*, and noise of their cannon, which they fired for joy, that they fled also in great confusion into the woods, where many were killed by the *Hussars* ; and two thousand carts recovered which had been pressed in the country to carry-off the inhabitants into slavery.

Places reduced. *PICCOLOMINI*, marching forward, burnt the ancient seat of *Ladislaus Cziocchi*, and then returned to *Kazianck*, where his distemper, supposed by some to be the plague, greatly increased. From thence he removed to *Pammi*, where he heard that the governor of *Pyroth*, having invaded the enemy's country, and defeated a party of fifteen hundred *Turks* encamped near *Dragoman* before-mentioned, some hours from *Sofia* (T), was afterwards defeated by several larger bodies who came against him. After much fatigue, he arrived at the city of *Profferin*, where he was met by the archbishop of *Albania*, and patriarch of *Klementa*, with eight thousand *Arnauds*, both *Greeks* and *Turks*, who came to submit themselves. Soon after this, the brave count departed

² CANT. p. 363.

(T) Said here to be 6 or 7 hours, but only 4 in the former place.

this life to the unspeakable grief of the whole army, the command of which devolved on *Veterani*. A. D. 1688.

LET US NOW come to the affairs of the *Morea*. After the *Venetians* had withdrawn the last year from before *Negro-pont*, the *Doge*, *Morofini*, who had still an eye upon it, wintered with the fleet at *Napoli di Romania*, and ordered the channel on both sides to be well guarded. For all this, the Captain *Pasbâ* broke through with several gallies, and landed five hundred men, with proper instruments to repair the breaches, which was accordingly done. Mean time, *Morofini*, wanting forces to renew the siege of that place, resolved to attack *Napoli di Malvasia*, whither he sent ten gallies and twelve galliots to assist the *Maniots* in building two forts near the town bridge, in order to block up the place. At the same time *Liberakhi*, or *Liberio*, *Bey* of the *Morea*, lay encamped at *Xeromerto*, or *Misselonghi*, near *Lepanto*, with one hundred *Turks*, one hundred and fifty *Sclavonians*, and some *Venetians*, who daily deserted to join the ensigns *Bossina* and *Vito*, gained over by him two years before. To put a stop to this desertion, ten chekins a head were offered to such as brought any to the camp; which had the desired effect.

THEIR next attempt was to destroy *Liberakhi*, either by alluring him to their camp, or rendering him suspected by the *Turks*. To this end they sent one *Dambi*, formerly an intimate of his, to *Urakori*, near *Lepanto*, where, having delivered his commission, *Liberakhi* told him, he should readily have complied with the request of the *Doge*, who was his godfather, but was too deeply engaged with the *Turks* to desert them: for that he had not only married the late prince of *Moldavia*'s widow, with an estate of twenty thousand crowns, by favour of the *Wâzîr*, but his wife, children, and two friends, were in pledge for his fidelity. However he gave *Dambi* several lights into the state of affairs; promised further information to the *Doge*, and sent him back in opposition to *Ali Bey*, who would have carried him to the *Seraskier*, then lying at *Zeytûn* with four thousand men.

ON *Dambi*'s return, the *Doge* set sail for *Malvasia*, and laid siege to the place both by sea and land. The garrison consisted of no more than seven hundred soldiers, which, with the inhabitants, made about two thousand souls. The streets were narrow, but the houses strongly built; and the upper rooms filled with earth to cover them from the bombs. Mean time, in *June*, the villages about *Salôna*, which is near *Zeytûn*, refusing to pay the *Kharach*, or poll-money, demanded by *Liberakhi*, he marched against them: but, after a bloody

D. bloody fight was defeated by the country people, under the
688. conduct of *Kharopoliti*. Soon after it was resolved to leave
some thousand men at the pass of *Korinth* under *Dambi*, to
prevent the *Seraskier* from entering into the *Morea*; while to
block up *Malvasia* some regiments were ordered to raise cer-
tain redoubts on the side towards the gardens, and a squa-
dron of gallies posted there to assist the forces on shore.

but are re- THE *Doge*, in the mean time, removed from the forts of
pushed; *St. Nicholas*, which was the old *Malvasia*, to the new forts
built at the bridge, whence they played with four fifty
pounders on the town; which was not idle neither with its
cannon. But on a sudden, a furious storm arose, which fa-
voured the *Turks*: for it filled their cisterns with water, while
it shattered the fleet, and overthrew the tents of the Christi-
ans on land. The hurricane being over, and the batteries
raised, they plied the town incessantly both by sea and land,
with their cannon and bombs, by which they hoped to re-
duce it; for, when they had made wide breaches, they had
neither men nor other preparations to storm them. They
failed also to burn the galliots and other vessels, which the
Turks had drawn close under the walls, for want of four
ships which stayed behind. At the same time, the officers
and soldiers on shore approaching the town nearer than was
safe or necessary to view the action, several were slain with
musket-shot, and among the rest admiral *Venier*, the best sea
officer belonging to the republic; while the besieged, from
the concurrence, apprehending an assault to be intended, fal-
lied, and put them to flight with some slaughter.

block it up. AFTER this the *Doge*, despairing of taking the place by
force, caused it to be blocked up; and, having battered down
the suburbs from his ships, sailed away, intending to spend
the remainder of the summer cruising in the *Archipelago*. But,
being seized with a violent fever, and a report flying that
the captain *Pasbâ* was at sea with a strong fleet, it was thought
proper to return to *Venice*, whither they directed their course
the 15th of *September*. While the *Doge* performed quaran-
tine at *Spalato*, news came in the beginning of *November*,
that the proveditor-general *Molino* had succeeded in his design
against *Trebigno*, having possessed himself in that country of
ten towers, seven of which he had demolished, and garri-
soned the other three, to check the incursions of the *Turks*:
to whose historians we shall now return.

Kyoprioli ABOUT the end of this campaign *Soltân Soleymân*, la-
made Wa- bouring under a dropsy, by advice of his physicians, removes
zir.

* *RICAUT*, ubi supra.

from

from *Adrianople* to his other capital, where he puts to death *Rejeb Pasbâ*, *Serafskier* of *Hungary*, for fighting with the *Germans* contrary to his orders. He likewise banishes the *Wazîr*, *Tefckiar Daghi Mostâfa Pasbâ*, to *Malgara*, a little town near *Rodoftus*, as a man unqualified either for war or the administration of affairs; and advances in his room *Kioşerli Mostâfa Pasbâ*, *Kaymaykam* of *Constantinople*. The new *Wazîr* immediately sends for the *Mufti* and *Kadio'laskers*, with the rest of the *Ulema*, and generals of the army, who, being met, he orders the interpreters of the law to give their opinion, whether it was proper to desire peace of the *Germans*, or recover by force what the confederates had unjustly seized? The *Mufti* first declares, that it was not contrary to the divine law to desire peace, even of Infidels, in times of necessity. The same opinion is embraced by the *Rumeli Kadio'lasker*: but the *Anadol Kadio'lasker* (A), either by the *Wazîr's* instigation, or because he saw his provinces out of danger, maintains it to be more eligible, that all the *Musulmans* should perish by the sword, than to make *Eynallak* with the *Gyawrs*; since thereby the honour of the prophet and the *Korân* would be wounded.

THE *Wazîr Kioşerli*, who approved of this speech, thereupon said, "That, as often as he had considered the conduct of the ministry for seven years past, against the emperor of *Germany*, he could not sufficiently wonder at the imprudence of the *Othmân* generals, the blindness of the counsellors, and the fearful or perverse minds of the interpreters of the law: that the two first minded nothing but to raise large armies, and fill the treasury by any means; while the *Ulema*, content with their stipends, and preferring ease to labour, never concerned themselves whether the *Othmân* state was well administered, or thought of reforming the vices of the people, which was the source of all the present calamities; but immediately approved of the proposals of peace, and almost forced it on the *Musulmans*. That when God, still more provoked by this infidelity, debarred them of peace upon honourable terms, they returned to their old practice, and cast the blame due to the subjects upon the emperor: that, having obtained their ends, they foretold the soldiers, at their departure, out of the law, that the *Gyawrs* would be driven from the *Othmân* borders: that yet this did not happen, and it was no wonder God did not assist the *Musulmân* forces, since good works, purity in the soldiers, and justice in the

speech in
council;

condemns
former mi-
nistres,

(A) That is the *Kadio'laskers*, of *Europe*, and *Anatolia*, or *Asia* or military lord chief justices *Minor*.

A. D. 1688. " rulers, those necessary conditions on which the prophet
 " *Mohammed* promised them success, had all along been
 " wanting: that for his part, to demonstrate the truth of
 " what he spoke, he desired only twelve thousand true fol-
 " lowers of the *Korân*, men pure in heart and mind; with
 " whom he trusted, by God's assistance, to humble the num-
 " berless forces of the *Gyawrs*, in such a manner as to oblige
 " them to restore all they had taken from the *Othmân* empire."

and peace
 advisers.

To this speech the *Mufti* replies, that, although the *Wazîr* had traced out the true causes of the corruptions, and the misfortunes consequent thereupon, yet they could hardly be corrected by the method he proposed; since the army wanted spirit, and the treasury money, the sinews of war. He added, that all people were in hopes of an approaching peace, raised by the letters lately sent by the ambassadors at *Vienna*. Upon this, the *Wazîr* asks who were the ambassadors, and what peace they were sent to make? The *Mufti* having informed him of the whole state of that affair, he is fired with indignation; and, in a long speech, shews, how much the authors of that embassy (of whom he deemed his predecessor to be the principal) had acted against the good of the empire. At last, raising his voice aloud, he cries out, " I account the ambassadors, with those who sent them, to be *Gyawrs*; and, as such, do I think they will be treated in the divine judgment: for no true *Musulmân*, versed in the precepts of the *Korân*, could have involved the *Soltân*, a prince of great mildness and simplicity, in so heinous and execrable a crime."

War re-
 solved on.

THIS strong disposition in the *Wazîr* to war is greatly encouraged by the *French* ambassador, who possesses the whole court with such a confidence in the arms of *France*, that a *Galibeh Diwân* (U) being called, it is unanimously resolved to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. However, that

(U) So is called the *Soltân's Diwân*, held every *Sunday* and *Tuesday*, under a *Kubbeh* in the large hall of the outer court, named *Babi Humayûn*, or the sublime *Porte*. The prime *Wazîr* presides in it, and has, on his right hand, the *Rumeli Kadî-lajker*; on his left, the *Anadol Kadî-lajker*, with the *Mufti* (if summoned), and the rest of the *Kubbeh Wazîrs*; and lower, the *Tesferdâr*. The *Reis Effendi*, and other chiefs of the *Kalemij*,

stand by: but the military officers, as the *Agâ* of the *Janizaries*, *Spahilar Agâs*, *Silkadar Agâs*, and the rest, sit without the *Diwân* at the gate of *Babi Humayûn*. The *Soltân* hears out of a window over the prime *Wazîr's* head, all that is done. The *Wazîr* is dressed in white silk, with a triangular turbân; the other great officers of the *Diwân*, in brown garments.—*Cont.*

the

the treaty, begun at *Vienna*, might not seem to be broken off without some reason, the *Wazîr* writes to acquaint the emperor's council; "that he had heard some persons were arrived at *Vienna* under the title of ambassadors from the *Porte*, and had proposed terms of peace in the *Soltân's* name: but that they were impostors, and had either forged the letters, which they pretended to have received from that prince, or procured them from the former *Wazîr*, without the *Soltân's* knowledge^b."

MATTERS being thus settled, he prepares for an early campaign, by applying his whole care to the raising an army, and providing warlike stores. But, finding what the *Mufti* had said to be true, that the *Othmâns* were seized with such terror, there were but little hopes of raising forces capable of opposing the *Germans*: that the treasury was exhausted, and the people every-where unwilling to perform their duty; he takes a different method of levying troops from that used by his predecessors, which he executes with wonderful art and success. The former *Wazîrs*, in their mandates, had required all persons, whose duty it was, to attend the wars; but he publishes a *Fermân* in another strain: he says in it, "That, as he found it necessary to trust the command of the *Othmân*-army, against the haughty *Germans*, to none but himself, so he would not employ, in this expedition, any soldiers forced into the service, as knowing the will was of more value with God than the deed: that he would only put the *Musulmans* in mind, that, by the precepts for raising soldiers; of God, and his prophet, every one is commanded neither to avoid martyrdom, nor despair of success, in defence of the law, and the extirpation of infidels: that every *Musulman* therefore, who thought himself obliged by this law, and had resolution to suffer every thing for the faith, ought to come, and list himself in his army: but that he who was doubtful, was afraid of being a martyr, or detained by affairs, which he believed would excuse him before God, from the service, should have the liberty of staying at home; where, after purging himself from all criminal actions, he ought daily to intercede with God for the army's success. It was added, that even tho' such a person should be of the military order, yet he should not only be exempt from punishment, but also enjoy his pay during his absence."

By this artful mandate both the soldiers and people of *Asia* are roused as it were from a profound sleep: for till *its surprising effect*.

^b CANT. p. 363. & seq.

A. D. 1688. then, whenever they were called to the wars, the greater part, for fear of the punishment threatened to the unwilling, hid themselves; and escaped the enquiry of the *Paſbās*, partly by gifts, and partly by artifice, and false pretences. But, when they find themselves called on, from motives of religion, to war against Infidels, not only those who received the pay, but others, who had been dismissed the service, prepare for the campaign, for fear of being accounted cowards, or *Gyawrs*, in case they staid at home. Thus what the former *Wazirs* could not effect by the severest threats, or by the *Paſbās*, *Kapuji*, and *Chauſb*; *Kyoprioli Moſtāfā Paſbā* accomplishes without any difficulty, by one word of the *Korān*; and raises more numerous forces than any *Wazir* had done, since *Kāra Moſtāfā Paſbā*.

*Reforms
the trea-
sury.*

HAVING, by this method, assembled an army, he turns his thoughts towards purging the treasury of money unjustly raised, and filling it by more honourable means. He finds the state of accounts in no less confusion than that of other affairs: for the *Wazirs*, and other great men, in the time of peace, had consumed most part of it under various pretences: they had also for bribes granted to some an exemption from tribute, and laid on others a greater burthen than they could bear. Afterwards, on the war breaking out, the *Teſterdārs* had invented various schemes to fill their empty coffers; by which they had so impoverished the citizens, that nothing was heard but the cries of people calling for the vengeance of God on their oppressors. The *Wazir*, with great application, removes all those abuses; restores to the treasury all the money which his predecessors, the *Paſbās* and secretaries, had taken away; establishes new laws for raising tribute; and orders, that no person of a different religion should be exempt from it. Whereby the *Greek monks*, before exempt, became subject to the *Haraj* (W), which he divides

(W) A set tribute, which all persons, not *Mohammedans*, are obliged to pay to the *Turkish* emperors, if he has a mind to be a subject of the empire. This tribute the *Korān* has fixed to be 13 drams of pure silver for all persons come of ripe age. But, in time, this sum being thought too small, three rixdollars were set upon each person's head, under *Mohammed II.* and his three successors; which was

afterwards lessened or encreased at pleasure, till this *Kioprioli* divided it as in the text.—The *Greek monks*, ever since the taking of *Constantinople* had been exempt from the *Haraj*, or *Karaj*, by virtue of a writing given by the pretended prophet *Mahammed*, to the monks of *Sinay*; but *Kioprioli* alledged this privilege to be spurious, or, if genuine, to extend only to the *Sinaitic monks*. *Cant.*

into

into three parts, that none might suffer by an unequal assessment; enjoining the richer sort to pay ten *Leonines* a year, those of a middle rank six, and the poor only three dollars.

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ALL the money which the devotion of their ancestors had left to the treasurers of the *Jâmi*, he brings into the publick treasury; and answers the *Muteveli*, who call it sacrilege, that wealth designed for religious uses, ought to be employed in religious wars; adding, that it was more conducive to the *Musulmân* interest, to maintain with it the defenders of the holy edifices, than enemies and robbers. He restores to their former integrity the judicial proceedings, which till then had been almost intirely venal; punishes the judges convicted of corruption with great severity; rescues those who are oppressed by false accusations without respect of persons; and prevents every-body from being injured. He orders that neither corn, nor any other provisions, should be violently demanded from the subjects (A), but purchased with ready money at such a price as they should think proper. By these measures having acquired a great reputation for prudence, justice, and sanctity, he prepares for the campaign; and lest so many alterations might in his absence occasion a sedition against the *Soltân*, he persuades him to remove to *Adrianople* in the spring^a, where we leave the *Wazîr* for a while, to see what was doing in the interim in *Hungary*.

*Seizes
church
treasure.*

*Reforms
the laws.
rs.*

HITHERTO the imperial arms had been prosperous to a surprising degree: but now the empire being furiously attacked within the very bowels of it, by the arms of *France*, which obliged the several *German* princes to provide for their own security, many of the troops who served in *Hungary* were called home. So that the main burden of the war fell on the emperor, which was carried on with various success, but for the most part prosperous, whilst under the auspicious direction of prince *Lewis* of *Baden*. However the year 1690 began not very favourably on *Leopold's* side: for the prince of *Holstein*, who in *Veterani's* absence commanded the army in *Albania*, hearing that the *Turks* ravaged the country, he marched to *Prisseren*, or *Prissina*, with some troops to meet them. From hence, on the first of *January*, he detached the prince of *Hanover* and colonel *Straffer* with sixteen hundred

*Kassensk
besieged.*

^a CANT. p. 365, & seq.

(A) This piece of justice recommended *Kiopri* to all the persons, without regard to their religion, of which prince *Cantemir* gives instances. Christians residing in *Turky*. His equity extended alike to all

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men to relieve the pass of *Kasseneh*, besieged by the *Turks*; where arriving next day they posted themselves with their backs to a morass, and planted four field-pieces against the *Turks*, who durst not attack them in that place: but keeping to the hills and woods, they detached one thousand *Tatars* into the plain, on sight of whom, *Strasser*, quitting his advantageous post, forced them to retreat.

The Germans
defeated.

MEAN time the *Germans*, being now in the open field, found themselves surrounded by thirty thousand of the enemy, against whom they maintained a battle from nine till three in the afternoon; when having spent all their powder and ammunition, they were at last totally defeated. Here the prince of *Hanover*, colonel *Strasser*, and count *Solari*, with most of the officers and soldiers, were slain on the spot, and most of the prisoners died of their wounds. However, five or six hundred men, by favour of the night and woods, got safe to *Belgrade*. On the fourth, *Piccolomini's* regiment, which was to join *Strasser*, under count *Montecelli*, having had no advice of the defeat, drew near to *Kasseneh*, and was presently surrounded by the *Tatars*: but the count retreating towards a morass, over which there was a bridge, sent a lieutenant with thirty horse to guard the other end of it. The *Tatars* after some time attacked them on both sides: but the lieutenant being relieved by two companies, they defended themselves valiantly till night; under shelter of which they retired to *Prisferen*, and thence marched to *Prokopia*.

Kanissa
surrenders.

By this time *Veterani*, appointed general in place of *Piccolomini*, arrived with some troops from *Transylvania*, at *Nissa*; which being a place open to the attack of the enemy, he fortified as well as he could. Mean time the pass of *Kasseneh* surrendered: but to pass by several small advantages of this kind gained by both parties; *Kanissa* was so straitly blocked up, that on the 16th of *March*, the garrison being greatly reduced, the *Pasba* sent two *Agas* to count *Bathiani*, offering to surrender, in case he was not relieved in four weeks. But that being refused, on the 19th the place was surrendered, on condition that the inhabitants should march-off with their arms and moveables into the *Othmân* dominions. The *Pasba* himself brought the keys of the city in a gilded bason, hanging on a gold chain; and delivering them to the count, said, *I deliver into your hands the keys of a fortress the like whereof there is none in all the Othmân empire.* This strong city was yielded rather thro' divisions among the officers, than for want of provisions, of which there were enough for four months. On the walls were mounted fifty-six brass and ten iron cannon. There were found also three thousand seven hun-

hundred and forty muskets, with abundance of warlike stores.

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It would be endless to take notice of every little action which happened before the opening of the campaign. But it is worth observing, that in order to make way for greater ones, the *French* ambassador at the *Othmân* court, after long solicitation, procured a *Baratz* or commission, declaring *Tekeli* prince of *Transilvania*, with the same power and privileges as had been granted to *Bethlem Ghabor*. Of this investiture *Tekeli* gave notice by his circular letters, bearing date the 26th of *June*, to all the cities and provinces, forbidding them to give any assistance to the *Germans*; and requiring them to join with him and the *Turks*, who were coming to deliver their country from the terrible oppression of the imperialists. In effect the many troops of *Tatars* which had already entered *Walakhia*, and the increase of *Tekeli's* troops, much alarmed the *German* generals; so that all the forces in and about *Transilvania* were ordered to march under general *Heussler* towards the passes which lead to *Walakhia*. At length, about the middle of *July*, the *Tatars* coming up the *Danube*, appeared before *Widdin* with four galleys and sixty other vessels, having five thousand men on board, and begun to fire on the town. On this news general *Trautmanſdorf* marching with his troops to the relief of the place, so plied the enemy with his cannon from the bank of the *Danube*, that they were compelled to fall lower down the stream to the other side of the river. After this, having furnished the town with a garrison, and provisions out of the boats which attended him (on the *Tinck*) he returned to the rendezvous at *Jagockina*. Widdin attacked.

But in *August* general *Veterani*, receiving advice that the grand *Wazir* was on his way towards *Nissa*, ordered all the troops in those parts to march to that city; where having left a garrison of three thousand foot and five hundred horse, he went back with the rest of the army, and encamped at *Alexin*^b. Now let us return to the *Turkish* historians, and attend the motions of the grand *Wazir*, who, about the beginning of *Shawal* 1101, marched with the whole army towards *Belgrade*; and being informed in his passage through *Kîz Darbend* (B), that several thousand *Germans* from that city The Wazir advances.
Hej.
1101.
A. D.
1689.

^b RICAUT, ubi supra.

(B) That is, the *Virgin's passage* (narrow gate or gap); one of the two passages over *Mount Hæmus*; the other is called *Kapul*

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city were coming to strengthen the garrison of *Nissa*; he sends *Selim Gyeray*, *Khân* of the *Tatars*, with part of the *Turkish* army, who falling upon them, now within sight of *Nissa*, soon puts them to flight. This victory revives the hopes of the *Othmâns*; and the *Wazîr*, to render God propitious to their arms, orders prayers to be made without intermission, both day and night, at *Constantinople*, *Adrianople*, and in the camp. Finding likewise that there were in the army a great number of boys unfit for arms, brought by profligate persons for detestable uses, he commanded by proclamation that all boys should be sent back, and if any should be discovered with any person for the future, he should be put to death without further examination: since that sin above all others deprived those polluted with it of the divine blessing; and the most pure God could not favour with his presence the camp where such an impurity was practised.

Takes
Shahr-
kyoy,

HAVING made those regulations, he marches into *Servia*, and assaults *Shahrkyoy* (C), a little city, which being better fortified by nature than art, five hundred *Hayduks*, who were in garrison, finding no succours appear on the fourth day, surrendered the castle, on condition of leave to depart (D); and when the *Janizaries* would have plundered them, they are restrained by the threats of *Kyoprili-ogli*, who told them it was neither honourable nor of advantage to take away the arms of the *Gyawrs*, since they could not injure the *Musulmâns* with them. He then admonishes those *Hayduks* not to go to *Nissa*, because as he intended to besiege that city, if any of them should be found there when it was taken, they could not expect to escape death. The *Hayduks* however, as soon as they left the *Turks*, retire to *Nissa*.

and Nissa.

PRESENTLY after the *Wazîr* lays close siege to that city, which was defended by count *Staremburg*, with three thousand *German* foot and fourteen hundred horse. Although that general made a brave defence more with a view to gain the imperialists time to secure *Belgrade*, than with any hopes

puli derbend, or the passage of the gate. On the east entrance of this passage are the ruins of a beautiful gate, supposed to be the work of *Trajan*, eight hours from *Tatar Pazajik*, and 12 from *Philippoli*. To the west of these passes is the village *Dragoman Kioy*, the last which was conquered by the arms of *Leopold*.
Cant.

(C) The same with *Pirostthin*, the Christian historians.

(D) *Ricaut* says there were but one hundred and fifty men in garrison at *Pyroth*; and that after three or four days siege they conditioned to be conducted to *Nissa*.

to save the place; yet the *Turks* pushed the siege with such vigour, that on the 25th day (E) the garrison surrendered on condition of going out with their arms. Some of the *Sháhr-kyoy Haydúks*, though in disguise, being discovered by the *Janizaries*, are forced by torture to confess all their companions, who were mixed with the *German* troops, and *Staremberg* obliged to deliver them up to the *Wazír*. He hangs part, and condemns the rest to the gallies, laying the same injunction on *Staremberg*, and under the same penalty, not to retire to *Belgrade*,* towards which city the *Wazír* marched; and having by the way taken possession of *Semendria* and *Widdin*, whose garrisons had abandoned them, comes in sight of it in the month of *Zilkaadeh*°. But before we enter upon the siege of this important fortress, it will be proper to add some particulars from the Christian historians, relating to that of the places already mentioned.

WHILE the siege of *Nissa* was going on, prince *Lewis* of *Widdin* *Baden* joined *Veterani* at *Jagodina*, where matters were con- taken. sidered for the relief of that city: but news arriving of general *Heusler's* defeat by the *Seraskier* and *Tekeli* in *Transilvania*, it was resolved to march thither with the greater part of the army; so that nothing could be done towards raising the siege, the *Germans* being then very weak in *Servia*. The *Wazír*, understanding that prince *Lewis* was on the retreat, and had withdrawn his forces from *Widdin* and *Semendria*, detached part of his army (which was reported to be thirty thousand foot and fifty thousand horse, besides fifteen thousand *Tatars* daily expected) to besiege *Widdin*: whose garrison at that time being no more than eight hundred men, they surrendered on the 29th of *August*,* before any breach was made in the walls; and on the 11th of *September* joined the prince's army.

MEAN time the garrison of *Nissa* being reduced to two thousand men, by the continual playing of cannon and bombs, *Semen-* and the counterscarp taken, general *Staremberg* surrendered *dria storm-* ed. on the 8th of *September*; on condition of marching out with bag and baggage, arms, and all other marks of honour. But the enemy did not faithfully observe the agreement; for the *Turks* robbed and disarmed many; and the *Tatars* pursued them as far as *Semendria* with design to cut them off. They found 90 cannon and mortars in *Nissa*, from whence they

* CANT. p. 368. RICAUT.

(E) It was summoned on the 14th of *August*, and surrendered the 8th of *September*. RICAUT.

marched

A. D. 1689. marched directly to *Belgrade*, by way of *Semendria*: whose garrison, though consisting of no more than one thousand men, under lieutenant-colonel *Weingartler*, bravely sustained a storm of their whole army; but being overpowered were all put to the sword^d.

Belgrade besieged, As soon as the *Wazîr* arrives at *Belgrade* he calls a council of the *Pasbâs*, to deliberate whether it was better to proceed by way of siege or blockade. They all advise the latter course; alledging, "That the city being well fortified by nature, and wonderfully strengthened by new works (F), as well as defended by a garrison of eight thousand *Germans*, besides so many regiments of *Bulgarians* and *Servians*, could not be subdued within the campaign, nor besieged without great loss: That if the garrison should make a vigorous resistance, and repulse the *Othmâns*, they would immediately lose the courage they had hardly yet recovered by their present successes: but that if the *Wazîr*, leaving *Belgrade* behind him, would with his army pass the *Save*, or fortify the banks, to prevent the enemies from passing, the garrison would that summer, or at farthest in winter, be obliged by famine to surrender. They added, that nothing was to be feared from the imperial army, since the greater part of it was employed in the war against *France*; and the rest, being abandoned by the *Hungarians*, would be more solicitous to defend their own camp than attack the *Othmân*."

and taken, THE *Wazîr*, though far from being of this mind, gives way to the majority, and surrounds the walls of the city for several days: But being informed that the imperialists were halting to its relief; he sees his error in complying unseasonably with his officers, and instantly opens the siege with one half of his army, appointing the other to hinder the enemy from passing the *Save*. By this change of measures he gained the city: but probably would have failed in his design, if, on the eighth day of the siege, a tower had not blown-up by means of a bomb, or by treachery, and demolished great part of the wall. For, hereupon, the *Turks* crying out, *that it was an evident proof of God's miraculous assistance*, rush into

^d RICAUT, ubi supra.

(F) The architect was *Andreas Cornaro*, a *Greek* of *Kandia*. He is charged by some authors with betraying *Belgrade*, but unjustly; for being

taken by the *Turks*, and discovered to be an architect, he was obliged to perform that service, and others: for which he was well rewarded, *Cont.*

the

the breaches before the *Germans* could prevent them, and for an hour resist the whole force of the garrison; who, overpowered by numbers, are then forced to retreat, after a great loss, though not unrevenged. A few, with their general *de la Croy*, escape in boats across the *Danube* ^e.

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ACCORDING to the Christian historians there were not above three thousand two hundred then in *Belgrade* fit for service. ^{by blow.}
• The *Wazir* invested this city on the first of *October*, with his ^{ing-up} troops; who having fired their artillery without waiting till the 8th (on which day the duke of *Croy* arrived by boat), stormed the palisades like madmen. Next morning the blue steeple of the castle, which was the principal magazine for powder, took fire, which was soon put out: But in the afternoon it took fire again, and blew up with such violence that it quite overturned the great bulwark which defended the castle; and destroyed one thousand of the garrison, who were drawn-up as well on the parade, as on the walls. So that there were not men enough to defend the breach against the enemy, who were ready to take advantage of the blow, and might have entered with whole squadrons. The duke of *Croy* also was wounded, and half buried in the rubbish of his lodgings.

It is thought this misfortune happened by the treachery of a *Turk* disguised in *German* habit; or of some *Frenchmen*, ^{of the magazines.} who had been employed in the magazines, and had that morning deserted. However, the besieged made the best resistance possible, till their remaining magazines and store-houses took fire, and blew-up one after the other in such a dreadful manner, that not only the greater part of the garrison perished, but one thousand *Turks*, at that time storming the walls, and entering the city, were also destroyed; while such as remained alive were forced to retreat to their camp, unable to proceed for the smoke. But so soon as it had cleared up a little, the enemy, observing the consternation which the remaining people were in, returned, and rather entered than stormed the city, where they found very few Christians living, or houses standing.
• Most of the boats were sunk with the rubbish which fell into them: those who escaped saved themselves by swimming over the *Danube* or the *Save*. General *Assremont*, who got-off with the duke of *Croy*, being blamed afterwards for neglect on this occasion, was cleared by an attestation under the hand of prince *Lewis* of *Baden* ^f.

^e CANT. p. 379.

^f RICAUT, ubi supra.

A. D. 1689. THE *Wazîr*, having thus reduced the bulwark of all Hungary sooner than he expected, sends five hundred *Spâhi's*, each with two horses, and as many bushels of meal, to the relief of *Temiswar*; which the *Germans* had blocked up for three years, after finding it impracticable, by reason of its difficult situation, to take it by assault. The city was defended by *Koja Jaffer Pâsbâ* (G), whose authority was so great with the soldiers, that although many perished by famine, yet the rest refused to feed upon cats and dogs, which are esteemed impure animals by the *Turks*. They were now reduced to such a degree of necessity, that when the *Spâhi's* arrived, the *Janizaries* seized on the meal like ravenous wolves. This occasioned a dispute which ended in a bloody fight between the two parties (H): of whom a great number on both sides being killed upon the sacks, the rest of the *Spâhi's*, with their *Pâsbâ*, are forced by the *Janizaries* to a speedy flight.

Lippa reduced, *KTOPRILI Pâsbâ*, having repaired the ruins of *Belgrade*, passes the *Danube*, and taking *Lippa*, drives the *German* garrison from *Orsova*. He then assaults *Essék*, a city at the conflux of that river with the *Drave*; in hopes by subduing it to secure his new acquisitions from the enemies incursions, and recover *Sclavonia*: but he was forced to abandon his design, by the resolution of the garrison joined to the approach of winter; and especially by the alteration of affairs in *Transilvania* &c.

with other places. AFTER the loss of *Belgrade*, the duke of *Groy*, having rallied about four hundred men, marched by the way of *Titul* and *Peterwaradin* to *Essék*, drawing all the force he could out of the garrisons to secure that place; which the *Wazîr* had ordered the *Pâsbâ* of *Bosnia* to attack, while he passed the *Danube* and besieged *Lippa*, on the *Marefik*, near *Arad*. At his approach the *Germans* quitted *Lugos* and *Karanzebes*. *Lippa* surrendered for want of all provisions, on very honour-

§ CANT. p. 370, & seq.

(G) That is, old *Jaffer*. He was famous for his military skill, prudence, and integrity. He fought several battles with the *Germans*, and held out *Temiswar* and *Belgrade* against them. He was slain at the battle of *Zenta* by the rebellious *Janizaries*. CANT.

(H) *Ricaut* mentions nothing of this affair. He only says, that on the news of the march of the *Turkish* horse being ordered for *Upper Hungary*, the *Germans* were so alarmed that they quitted the blockade of *Great Waradin*.

able conditions, after continual storms by the enemy, who lost eight hundred men to ten of the besieged. Mean time, on the 29th of *October*, *Hussayn*, *Pásbá* of *Bosnia*, appeared before *Essek* with twelve or fifteen thousand men, who, thinking to carry the place at once, immediately stormed the counter-scarps; but were repulsed with great slaughter by the garrison, though consisting only of two thousand men. The *Pásbá*, finding himself mistaken in his account, began to open trenches and raise batteries; with which, by the fifth of *November*, they had demolished almost all the houses in the town, and seemed to prepare again for a general storm: but the duke and other generals having entered into the counter-scarps with undaunted resolution to oppose them, they attempted nothing, as if struck with fear. The duke then returned to his lodgings, where three *Turks* were brought to him; who being asked why the enemy had made so violent an assault without either trenches or earth to cover them? answered, That their design was to have taken the town, if possible, before the Christian army arrived, which they heard was hastening to relieve it. The duke hereupon sent out all the music in the town to some troops beyond the *Drave*, with orders to march to and fro in the night, causing different marches to be beaten, and trumpets sounded from several quarters; which so alarmed the *Turks*, that they immediately raised their camp, and fled towards *Bosnia*. The news of this deliverance being carried to *Vienna*, the duke of *Croy* and general *Staremborg* were mightily cried up for the stratagem^b. Let us now look into the affairs of *Transylvania*. About the beginning of this year *Michael Apafi* (I), prince of that country, died without issue, and left all his dominions to the emperor of *Germany*. On the other hand, the *Turks* had appointed *Tekeli* to be prince, and sent to his assistance the *Seraskier*, with ten thousand *Turks*, the *Khán* of *Tartary*, and *Constantine Brankovan* (K), prince of *Walakhia*. The confederate forces, under his conduct, penetrate into *Transylvania*, through the mountains of *Walakhia*, at the foot of which they unexpectedly inclose *Heusler*, general of the *German* troops appointed for defence of that province. *Heusler*, finding him-

Essek at-
tempted.

The siege
raised.

Tranfil-
vania
taken,

^b RICAUT, ubi supra.

(I) He was of no great family, being son only of the chief magistrate of *Cibinina*.—Cant.

(K) Known in *Europe* by the

three names of *Kantakuzenir Brankovan*, and *Bassaraba*; all which he pretended belonged to his family, though in fact they did not.—Cant.

self

A. D. self drawn into this danger by the treachery of *Brankovan*,
1689. endeavours to open a passage with his sword, and bravely

and reco-
vered

sustains the first onset of the enemy. Yet in the heat of the battle the *Hungarians* deserting the *Germans*, attack them in flank, who, terrified at this perfidy, attempt to escape by flight: but being inclosed by the enemy, are almost all either slain or taken; and among the latter, *Heusler* himself¹. According to the Christian historians, the *Turkish* army consisted of sixteen thousand horse, two thousand *Janizaries*, and five hundred *Talpats*. With these *Tekeli*, under whom were nine *Pâshâ's*, marched over mountains towards the pass of *Terezwar*, about three leagues from *Kronstadt*; where general *Heusler* lay encamped, with seventeen hundred horse, and five thousand *Transilvanians*, called *Zeklers*, from the province

by Tekeli.

so named, under general *Tolecki*. The imperialists, nothing dismayed at the appearance of such unequal forces, with their right-wing, furiously attacked and put to flight the left of the enemy; who would have been intirely defeated, had the *Zeklers* seconded so good a beginning: but they flying without firing a musket, the *Germans*, after a long and bloody fight were put to the rout. In this action six generals, among whom was *Tolecki*, were killed, besides five hundred horse: the rest retreated to *Hermanstadt* with thirteen standards, twenty-nine colours, with four pieces of cannon, having been taken by the enemy, who lost three thousand men².

Driven
out again

TEKELI, after this victory, marches farther, and is received by all the inhabitants of the province with great acclamations. But before he could establish himself in his new acquisition, the prince of *Baden*, hearing that *Belgrade*, which he intended to have relieved, was lost, marches his forces into *Transilvania*, and having taken several cities, endeavours to subdue the rebellious prince. *Tekeli*, diffident of his strength, on the news of the other's approach, abandons *Cibinium* (or *Hermanstadt*) and retires again into *Turky*; from whence he never after ventured to return¹.

by prince
Lewis.

To enter into particulars from the Christian historians: prince *Lewis* having, on the news of *Heusler's* defeat in *Transilvania*, departed from *Jagodina* in *Servia* with all the force which could be spared, as hath been already mentioned, passed the *Danube* near *Semendria*; and on the 16th of *September* arrived at *Karansebes*. On the 21st they marched thro' the *Iron Gate*, a pass which leads into that province, and encamped near the ruins of *Vulpia Trajana*, a *Roman* colony, where many of the nobility came in to him; whilst the *Rascians*

¹ CANT. p. 371, & seq. ² RICAUT, ubi supra. ¹ CANT. p. 375.

entered *Walakhia*, and put all to fire and sword with the utmost cruelty. *October* the 3d, he came to *Hermanstadt*, the capital, and thence to *Medies*, where several parties of the enemy were defeated. All this while *Tekeli* and his troops never shewed themselves, keeping at least six leagues distant from the imperialists. As soon as he arrived at *Czick*, on the borders of *Walakhia*, the prince of that country left him to secure his territories against the *Rascians*; and afterwards the *Transilvanians* deserted him. Mean time, being pursued by prince *Lewis*, he was chased through the whole country; and at length was near being surprised about *Marienburg*. Hereupon, affrighted, he fled by the pass of *Bocz* into *Walakhia*; and thus ended his short reign in *Transilvania*.

ON the first of *December* prince *Lewis* arrived at *Zatmar*, on the *Samos* in *Upper Hungary*; at what time the *Wazir's* son, with fifteen thousand men, ravaged the country, and summoned *St. Jobs*: but the prince, having no more than two thousand horse with him, durst not venture out against them. However, being joined soon after by *Negrilli* with two thousand more, he pursued a body of twelve thousand *Turks*, who ravaged the parts about *Glausenburg*, and drove them quite out of *Transilvania*. The campaign concluded on this side by the surrender of the *Isle of Orsova* (in the *Danube*, and borders of *Walakhia*) to the *Turks*, for want of ammunition. The governor, upon the articles granted, desired to be conducted to *Belgrade*; and although the *Turks* were honest enough to tell him, that it was then in their hands, he would not believe them, but insisted to be convoy'd thither. In this at length they obliged him, to the fatal cost of him and his people, who were six hundred men, besides women and children: for when they came to that city, all the men were confined in prisons, where most of them died, excepting those under twenty, whom they circumcised, and compelled to become *Mohammedans*. As for the women and children they were sold, and all the effects of the unhappy captives seized^m. Let us now proceed to the war in other provinces.

Orfawa
taken.

The gover-
nor's folly.

IN the eleventh month of the same year (L), the king of *Poles* in-
Poland at last brings also his forces into the field, and passing
the *Tyras* (or *Niefter*) enters *Moldavia*; but *Cantemir*, prince
of that country, knowing what troublesome guests the *Poles*
used to be, forbids the inhabitants, under a severe penalty,

wade Mol-
davia

^m RICAUT, ubi supra.

(L) Which falls in *August* 1690.

A. D.
1689:Without
success.Venetian
victories.

to sell or carry any corn to them. This obliges the king, who had already passed the *Hierafus* (or *Pruth*) at *Stephanasti*, to send back some of his troops to procure provisions from other parts. These troops coming to *Soroka*, a city on the *Tyras*, and finding it destitute of defence, yet full of stores, take it without opposition; and leaving a strong garrison, return with the provisions to the camp.

THE king, relieved by these supplies, marches as far as *Takobeni*, a valley five miles from *Jassi*; but hearing that *Buyukli Mostöfa Paschá*, with *Náradin Soltán*, were advancing against him, he resolves to return to *Poland*. The provisions brought from *Soroka* being spent, he is again obliged to pass through the mountain country; where they are closely followed by the *Tatars*, who kill, or take prisoners, a great number of them, as they are gathering fruits in the woods. His return would have been very difficult, if the prince of *Moldavia*, desirous to drive out the *Poles*, but not destroy them, had not diverted the *Seraskier* for a pursuit; by telling him that they were then near their own borders, and unable to do the inhabitants any hurt. Had that general advanced with his army, scarce a *Pole* could have escaped: for they were so greatly distressed by famine, that the horse voluntarily submitted to the *Tatars* (M); declaring that they would rather be captives than expire with hunger.

OF all the Christian powers the *Venetians* alone met with success. In the beginning of the campaign *Monembesia* (or *Malvasia*) the only place which opposed them in the *Morea*, and had been blocked up for two summers, is besieged by them, and soon obliged by famine to surrender (N). At sea, their admiral *Daniel Delphino* puts to flight the *Kápudán Páshá*, near *Mitylene*, after sinking and taking several of his ships. Afterwards *Cornaro* reduces *Kanina* and *Vallona*;

(M) There is hardly an example in history of an army, which was ever so dispersed without fighting, or reduced to so much misery; although the *Polish* historians conceal it with much care, and extol their king's triumphs. I saw certain *Tatars* bring back each seven *Poles* fettered. They were become so weak with hunger, that they could make no resistance. Their captors not having food sufficient for them, sold them almost

all for three *Taokhimis* apiece. — *Cant.* Neither prince *Cantemir*, nor count *Marfigli*, in his *Etat. Milit. Emp. Othm.* tell the value of this coin.

(N) *Ricaut* says, that turning the blockade, which had held seventeen months, into a formal siege, they battered the city both by sea and land. Hereupon the inhabitants, tired out, presently surrendered on the 12th of *August*, on condition of being transported to *Candia*.

while

while in *Dalmatia*, *Fin Ali Pasbâ* (O), governor of *Hercegovina*, assaults *Nisikhos* and *Kuzzos*, but is defeated, taken prisoner, and his forces dispersedⁿ. A. D. 1689.

RICAUT makes no mention of this defeat of the *Kapudân Pasbâ*; but is particular in his account of the taking of the *Kannina* following places. The *Venetians* landed on the 11th of *Septembei* at *Valona*, and drove seven thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, who opposed them, beyond the fortrefs of *Kannina*, situate on the top of a high craggy rock, four miles distant. Against this fortrefs they raised batteries in twenty-four hours, and attacking it furiously on all sides, the *Turks*, after the town was entered, yielded, on condition of marching out with their baggage. Mean time general *Spar* marched ten miles in pursuit of the fugitives, who on sight of him confusedly fled. The captain-general after this appeared with his whole army before *Valona*; and on the 18th sent a menacing summons to the garrison, who, as if designing to make stout resistance sent no answer, but in the night silently stole away. They got in both places one hundred and thirty-four pieces of cannon, some brass, some iron.

• As for the affair of *Hercegovina*, or *Arzigovina*, as our *Other* author calls it, the *Pasbâ Kin Ali*, with three thousand men, *had a design to surprize the new conquered Greek subjects of the Venetians at their Easter devotions: but the people of Nixikhi (or Nisikhos) being informed of it, on his approach, left their churches, and after a sharp conflict routed him, slaying seven hundred of his men; and having taken, carried him in chains to Katano. With the like happy success was the strong fortrefs of Filipovich, near Glamez, taken and destroyed by order of general Molino. But the affairs of the Venetians did not succeed so well this year by sea; for in March two of their men of war, the St. Iseppo and St. Mark, being attacked near Kandia by Mezzo Morto, Dey of Algiers, with ten Sultana's, after the bravest resistance that could be imagined, the latter was blown-up, and the other taken, although it sunk in the night with all its cannon, four hours after.*

ⁿ CANT. p. 373, & seq.

^o RICAUT, ubi supra.

(O) *Fin* is the name of certain devils, of a grosser kind than *Shaytan* (or *Satan*). They are supposed to be male and female, and get children. Those who use their parts to the pre-

judice of others, are called *Fin*, and said to have the mind and cunning of those devils. *Cant.* He is written *Zin Alee* in *Ricaut*, Z being used for I consonant.

A. D. 1689. *The Wazir triumphs.* THE campaign being over in *Hungary*, the *Wazir* returns with his army to *Adrianople*, where he is received by the people as their deliverer: But the physicians being of opinion that the air of that city did not agree with the *Soltán*, who laboured under a dropsy, *Kyoprili* departs with him to *Constantinople*, which he enters in a triumphant manner. For three days there were rejoicings, accompanied with feasts and games, which the *French* ambassador gave, with no less expence than the *Turks*; thereby to shew them how acceptable the defeat of the Christians was to the most Christian king.

AFTER this the *Wazir* applies himself to raising a new and more powerful army than the former, to prosecute the *Hungarian* war, the command of which he resolves to take in person. He appoints *Mostafa Pasbâ* to be *Seraskier* against the *Poles*; and *Kaplân Ali Pasbâ* against the *Venetians*. This last, encamping at the river *Celidnus*, restrains the *Albanians*, just ready to revolt. He also takes possession of *Kunina* and *Val-lona*, reduced by the *Venetians* the year before, and now deserted by them.

Affairs of Hungary. As to the affairs of *Hungary*, it would be too tedious to relate every action which happened before the opening of the campaign in 1691. The brave prince of *Hanover* we find so early as *January* marching against count *Tekeli*, at the pass of *Terez*; but advancing before his troops was shot dead from an ambuscade near the village of *Sernist*. On the other hand, the castle of *Tacket*, and fort *Waradin*, were taken by colonel *Pöhländ*; who also defeated the general of *Walakhia* near *Karansébes*, and hindered a great body of *Turks* and *Tatars* from breaking into *Transilvania*. Of these he killed above a thousand, and took three hundred prisoners, besides much booty. In *February* the garrison of *Great Waradin* were defeated by count *Nigrelli*; and although the *Turks* took the castle of *Novi*, yet the *Kroats* defeated them near that place, and killed a thousand upon the spot.

Lugos and Khonad taken. NOR were they less unfortunate at *Lugos*, where colonel *Pöhländ* drew the garrison into an ambush; and pursuing them to the castle, had it surrendered after eight hundred and fifty of the defendants were slain out of one thousand. Soon after the garrison of *Segedin* having surprised the city of *Khonad*, and killed all the inhabitants, the *Turks* abandoned the castle in the night. In *March* the governor of *Essék* sent out *Percilia*, who, with 400 men, surprised and destroyed *Inik*, with all in it; routed a body of *Turks* and *Tatars*, kill-

ing twelve hundred; and returned with a great booty. In like manner *Antonio*, the famous *Rascian* captain, took the castle of *Karakowar*, situated on a high rock, by stratagem. After this he attacked ten ships sailing from *Widdin* with provisions for *Belgrade*, and took two of them; two others fell into the hands of the *Rascians* near *Modava*; and the rest returned. He likewise by artifice dispersed a thousand *Turks* on their *March* to surprise *Lugos*.

A. D.
1699.

It being now *June*, when the year began to be fit for greater actions, count *Guido* of *Staremburg* drew together the troops from several parts to *Sauseberg*; during which the *Rascians* surprised *Tätul*, and put four hundred *Turks* to the sword. Mean while *Veterani*, the general in *Servia*, hearing that 300 ships laden with provisions, under the convoy of four thousand men, were designed from *Widdin* to *Belgrade*, he sent *Pohland* and *Antonio* to intercept them with four thousand men. These drawing together so close that they appeared not to be above four hundred, the *Turks* detached one thousand *Janizaries* first, and then another party, out of which one thousand were killed, beside many drowned in their retreat; but the ships escaped by getting to the other side of the river. Soon after this a party of *Rascians* took four hundred waggons, laden with provisions, between *Belgrade* and *Temiswaer*. Another party attacked *Kathina Mostäsa*, and slew fifteen hundred of his men, near *Mitrovitz*, which the *Turks* thereupon quitted.

Titul sur-
prised.

ALL things were now ready for the *Hungarian* expedition; but the *Wazir* deferred setting-out on account of *Soleyman's* illness; for he feared that if the *Soltân* should die while he was absent, one of *Mohammed's* sons might succeed, and deprive him either of the *Wazirship*, or command of the army. At length *Soltân Soleyman*, exhausted by an inveterate dropsy, dies on the 26th of *Ramazan* 1102 (P), having lived fifty-two years, and reigned three years nine months.

Soleyman
dies.

SOLEYMAN was from his infancy a valetudinarian, of a gross body, low stature, a pale and bloated face (Q), with eyes like an ox, a black oblong beard, with a mixture of grey hairs; of a heavy understanding; easily moved by the whispers of his chamberlains, and the *Koltük Wazirleri* (R):

Hefj.
1102.
A. D.
1691.

Person and
character.

but

* *RICAUT*, ubi supra.

(P) *June* 11th 1692.

(Q) *Ricaut* says he had a long and lean visage, but not an ungraceful aspect. In other respects

he agrees with the *Turkish* historian.

(R) So called from having alone the privilege of touching

A. D. 1691. but none among the *Othmân Soltâns* was more eminent for sanctity, devotion, and (S) observance of the law^r. *Ricaut* says, that as books were his entertainment in his confined life, so he seemed to have had an affection for them in the choice he made of *Kupriogli* for his favourite, who was esteemed a learned man in that country, and to have had the best library of any man in the whole empire: however *Soleyman* was no other than a dull, heavy, simple, and weak man, fitter to be a *Derwisb* than an emperor^r.

C H A P. XXI.

The Reign of Ahmed II.

21 Soltân Ahmed II. **T**HE death of *Soleyman*, though long expected and wished for, yet filled the *Othmân* court with new and secret commotions. The nobles, with almost all the people, were for advancing either *Mostafa* or *Ahmed*, sons of *Mohammed*; and some were even for *Mohammed* himself, whom they had deprived of the crown. The choice of any of these was dangerous to the *Wazîr*: for if *Mohammed* should be restored, he was apprehensive of his life; as being suspected to have been pretty deeply concerned in the sedition which deposed him. On the other hand, if either of that prince's sons were elected, he was afraid lest those youths, who had been liberally educated in the palace, contrary to the custom

^r CANT. p. 375, & seq.

^r RICAUT. ubi supra.

the *Soltân* when he walks, or gets on horseback, or of supporting him under the *arm-pits*: which last word *Koltûk* signifies. They are the chief courtiers, who have a prospect to be made *Wazîrs* or *Paşâs*, when vacancies happen; and among them are the six chief officers at court.—
Cant.

(S) The *Turks* have no *Soltân*, whose holiness they so much extol. They even ascribe miracles to him. Among the rest, they say, when first placed on

the throne^r he leaped from thence, and went to a cistern; where finding no water, he, by pronouncing the word *Bismillahi*, brought water out of the marble; and having taken *Abdest*, commanded it to return in again. On other occasions he knew not the most common affairs of life. One day he took some round fishes roasted for cakes, and next day asked for more of those cakes.—
Cant.

of the other *Shehzâdeh*, and already instructed in the administration of affairs, might divest him of both his employments.

IN order therefore to avoid the danger, he resolves to advance *Ahmed*, younger brother of *Soleymân*, and not superior to him in wisdom. Accordingly, by the authority which he had gained among all the people, by his successes the last year, he procured him to be unanimously saluted *Soltân* the second day after his brother *Soleymân*'s death. However, lest the malecontents should take occasion from the new *Soltân*'s stupidity to raise a sedition, he departs with him to *Adrianople*, in the beginning of *Shawâl*, where he applies himself intirely to preparations for war. The *Musulmâns*, excited by the success of the last campaign, voluntarily come from all parts, in such numbers that there never was before so numerous an army seen in the *Othmân* camp. The *Wazîr* hereupon orders the *Pasba*'s not to bring more forces into the field than had been appointed: since being to fight against the *Gyawrs*, he said, there was no occasion for a great army; which besides might want provisions before they reached *Buda*.

Numerous
army

of volun-
tiers.

* BUT the soldiers, regardless of this order, flock together in still greater numbers: declaring it was not for hopes of pay, but out of zeal for their law, that they entered into the service: and therefore could be content with their wallet, and place their whole happiness in either becoming *Gâzi* (A), under so successful a general, or being crowned with *Shehâdet* (B).

THE *Wazîr*'s fame thus greatly increasing, envy, the perpetual attendant upon merit, could not but cast her darts upon him from the court, her favourite residence. The *Kizlar Agâsi*, and other officers of the inner palace, uneasy to find that *Kyoprill Oglî* was now possessed of the interest which before they had in the *Soltân* and people, who now despised them, all conspire his destruction; and abusing the stupidity of their master, fill his mind with suspicions against the *Wazîr*. They inform him, that the prime minister was contriving to depose him; and had prevailed on the *Janizaries* to set up *Mostafa*, son of *Mohammed*, as soon as he should decamp from *Adrianople*. The *Soltân*, persuaded by this accusation, asks what he thought was to be done? The *Kizlar*

A plot laid

(A) *Gâzi*, or *Ghâzi*, signifies the *Mohammedans* hold that all one who conquers in a religious war, or on account of religion. who are slain in battle against *Gyawrs*, or infidels, die martyrs.

(B) That is, *Martyrdom*; for

A. D. 1691. *Agasi* advises him to send the *Baltajilar Kyehayasi* (C), to tell the *Wazir* he wanted to speak with him, and then to do as he thought fit, when he had him in his power.

against the
Wazir.

Discover-
ed by a
mule.

DURING the time this eunuch was suggesting these things to the *Soltân*, *Dilsîz Mohammedi Aga*, a mute (D), held the curtain of the door; and discovering by the motions of their lips and hands, that they were concerting to depose the *Wazir*, hastens to that minister, and gives him, by signs, an account of the whole affair. While he was yet telling his story, comes the *Baltajilar Kyehayasi*, and acquaints the *Wazir* that the *Soltân* in haste wanted to speak with him. *Kyopriliogli* finding by this that the mute's account must be true, immediately orders a horse to be gotten ready for him, and the messenger to go before, telling him that he would presently follow. When he is gone the *Wazir* sends privately for the *Janizar-Aga*, and some other *Ojak-Agalari*, whom he knew to be his friends; and, having, in a speech, related the services he had done the empire, by recovering several provinces lost by his predecessors, and what he was likely farther to do by the numerous forces he had raised, tells them, that all was going to be overturned, and they with himself to be removed from the army, by the artifices of some at court, who had persuaded the *Soltân*, a prince of great goodness, but unskilled in the administration of government (E), that the *Wazir* and *Janizaries* were plotting to depose him. He adds, that as he foresaw one of the haughty courtiers would succeed him, who might reduce the *Othman* affairs to a worse condition than ever; he was therefore willing to remind those his friends, that after his removal or death (which, he said, he wished for, that he might not see the approaching ruin of the empire), they would take on them the care of the state, which the emperor was incapable of: "for, concludes he, I scruple to make any resistance to my *Soltân's* commands; and therefore have determined

(C) The chief officer of the regiment of the *Baltaji* (hatchet men, or battle-axes); he is subject, in other respects, to the *Kizlar Agasi*.—*Cant.*

(D) There are many of these in the palace, whose only business is to hold up the curtain before the door of the room, where the *Soltân* is talking in private with any of his great

men. Nor are either they, or the dwarfs, and buffoons, ever employed, as most *Europeans* have affirmed, to put persons privately to death, or even sent on any serious message.—*Cant.*

(E) And who knows not how to return any answer to what is proposed to him but *Khoosh, Khoosh*.

" to-morrow, with your consent, to resign to him the seal of the empire, and desire leave to go to *Mekka*." A. D. 1691.

THE *Wazir-Aga*, and the rest of the officers, on hearing the *Wazir's* speech, call the *Soltân* stupid, imprudent, simple, and cry out that he is swayed by his courtiers like boughs shaken by the wind: adding, that if he should persist in his design, they had rather depose him than *Kyoprili Oglu*, the defender of the law, the restorer of the *Othmân* empire, and the invincible general. They promise to shed their blood in defence of a single hair of his head; binding themselves by oath never to suffer any other general during his life, and to execute his commands with the utmost alacrity. The *Wazir*, who had sent for the officers only to sound how they stood affected to him, finding that he might depend on them, sends an answer by a *Talkhisb* (F), " That as he was mounting his horse, he was informed that the soldiers, for some injury received from the courtiers, were raising a sedition; that he imagined he might safely defer his obedience to the *Soltân's* command, in order to put a stop to it: that with such a view he had sent for the officers of the army, and would acquaint his majesty next day with the course that should be taken for appeasing the commotion." *Sounds the soldiery.*

NEXT day he informs the *Soltân*, by another *Talkisb*, that he had done his utmost to extinguish the latent flame among the soldiers; but found them so presumptuous as to refuse to return to their duty, till the *Kizler Agasi* was dismissed, and his secretary delivered-up to a trial. He therefore intreats his majesty, that now the army was ready to set out, and himself full of hopes of success, he would not, by an unreasonable indulgence to his officers, stop the progress of victory, and expose himself to great danger. The *Kizler Agasi*, who, by this letter, perceived his designs were betrayed to the *Wazir*, desires the *Soltân* to sacrifice him, though a faithful servant, he said, to the good of the empire. But *Ahmed* refusing, through fondness to the deceiver, the *Wazir* sends a third *Talkhisb*; which obliges the *Soltân*, for fear of worse consequences, to do as he had desired. Accordingly the *Kizler Agasi* was banished to *Egypt*; and his secretary, when *ruins his enemies.*

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* CANT. Hist. Othm. p. 377, & seqq. in Ahmed II.

(F) That is, a relation, or account; the name given to the letters sent by the *Wazir* to the *Soltân* about publick affairs; which, if rejected, is reckoned

a great sign of his being in danger. The *Talkisb* must be written by the *Reis Effendi*, or high chancellor, and carried in form. —Cant.

A. D. 1691. brought to the *Wazîr*, was ordered to be hanged in his habit, with a silver ink-pot at his girdle.

Takes the field.

THAT minister being thus confirmed in his post, to cut off all opportunity from the other court-officers to make the like attempts against him, three days after he removes the army out of *Adrianople*; and, encamping near the city, prepares every thing necessary for the campaign. Here he receives, with great honour, an ambassador from *William III.* king of *England*, who came to offer his master's mediation for settling a peace (A). The *Wazîr* declares he was ready to agree to one upon honourable conditions; but, in reality, intended only to amuse the *Germans*, till he made himself master of *Buda*. With this view, he marched with his army to *Belgrade*: but, being there informed, that the imperialists, under *Lewis*, prince of *Baden*, had taken the field, and were advanced to *Peterwaradin*, he directs his course thither; on whose approach the *German* general pitches his camp near *Iflankamen*, on the banks of the *Danube*, and strongly fortifies it.

Battle of
Iflankamen.

THE *Wazîr* soon after comes up, and places his troops to the right of the imperial camp, in order to prevent their return. At the same time five thousand *Germans*, marching in haste to reinforce prince *Lewis*, are intercepted, and inclosed by the *Turks*, in sight of the emperor's army, so that not one of them escaped being killed or taken prisoners. The *Germans*, who before had designed to attack the *Othmâns*, on this disaster lose their resolution; and their general too late perceives his error, in suffering himself to be shut-up in so narrow a space, where he could neither open his troops, nor defend them from the enemy's cannon: so that, there being no other way to extricate himself from this dangerous situation, he resolves to force a passage with the sword. While he meditates this design, the *Turks*, flushed with their late success, rush furiously on the *German* camp, as if they would destroy the whole army at one effort. The battle continues for six hours doubtful, with equal courage, but with unequal strength. The imperialists, now turning despair into resolution, pass the *Turkish* trenches; and the *Turks*, out of shame for loss,

(A) *Ricaut* places this affair in the reign of *Solyman*, and says, the ambassador, *Sir William Hussy*, set-out for *Constantinople* on the 12th of *June* (which was the day after the *Soltân* died). He proposed a *Uri possidetis*; but the *Wazîr*, seeming to be intent on war,

did not declare himself on the subject. *Sir William's* arriving so late, for he did not get to *Adrianople* till *June*, was owing to the *Germans* slowness; who, though they wished for peace, were very dilatory in giving him their instructions.

of the victory snatched out of their hands, drive the imperialists back into their works, which they, in their turns, penetrate.

At last, when the victory seems inclined to the *Othmâns*, the *Wazîr*, to dismay by his presence those who still resisted, with his own troop attacks the right wing of the *Germans*, where he saw the greatest opposition: but, in the heat of the battle, being wounded in the temples by a musket bullet, he falls from his horse; and, by his death, transfers the victory, already obtained, to the *Germans*: for his chamberlains, confounded at this unexpected disaster, call their companions, and other officers present, to take up their master's body; during which time the *Tubulkhâna* (B) ceases to sound. This cessation occasions great disorder among the *Othmân* troops now victorious: so that the horse, seized with a panic, abandoning the foot, first take to flight, and are soon followed by the *Janizaries*. The imperialists, who were fighting, not with the hopes of victory, but that they might not die unrevenge, beholding the unexpected flight of the enemy, advanced but slowly, that the *Janizaries* might have opportunity to retreat: for their strength was so spent, that they could not have stood another engagement.

THE rest of the *Turkish* foot, when they perceive the *Janizaries* to fly, quitting their cannon and camp, follow them with the utmost precipitation. There fell in the battle twenty-eight thousand *Turks*, but not above three thousand *Germans*, exclusive of the above-mentioned five regiments. However, when *Leopold* was informed of the victory, he is reported to have said, that he should be unwilling to conquer often upon such terms, since he could scarce repair the loss of eight regiments in three years; whereas the *Soltân* could supply the loss of even eighty thousand men in eighty days. After this victory, the prince of *Baden* recovers *Lippa*, taken by the *Turks* the year before, and closely besieges *Waradin*; while the *Turkish* army, continuing their flight to *Belgrade*, there stop, and make *Ali Pashâ* their *Seraskier*.*

THUS the *Turkish* historians write. Let us now see if our historians agree with them. The *Wazîr* being arrived at *Belgrade*, with an army of one hundred thousand men, besides a vast number of ships and galleys, one hundred of them

* CANT. Hist. Othm. p. 381, & seqq.

(B) Warlike musick, which in battle is always near the *Wazîr*, and continually playing to animate the soldiers; so that, if it happens to cease, the *Janizaries* take it for an ill omen, and can scarce be restrained from flight. Cant.

A. D.
1691.

were sent, with four thousand men under command of a *Pasbá*, to attack *Titul*; which, on the fourth day, was surrendered by captain *Thos*, on condition that the garrison, consisting of only one hundred and twenty *Germans*, and two hundred *Rascians*, should be conducted to the imperial army. But, when they came to march out, the *Pasbá's* lieutenant would not suffer the *Rascians* to pass, giving orders to put them all to the sword. *Thos*, resolved not to bear this treachery, came to such high words with the *Pasbá*, that the latter drew his simeter; but *Thos*, being too quick for him, shot him dead with a pistol, and then another *Turk* near him. The breach now being irreconcilable, he caused his men to fire on the *Turks*; whence ensued a most desperate fight. But the imperialists, being overpowered by numbers, they were almost all slain, after killing five hundred of the enemy.

Prince
Lewis
marches

MEAN time prince *Dewis*, being arrived on the 29th of *July* at *Peterwaradin*, next day sent word to the *Wazir*, by a spy who was taken, that he was marching towards him with his whole army; which soon after, by reinforcements, amounted to sixty-six thousand and seventy men. With these he advanced first to *Carlowitz*, and then to *Salankement* (C); where being informed, that the whole *Turkish* army had passed the *Save*, and encamped at *Semlin* (or *Semelin*) on the *Danube*, opposite *Belgrade*, he marched on the 12th of *August* within cannon-shot of the *Turkish* camp. This being posted on a rising ground, not to be attacked without great disadvantage, it was resolved next day to march back to *Salankement*, where their provisions were lodged; the enemy being too strong in shipping for their vessels to attend them. The 16th, the imperial forces began their march, which the *Turks*, mistaking for a flight, on the 17th attacked their rear, but were repulsed with loss. It was now expected that next day there would be a general battle. But, instead of that, the *Wazir*, following the advice of the *French* who were about him, marched half a league beyond them (D), that he might cut-off their communication with *Peterwaradin*; and there the *Turks* posted themselves with such expedition, that, in twenty-four hours, they had fortified their

to Salan-
kemen.

(C) Or *Slankemen*; which, according to count *Marfigli*, who gives a plan of the battle, is a ruined castle on the south side of the *Danube*, opposite to the mouth of the river *Teissa*. *Etat*.

milit. de l'emp. Ottoman. part ii. p. 96.

(D) Count *Marfigli* says, he made this forced march under favour of the night.

camp

camp with regular walls the height of a man, and bastions planted with cannon, leaving only a passage for coming in and going out of the camp.

THIS was an unlucky step for the *Germans*: for, by that means, not only fourteen hundred recruits fell into the enemy's hands, and were all slain excepting thirty, but they also intercepted one hundred and fifty waggons carrying provisions to the imperial army from *Peterwaradin*, which was their grand storehouse; besides one hundred ships belonging to their sutlers. The imperialists, after this loss, perceiving no deliverance but in their swords, on the 19th, armed with despair, by break of day, put themselves in a posture of battle, and marched directly towards the *Turks*; so that about noon, both armies drawn up, faced each other at a small distance. The prince of *Baden* commanded the right, and count *Donerwaldt* (E) the left wing.

THE *Turkish* army consisted of about one hundred thousand men (F), of whom sixty thousand were the best soldiers in the *Othmān* empire; besides fifteen thousand of the veteran *Janizaries*. They were advantageously posted, having the *Danube* on their backs (G), and in their front a deep ditch, with earth thrown-up behind them. However their left wing (H) lay somewhat more exposed than the right. On the other hand, the greater part of the imperial infantry was divided into twenty battalions, flanked with two regiments of horse, and the greater part of the biggest cannon. The rest of the army was drawn-up in the usual form: and, on the signal of a bomb, all marched in an equal line, till within two hundred paces of the enemy; and then the cannon, on both sides, began to play. At first it was intended to attack the enemy's left wing (I), before the right, to give room for the

(E) Or *Tinevold*, as *Marfigli* calls him: he commanded the horse; prince *Lewis* the infantry.

(F) Our author, in another place, says, that the *Waxir* had drawn from all parts no fewer than 80,000 good experienced soldiers; besides 10,000 ordered for *Great Waradin*, under the *Seraskier Topal Huseyn Pasbā* of *Silistria*. Afterwards they were said to amount to 87,226 horse and foot, being counted as they crossed the *Sava*: besides 3000 seamen, some *Spahi's*, and the rabble attending armies.

(G) The *Danube* also covered their left flank, as it did the right of the imperialists. Their right wing, which consisted of the cavalry under the *Seraskier*, was not so well covered. Yet, being very numerous, they flanked the imperial horse.

(H) Rather the right more than the left; or the infantry, which was more intrenched with the *Danube*, covering their flank.

(I) Rather it should seem the right wing, for the left was attacked first.

A. D. 1691. foot, who were placed on the rising of a hill, opposite to the main intrenchment of the *Turks*, which was fortified with eighty pieces of cannon : also to charge the enemy's horse drawn up below the hill in the plain, with intent, after having overthrown them, to force through the camp, to that part where the enemy was less fortified.

*briskly at-
tacked.*

IT seems the right wing, happening to be somewhat too forward, began the engagement before the left, hindered by the high grass and bushes, could come up. But, being arrived at the very intrenchments of the enemy, the *Janizaries* fired on them so furiously from their breast-work, that the regiment of *Souches* was forced to give way, till the foot joined them. And now both cavalry and infantry, advancing to the very brink of the trenches, the latter made several attacks on them ; and, though sometimes repulsed, yet, being relieved and directed by the brave dukes of *Holstein* and *Aremberg*, they continued the fight from three in the afternoon till night. In this time, all the superior officers of the infantry were killed, excepting count *Guido* of *Staremburg*, and prince *Charles* of *Vaudemont*, who yet were both wounded.

*Their camp
forced.*

MEAN time the enemy, attacking their left wing, and flanking it, were bravely repulsed by *Castelli* and *Hoffkirchen* : but the *Turks*, rallying all their horse into a body, fell on with greater fury, and charged the brigade of general *Sarau*, which belonged to the right wing, and cut down two battalions ; while those of *Offing*, *Beck*, with the old regiments of *Staremburg* and *Brandenburg*, suffered very much. So that till six o'clock fortune favoured the *Turks* ; at which time things were in such a desperate condition, that the generals began to despair of saving one man ; for there was no place of retreat for them. However, animated by their danger, the imperialists began to redouble their endeavours : but were ready to turn their backs, when those, who kept the baggage, and remained for reserves, advanced to their relief. At the same time, the main body of the army, under the *Brandenburg* general *Burfu* and *Brandt*, coming up seasonably to succour count *Sarau*, he rallied again, and defended his post till an hour before night : when the brigades of *Hoffkirchen* and *Castelli*, with the right wing commanded by prince *Lewis*, advanced towards that side of the enemy which was not intrenched ; and at last, forcing their camp, drove them from the rising grounds, where they had planted their cannon.

*Are quite
over-
thrown.*

As soon as this was observed by the *Hungarians* and *Rascians*, who now wanted to escape, they resumed courage, and came thundering-on ; cutting-down all before them in the camp, which opened a way for the right wing to advance :

vance : so that the *Turks*, being thus hemmed-in, and attacked on all sides, in a narrow ground between their trenches and the *Danube*, they were defeated, and began to fly. The horse, for the most part, escaped by the opening made for the right wing : but the infantry continued to defend themselves so resolutely in their trenches, that, although the field was yielded to the imperialists, yet they received here their greatest loss ; for this action cost the life of the duke of *Holstein*, sergeant-general, with a deluge of blood, to subdue the already conquered enemy. The remainder of the *Turkish* cavalry, among whom was the prince *Wazir* himself, were forced to break their way through the narrow spaces between the lines ; in which attempt many were slain, drowned, or mortally wounded. Among these last were the prime *Wazir*, *Seraskier*, and *Aga* of the *Janizaries* ; who all died of their wounds at *Belgrade* (K).

BESIDES these, and many more principal officers, the *Their loss*
Turks were computed to have lost, at least, twenty-five thousand men (10,000 of them *Janizaries*), to three thousand one hundred and sixty-one of the imperialists ; among whom were many officers of note : and their wounded amounted to four thousand one hundred and thirty-six. Here the prince of *Baden*, to say nothing of the other generals, got immortal honour ; and the booty was very great : for, beside one hundred and fifty-four pieces of cannon, there were a great number of ensigns, with the grand *Wazir's* standard ; ten thousand tents ; ten waggon-loads of copper-money in the *Wazir's* tent ; fifty-four trunks in that of the treasurer, twelve in silver ; and twenty-four chests of *Kaftáns*, or vests.

THE news of this great defeat coming to the *Soltán* at *Adrianople*, he made *Ali*, *Pashá* of *Scio*, and *Kyehaya* to *Kyoprili*, grand *Wazir* in his room, and sent him to *Belgrade*. Thither *Sir William Hussy*, and *Mr. Collier*, designed to accompany him to mediate a peace. But *Sir William* dying on the 14th of *September*, an end was put to the treaty ; and the *French* ambassador encouraging the *Turks* by a powerful invasion in *Germany*, a continuance of the war was resolved on : notwithstanding the great distress which the *Othmán* empire was in, for want of men, money, and bread.

MEAN time, a consequence of the battle of *Salankemen*, Other advantages besides the taking of *Lippha* by *Vetcrani*, was the desertion of *wantages*.

(K) The *Turks* say, he died in the field of battle, not flying, but in possession of the victory. The *Turks* perhaps in the first article, the *Germans* in the second. Which party is to be believed ?

A. D. 1691. *Brodt*, in *Slavonia*, by the *Turks*; who were defeated likewise in several small rencounters: but the prince of *Baden's* main design was upon turning the blockade of *Great Waradin* into a formal siege, which he did in *October*. However, although the *Turks*, to avoid a storm, deserted the city, and half the fortrefs was destroyed by a bomb falling into their magazine of powder; yet winter coming-on, and the besieged resolutely holding-out, he was obliged to turn the siege again into a blockade, after building a fort which commanded the fortrefs.

Affairs of the Arabs. IN the beginning of the year 1692, two *Arab Amîrs*, infesting the country about *Damaskus*, stopped the karawâns going to *Mekka*, till they paid *Kasar*, or custom, and the arrears due to them from the *Soltân*, on account of the pilgrims, were discharged. In *February*, a *Persian* ambassador arrived at *Adrianople*, with three hundred thirty-eight persons in his retinue, and sixty camels laden with presents for the *Soltân*. He was lodged in a magnificent palace, and had his kitchen furniture all of silver. He came to congratulate the *Soltân* on his accession to the throne; and made the longer stay under pretence of renewing the ancient league, in order to pry into the weak condition of the *Turks*: who, to conceal their distresses from him, wanted him to be gone. About the same time *Tekeli* arrived at court, where, at the solicitation of *Chateau Neuf*, the *French* ambassador, he had great honours done him by the *Wazîr*; after which he returned to *Hungary*^b.

of the Poles. DURING the transactions at the *Save*, the *Poles*, in the last month of this year, pass the *Tyras* (or *Niefter*), and make an expedition into *Bassarabia*: but, being pressed with want of provisions, they, on report of the *Seraskier*, *Buyukli Mostafa Pasbâ's* approach, return home without doing any thing remarkable.

and Venetians. MEAN time the war, between the *Venetians* and *Turks*, is carried on by artifice rather than arms: for the latter became masters of *Garbusa*, an almost impregnable castle in *Kandia*, by the treachery of a *Spanish* officer (L). They attempt the same at *Sulla* and *Spina longa*; but the *Venetians*, more watchful of those fortresses, discover their design, and put the conspirators to death.

^b RICAUT, in *Achmet*.

(L) Named *Alysfas*, to be revenged on the governor of *Garbusa*, who, as he said, had ravished his wife.—*Cont.*

IN

IN the interim, *Arabâji Ali Pasbâ* (M), *Kaymakım* of *Constantinople* (a man inferior to many in abilities, but to none in wickedness) being made *Wazır* by *Soltân Ahmed*, in the room of *Kyoprili Oghli*, he revives the talk of peace, and lends a favourable ear to the ambassadors of Christian princes; especially *Paget* (N), the *English*, and *Collier* (O), the *Dutch*, who were sent for that purpose to the *Porte*. But, being informed by *Mauro Kordatus*, that *Germany* was so exhausted of men and money, that, very probably, the emperor could not support the war above a year or two longer; he immediately cuts-off all hopes of peace (P), and applies himself wholly to renew the war: pursuing such measures as might at once supply the exigencies of the treasury, and remove out of the way men of superior abilities to his own. Accordingly, he puts to death many eminent persons of the first rank, under various pretences, and confiscates their estates. Not content with this, he orders even the *Janizaries*, and common soldiers, distinguished for their bravery, to be thrown, privately by night, into the sea; that no person might be left alive, who should be esteemed more worthy of the *Wazırship* than himself.

THIS cruelty being frequently complained of to the court, *Peace* laid and those persons, whose lives were spared by accident, or *aside*.

(M) *Arabâji* signifies a waggon maker or waggon-driver; a surname given him either as having been such, or because of his stupidity. *Cant.*

(N) He was of a noble family, very learned, and well skilled in the *Greek* and *Turkish* languages, besides other sciences. Was very prudent, and perfectly understood the way of obtaining any thing from the *Turks*, among whom he left a very good name. *Cant.*—This was lord *Paget*.

(O) Born at *Smyrna*, where his father was consul; and, having in his youth, learned the functions of an ambassador, as well as the *Greek* and *Turkish*, he was reckoned the wisest and most civil of all the ambassadors among the *Turks*. As he also freely entertained the cour-

tiers, greedy of wine, he got out of them all the *Wazır's* secrets.—*Cant.*

(P) *Ricaut* says, it was looked on as injurious to the *Ottomân* empire, as being proposed on the foot of *uti possidetis*; for thus, *Transylvania* was to remain to the emperor, and *Tekeli* to be delivered-up. *Ragusa* to pay tribute no longer to the *Porte*, and to be discharged from its arrears. *Poland* required the surrender of *Kaminiuk*, *Podolia*, the *Castell* on the *Borysthene*s (or *Nieper*), *Moldavia*, and *Walakhia*: also, that the *Porte* should make good all future damages by the *Tatars*. The *Venetians* required *Livadia*, *Athens*, and *Thebes*, in lieu of the *Morea*, and other territories towards *Lepanto* and *Dalmatia*.

A. D. 1691. *Arabîji's* ignorance, representing to the *Soltân*, that, by this means, all the defenders of the *Othmân* empire would be destroyed (Q), *Ahmed*, at last, after six months, removes him from his post; and, having stripped him of his wealth unjustly acquired, advances *Tarposchi Ali Pasbâ* (R), governor of *Damaskus* in his room.

THE new *Wazîr* concerted measures for settling a peace: but the ambassadors, who had been four years at *Vienna*, returning home; and, being bribed, 'tis said, by the *French* ambassador, excite the *Turks* to continue the war, representing, that *Germany* was exhausted of its strength; that the emperor, being one hundred millions in debt, could not raise supplies; and that both *Hungary* and *Germany* were afflicted with a dearth: which representations were not so false as agreeable to the *Porte*.

Waradin
surrenders

THE *Wazîr* therefore, laying aside all pacifick measures, applies himself to renew the war: but, because the number of *Janizaries* was extremely lessened by the *German* sword, and *Arabîji's* cruelty, while the soldiers, terrified by the late defeat, could not be assembled with expedition, he sends the *Seraskier*, with what forces were ready, towards *Hungary*, with orders to defend the borders, relieve the *Turkish* cities, and avoid a battle with the *Germans*. He indeed kept the imperial troops from approaching the *Save*; for, being weak, they were not desirous of an engagement: but could not hinder *Heusler*, lately set at liberty, from obliging *Waradin*, blocked-up the year before, to surrender for want of provisions, on the 21st of *Ramazân* 1103^c (May 25th 1692).

Hej. 1103.
A. D. 1692.

to general
Heusler.

HEUSLER, before the *Turks* got into the field, drew together all the forces he could, in order to reduce the place by siege. To this end, in May 1692, he raised two bulwarks opposite those of the enemy, called *Rungar* and *Kapudan*; he caused a bridge also to be laid from the *Palanka* of *Olofschi* to the old city, notwithstanding the sallies of the *Turks*: so that by the 7th, the imperialists had surrounded the city, and lodged themselves in the ditch. After this, the bombs and cannon played furiously on both sides, till the

^c CANT. Othm. Hist. p. 383, & seqq.

(Q) *Ricaut* takes notice of applying to him to turn-out the cruelty, as well as inexperience, of this choleric old *Kaymaykam* of *Adrianople*.

(R) *Tarpus* is a sort of cap worn by the *Turkish* women, of which this *Wazîr* seems to have been a maker in his youth.

Cant.

A. D.
1692.

19th, when the heavy cannon coming-up, and a larger breach being made, the besiegers, who before rejected the summons, on the 28th, seeing the imperialists preparing for the assault, thought fit to capitulate, on condition of being conveyed to *Panzova*. There were found in this important fortress 5000 measures of barley, 1000 of wheat, 300 sacks of rice, 50 vats of flour, 50 brass guns, 22 mortars, 70,000 pounds of good powder, 723,000 of decayed powder, 3500 cannon-balls, 30,000 pounds of unwrought, and 4300 of wrought, iron. The garrison, to the number of 1200 fighting men, and in all 12,000 souls, were detained without the city, till the *Turks* had released the garrison at *Pescobara*, who had been detained there contrary to articles.

THE *Othmans*, being desirous of revenge, in June detached a strong party towards *Essek*, with a design to make an incursion into *Sclavonia*; but were repulsed here, as well as at *Titul* and *Titz*, by the *Rascians*, while the *Kroats* plundered and burnt *Behatz* and *Ostrosatz*. In July, the *Turks* attacked the fortress of *Portsen* near *Peterwaradin*, but were forced to give over the enterprize; which yet they attempted a second time, no less in vain.

Other advantages.

THERE happened no considerable action on either side in *Hungary* this campaign, only the *Kroats* and *Rascians* made an incursion towards *Meydan*, with good success; and the latter had the luck to break into *Morava*, and take 200,000 dollars, after defeating the *Turkish* convoy^d.

ABOUT the same time, the *Seraskier* of *Babadâghi*, *Dalda-bân* *Moslafa Pâsbâ*, in conjunction with *Arap Pâsbâ*, governor *Moldavia* of *Trebizond*, in the end of the month of *Zilkaadeh*, enters via. *Moldavia*. There being joined by the prince of that country, and twenty thousand *Tatars*, under the command of *Shabbâz Gyeray Soltân*, marches towards *Soroka*: but, being detained for several days by a bloody flux, at the town of *Orheyus*, four days distant, gives the *Poles*, till then negligent, time to fortify that city, and reinforce the garrison. As soon as the *Seraskier* was recovered, he haltes, and lays siege to *Soroka*, whose garrison was at first terrified; but, finding that the enemy had only seven small field-pieces, and two mortars, they resume courage, and destroy great numbers of them by sallies in the night. At length, the *Seraskier*, finding that the walls could not be undermined, as built on a rock, and that winter approached, is obliged to retire after thirty days siege, and the loss of three thousand men^e.

^d RICAUT, ubi sup.^e CANT. ubi sup. p. 385.

A. D. 1692. THE siege of this place is represented very differently by our historians. According to *Ricaut*, the *Seraskier Meftafa Pashâ*, on the 27th of *September*, with 30,000 men, sat down before *Soroka*, whose garrison, consisting of no more than 600 soldiers, bravely resisted so great a power. For though the *Turks*, on the 1st of *October*, advanced their trenches to the ditch side, yet they lost 600 men in storming the place; and though, by their continual firing, they made great breaches, yet the besieged, with indefatigable industry, repaired them in the night. On the 6th likewise, they beat the enemy out of the ditch, and countermined their sappings. However, early on the 9th, one of them having thrown down part of the wall, they began the assault, which the *Poles* bravely withstood for four hours, driving them from the walls, as often as they advanced, and planted their colours. In this action, the besieged took three standards, and killed 800 of the enemy; then, prosecuting their success, drove them out of most of their posts, and lodgements, slaying 1000 of their men. The *Turks*, dismayed at these repulses, raised their camp in the night, with such precipitation, that they left behind them two great guns, and three mortars, with ammunition and provision¹.

*Poles re-
sist stoutly.* AT the end of the campaign, the *Khân* of *Krîm Tartary*, *Kior Sefa Gyeray* (S), by advice of *Daltabân Pashâ*, sends *Darvîsh Shabân Aga*, one of his officers to the king of *Poland*: offering to restore *Kaminick*, with all *Polen* and *Ukrania*, in case he would renounce his alliance with the emperor. But the *Poles*, who had conceived new hopes of subduing all *Mohavia*, from the ill success of the *Turks* against *Soroka*, pay no regard to the *Khân's* proposals.

*Venetian
affairs.* THE same year, the *Venetians*, having entirely subdued the *Morva*, resolve to turn their arms against *Kandîa*; and, transporting their whole army to that island, think to surprise *Kanea*. But the *Turks*, informed of their design by a *French* ship, had put so strong a garrison into the city, that the *Venetians* are repulsed with great slaughter, and obliged to retire, after a siege of fifty days (T). With equal success

¹ *RICAUT.*

(S) This was the only prince of the family of *Shabân Gyeray*, mentioned before in the history, who arrived to the dignity of *Khân*; which he did not enjoy above one year. After his deposition the empire of *Tartary* returned to the legitimate *Gyerays*.

Cant.—*Kior* signifies one blind of an eye.

(T) *Ricaut* says, they had hopes of carrying the place, if 1000 *French*, in their service, had not, at their first landing, deserted, and gone over to the *Turks*.

Szleymán

Soleymân Pashâ, governor of *Arnaud*, defeats the *Monte Negri*, meditating a rebellion; he likewise recovers *Zuffa* and *Panduriza*. The *Seraskier* of the *Morea*, encouraged with those advantages, makes several incursions upon the *Venetians*; but, attempting to seize *Naupactum* (or *Lepanto*), is repulsed with great loss. Worse luck in *Dalmatia* attends the *Pashâ* of *Hercegovina*, who endeavouring, by *Ali Beg*, to recover *Gracov*, the besiegers are suddenly attacked by the enemy; and, being put to flight, their general is taken prisoner.

A. D.
1692.

THE campaign of 1103 being ended, the *Soltân* next year has twins born to him at *Constantinople*, *Selim* and *Ibrahim* (U). As this had never happened to any *Soltân* before, the *Turks* considered it as a preface of future success; and for eight days celebrate the *Donanma* (W), with other sports usual on such occasions. Amidst these rejoicings, the *Wazir* *Torposchi Ali Pashâ* endeavours to renew the negotiations of peace; but, being reprehended by the *Mufti*, and *Soltân Ahmed* declaring it done without his knowledge, he is deprived of his dignity, as a betrayer of the law and the empire. His successor, *Buyukli Mostafa Pashâ*, endeavouring to put a stop to the rapines committed by several great men, through the negligence of former *Wazirs*, some of the offenders murmur openly, and others form a secret plot against him; but, their assemblies being disturbed by the *Janizar-Agasi*, his friend, and the ringleaders either put to death, or banished, the city is restored to its former tranquility.

ed
Hej. 1104.
A. D.
1693.

WHILE the new *Wazir* was employed in making preparations for war, and had now encamped without *Constantinople*, the *Sheykh* of *Prusa*, *Misri Effendi* (X), erects his

Seaition
began

(U) *Ricaut* observes, that, in the midst of these rejoicings, a fire broke out in three different places, which burnt 4000 houses, and 2000 shops. At the same time, one of the *Menâra*, or steeples, of *Soltân Soleymân's* mosque fell to the ground; which was esteemed an evil omen, prefiging the next campaign to be a bad one. About the same time, according to the same author, *Soltân Ahmed* began to be afflicted with the dropsy, the fatal distemper of his family.

(W) So the *Turks* call their

public rejoicings for a *Yary*, or a fortress taken. On such occasions the shops are kept open day and night, all sorts of diversions, and even wine allowed to be drank publicly.—*Cant.*

(X) He was in great renown for his sanctity; yet many thought him too great a favourer of the Christian religion, from some expressions in the divine poems which he published, and ordered to be sung in the *Jami*.—*Cant.*

A. D.
1693.



by Mifri
Effendi.

The Wazîr
alarmed.

standard in that city; and lists above three thousand volunteers, under the title of *Darwishes*, without pay, or allowance of provision, merely in the name of God, and in confidence of the divine assistance. With these he comes to *Adrianople*; and, marching to *Selim's* temple, at the time of noon-day prayers, first performs his orisons with great devotion, and then makes a speech; in which he tells them, "It was revealed to him from God, that the cause of the *Othmân* ill success of late was not the valour of the *Germans*, nor the sins of the whole nation, but the ill conduct of seventeen great men, and governors of the empire, as the *Wazîr*, *Janizar Aga*, *Kaymaykâm*, *Testerdâr*, *Reis Effendi*, and others whom he named: that, unless these were put to death, no advantage could be hoped against the *Germans*, but greater calamities, and even the destruction of the whole empire, were to be expected; that, there being no occasion for a numerous army against the Infidels, he had, by God's command, collected a body of soldiers, few in number, and unarmed, but animated by a divine power, and untainted with sin; with whom he would undertake, not only to stop an innumerable host of *Gyazars*, but likewise drive them from the borders of the empire."

THE noise of this affair bringing together great numbers, not only of the common people, but *Janizaries*, *Sfahî's*, and others of the better sort, the *Sheykh* harangues them for four hours together. The *Wazîr*, being informed hereof, and tearing a sedition, sends the *Kaymaykâm* to desire the *Sheykh* to come to him; but *Misri Effendi* answers, "That he was the servant of God, sent to the people of God, to declare what had been revealed to him; and could see no reason why he should abandon his call, in obedience to such a *Gyazur* as the *Wazîr* was." The *Kaymaykâm*, perceiving, on account of the people, that he could use no compulsion, returns to the *Wazîr*; tells him what he had heard, and advises him instantly to disperse the assembly, since the *Sheykh's* whole discourse tended to sedition against the nobles, and probably the *Soltân* himself. The *Wazîr* having sent for the *Janizar Aga*, and other officers branded by *Misri Effendi* with the name of Infidels; they send to inform *Ahmed*, by a *Talkhîsh*, that the *Sheykh*, with a body of soldiers disguised like *Darwishes*, was in the *Selimiyyah*, giving odious appellations to his majesty, and charging the great officers of state with being Infidels, as well as friends to the *Germans*; whence he declared, that the divine blessing could not be expected upon the *Othmân* court.

THE

THE *Soltân*, enraged by such misrepresentations, orders the rebel to be seized; and, since he could not be put to death, as wearing the green turbân (Y), to be banished with his followers to *Prusa*. *Buyukli Mostafa* hereupon sends again the *Kaymaykân*, attended by the *Junizar Agasi*, and a good number of soldiers, who, in the *Soltân's* name, salute the *Sheykh*, still holding-forth, and inform him; that his majesty, hearing of his sanctity, desired to enjoy his conversation, and that he would instantly come to the palace. *Misri Effendi* told them, "That, although they seemed to be sent rather by *Sheytân* than the *Soltân*, yet that he would go where-ever they lead him: he added, that, to convince them he spoke nothing of himself, they should, in a few hours, receive tokens of a divine evidence." Having said this, he mounted the *Soltân's* chariot, attended with the guards; and passes with great honour through crouds of people: but, as soon as he is at some distance from the populace, he is put into a covered waggon, and conveyed to *Rodosus*, from whence he is transported to *Prusa* (Z).

A. D.
1793.Gets him
banish'd.

His prediction however was fulfilled two days after by a great whirlwind and storm, which threw down almost all the tents in the camp; some of which falling on the fires prepared for dressing dinner, and their flames catching hold of the rest, above a thousand tents were consumed in one hour's space: nor were the rest saved without great difficulty. The people looked-on without giving their assistance, saying, it was a judgment for banishing the servant of God, and witness of the truth. The *Soltân* himself, struck with terror, sends the *Sheykh* a respectful letter, and "intreats his pardon; confessing himself deceived by the treachery of his ministers; and desiring him to return to *Adrianople*, in order to give the army his benediction." *Misri Effendi* answers, "That he knew at the first the fault of his banishment was in the great men, and not in the *Soltân*: that he had therefore long since forgiven, and even forgotten, the crime: but that he could not return to *Adrianople*; because the spirit, which

His predic-
tion veri-
fied.

(Y) Which belongs to the *Amirs*, or kindred of *Mohammed*, mentioned in a former note.

(Z) *Ricaut* mentions this sedition of a learned *Turk* against the *Soltân*, as well as the *Wazir*, and ministers in general. He places it on the 15th of *October* 1694, and says, it was quashed by the *Kaymaykam*, who seized

the preacher, and put to death the chief ringleaders; among whom were a rapacious *Pajâ*, two *Agas*, eleven officers, and an astrologer, who could not foresee his own fate. These tumults were followed by reports of strange prodigies and apparitions, with which the *Soltân* was very much affrighted.

A. D. 1693. " had prompted him to the first journey thither, would not
 " permit a second &."

Fire at
Constantinople.

MEAN time a fire happened at *Constantinople*, which burnt down 20,000 houses and shops. This disaster was succeeded by the news that the new *Amir* of the *Arabs*, descended from *Mohammed*, threatened to besiege *Bassora* (or *Basrah*), in the *Persian* gulf, to which he pretended an hereditary right: so that the *Soltân* was obliged to send troops over, under the command of the *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia*, to reinforce the militia of those quarters. But, being arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, which is all a flat country, the *Arabs* let out the river by sluices; which overflowing the camp of the *Turks*, six or seven thousand of them perished in the waters, and the rest were all put to the sword.

Jeno taken.

SINCE the taking of *Great Waradin*, *Ghiula* and *Jeno* had been much streightened by the imperialists. The latter particularly having been for some time blocked-up by *Heusler*, that general, on the 16th of *June*, began to attack its suburbs, which he took; and, having, in a few days more, by his bombs and cannon, made a breach in the city-walls, the *Turks*, not willing to abide a storm, capitulated on the 21th of the same month. Presently after which he went, and took the fortress of *Philagoras*^b.

Belgrade besieged.

ABOUT the same time, the *Wazîr* marches from *Adrianople*, with a design to penetrate, by *Tekeli's* route, into *Transylvania* (A). But, hearing at *Dijera*, that the *Germans*, after taking *Gena* and *Villagotthwar*, had besieged *Belgrade*, he returns towards *Chenghe Dâghlari*, and, with no less danger than difficulty, conducts his army through the straits of those mountains, scarce wide enough for an unarmed man to pass. The *German* general, being informed that the *Wazîr* was attempting the conquest of *Transylvania*, went loiteringly on with the siege, which had continued twenty days already (B).

* CANT. ubi sup. p. 386, & seqq. ^b RICAUT, in Achmet.

(A) *Ricaux* says, he left *Adrianople* the 20th of *June*, O. S. with that design; but, hearing the siege of *Belgrade* was intended, he marched that way with 80,000 men, and supplied the garrison with 3000 men.

(B) According to *Ricaux*, many bunders were committed in the management of this siege, under the duke of *Ciey*, which

ended about the 10th of *September* 1693; for the trenches were not opened till 13 days after the place was invested: neither was the fleet, for hindering provisions coming to the town, ready before it was invested; nor the cannon brought before the place, till five weeks after it was invested.

But,

BUT, when he found *Buyukli Mustafa* had passed the mountains, he pushed it with such vigour, that, by his cannon and mines, he had, in eight days, not only demolished the outer walls, but also shaken the inner, in such a manner, as seemed to render him master of the city, although defended by sixteen thousand *Othmâns*; if the *Wazir*, leaving behind him his baggage, and larger cannon, had not, on the eighth day, advanced to its relief.

THE *Germans*, perceiving, from the smallness of their numbers, that they could not, at the same time, carry on the siege, and make a stand against the *Wazir*, who was about to attack their camp, break-up, and pass the *Save* with their whole army. The *Othmân* general, taking their retreat for a flight, informs the *Soltân*, that he had gained a victory: but, not daring to cross the river, and attack their camp, he sends *Selim Gyeray Khân*, with his *Tatars*, to ravage the adjacent provinces of *Hungary*, and cut-off the *Germans* from all opportunity of procuring provisions. The *Khân*, roving about incautiously, is surrounded at *Khonad* by the imperialists appointed to guard those parts, under the command of *Hofkirkhen*; and shut up in so narrow a space, that he could not make use of his horse, or find any means of escape. Being thus reduced to the necessity of submitting, or starving, if he continued in this situation, and, finding no other way to get out of it, he engaged the *Tatars* in a project never before heard of, or practised, among them: this was, to kill their horses, and fall upon the enemy on foot with their swords. So unexpected an attack, at first, confounds the *Germans*, till, resuming their courage, they inclose them a second time, now almost escaped; and make such a slaughter, that, excepting the *Khân*, and a few of his attendants, scarce a man of them was saved¹.

RICAUT gives no account of this action, but does of another of the same general, before *Giula*, on the 19th of *October*, citing his letter to the duke of *Croy*; in which he says, that he fell on the *Turks* and *Tatars* unexpectedly, drove them beyond the first *Palanka*, and made his dragoons pass the ditch on foot: that the enemy were very strong, consisting of 40 troops of horse, 1200 *Janizaries*, and 2800 *Tatars*, who came to convoy provisions into the fortress: that 1000 of these last were killed, 2500 beasts taken, and all their provision burned. He adds, that he was preparing to follow the *Tatars* who were marching to *Debrezin*; and

*Defeated
at Giula.*

¹ CANT. p. 390. See also *RICAUT*.

A. D. perhaps the defeat of them may be the action ascribed to *Hoffkirken* by the *Turkish* historians.

1693.
Brunzen
Maydan
taken.

THE imperialists had this year one other piece of success against the *Turks*: for count *Batheim*, Ban of *Kroatia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Sclavonia*, having marched from the river *Unna* and *Kostannizza*, on the 19th of *September* arrived at *Brunzein Maydan* (C); which was one of the *Soltân's* magazines, and famous for the iron and copper mines in its neighbourhood. Next day the artillery began to play; and for two hours the *Turks* defended themselves bravely: but, at last, the pallisades being cut down, the city-walls were forced, and above 500 men and women put to the sword, among whom were two chief commanders, and a third taken, with many other persons of note. They found a great number of bombs, some 200 weight, store of bras curiously wrought, and other rich plunder, which they carried off, and then burned the city, with its suburbs, to ashes. This loss chagrined the *Porte*: but they were more alarmed at a fire which happened at *Constantinople* on the 26th of *August*, and burned down one fourth part of the city^k.

Poles, Venetians.

WHILE the imperialists were revenging on the *Tatars* the many defeats given by them to the *Polish* armies, the *Poles* themselves, either amused with new offers from *Selîm Gyera*, or deterred by former misfortunes, continue unactive (D). The *Venetian* arms are likewise quiet in *Greece*. However, in *Dalmatia*, they besiege *Klobukhi*, under the conduct of *Erizzo*, governor of *Katarri* (or *Kattaro*), but are repulsed with considerable loss by the *Pasbâ* of *Hercegovina*; who, notwithstanding, is soon after defeated by *Canegotti*.

The Wazir changed.

MEAN time the *Wazîr* returns to *Adrianople*: but, while he expects to be rewarded for raising the siege of *Belgrade*, and driving the enemy from the borders of the empire, he is deprived of his dignity on a very slight occasion. For, going out one day to divert himself with hawking, the *Koltûk Wazîrleri*, who had long been his enemies, take a handle from hence to persuade the easy *Soltân*, that he neglected the affairs of state, and minded nothing but his pleasures. Hereupon *Ahmed* takes from him the imperial seal, and gives it to *Shâm*

^k RICAUT ubi supr.

(C) It stands on the river *Sanna*, between *Kastanowitz* and *B. hacz*, to the east.

(D) *Ricaud* observes, that the *French* ambassador procured an ambassador from the *Porte* to

be sent to *Warsaw*; so that it was generally believed a peace would be concluded: but he says, the *Venetians* neither did, nor attempted, any thing in the year 1693.

Tarabekus

Tarabolus Ali Pasbâ (E). However, not to seem ungrateful for his services, the *Soltân* takes away neither his estate, nor his liberty, but makes him also governor of *Damaskus*, a rare example among the *Turks*. A. D. 1693.

AL I Pasbâ, considering the distressed state of the empire, and despairing of victory, as soon as he is advanced to the *Wazîrshîp*, endeavours to make peace with the *Germans* and *Poles* (F), exclusive of the *Venetians*: but, as on one hand, the emperor refused to treat on any terms, unless they were parties; and, on the other, the *French* ambassador, by presents, and great promises, had gained both the nobles and *Ulema* firmly on his side, they unanimously opposed that design. The *Wazîr*, being thus disappointed, in the end of the year 1105, sends the *Seraskier* into *Hungary*, who, assaulting *Titul*, is repulsed with great loss by *Caprara*, general of the imperialists: but the *Germans* were not able to improve this victory; the emperor, intent on the war with *France*, having left but a small army in *Hungary*¹. *Peace opposed.* Hej. 1105. A. D. 1694.

TITUL, in the *Turkish* account, seems to be a mistake for *Peterwaradin*; and one of the most famous actions in all this war is here passed over in silence. The imperial army in 1694, not being so numerous as it used to be, the marshal count *Caprara*, who commanded it, understanding, that the *Wazîr* intended to attack *Peterwaradin*, entrenched himself about that place. In effect, the *Wazîr* did arrive with his army in view of the imperialists: but, instead of falling on them, he also entrenched himself; and, what till then was unheard-of, began his approaches against the retrenchments of the enemy. Count *Caprara*, surprisèd at this novelty, found it expedient to make another retrenchment between the former and the town: to which, upon occasion, he might re- *The Germans attacked*

¹ CANT. p. 390, & seqq.

(E) That is, *Ali Pasbâ*, governor of *Tripolis* in *Syria*.

(F) *Ricaute* says, that about May 1694. the *Polish* ambassador was dismissed from *Adrianople*, *re infestâ*; and that the mystery of his embassy (which was properly to the *Tatar Khân*, who gave him audience, his letter being directed to that prince), could never be unravelled; for that, though he pretended to treat of peace in the name of all

the confederates, the rest knew nothing of it: but it was supposed to have been an artifice of the *French* to bring *Poland* into a separate peace; which perhaps had taken effect, had not the ambassador too earnestly insisted on the surrender of *Kaminiek*, with all the provisions, arms, and fortresses; besides the *uti possidetis*, which term the *Turks* mortally hated.

A. D.
1694.



at Peter-
waradin

tire; and to furnish it with mines before the ditches, in order to stop the *Wazir's* progress. To this general account of the matter given by count *Marfigli*^m, who, according to his method, has also inserted a plan of the whole with explanations, we shall add the particulars from *Ricaut*.

THE imperial troops, increasing but slowly, they resolved to act only upon the defensive, and therefore to remain encamped at *Peterwaradin*, within the retrenchment of last year. On the 9th of *September* the *Turkish* army, arriving from *Belgrade*, under the *Wazir Ali Pasbâ* of *Tripoli* (G), appeared in sight of the imperialists, who had scarce time to repair the damages made the day before by a storm; which had carried away all their tents, broken their bridge of boats, and sunk several of their ships. On the 10th, the whole army came within half an hour's march of the imperial intrenchments: the foot took their quarters next to the *German* front; the horse to the left of their foot; and, on the left of those, was camped the *Tatars*. Their fleet, consisting of 110 came likewise within cannon-shot of the imperial ships, and cast anchor in a line of battle.

by the Wa-
zîr:

NEXT day it was thought the *Turks* would have stormed the imperial camp; for they appeared within 800 paces of the retrenchment, behind the earth of a ditch, which covered them so well, that the imperial guns could but little annoy them. On the 12th, the camps and fleets began to fire furiously on each other: the attack of the *Turks* seeming to be a formal siege both of *Peterwaradin*, and the imperial camp; for they plied both with their bombs and cannon till the 18th, when they shewed themselves beyond the imperial intrenchments, but were quickly driven back by the *Hussars*. They likewise drew a new parallel line 60 paces nearer to the imperial camp, and were busy to close it with their line of communication. On the 19th, the *German* left wing, with great guns and muskets, from an eminence, very much annoyed the first line of the *Turks*, who ran, horse and foot from all sides, to strengthen their left wing; and that evening, six battalions of *Brandenburg* foot arriving, the enemy seemed less brisk in their attack.

^m L'Etat. Milit. emp. Oth. p, 98, & seqq. part ii.

(G) According to *Ricaut*, this *Pasbâ* of *Tripoli* was different from the *Ali* of the *Turkish* historians. That author makes no mention of the name, and says, one was made *Wazir* early in *March*;

and, being soon after deposed, was succeeded by the second *Ali* of *Tripoli*, who arrived from *Asia* the 18th of *April* following.

BUT

BUT what most incommoded them, was the loss of 25 of their provision-ships, taken by the governor of *Titul*, who also sunk three frigates; and fifteen hundred *Tatars* cut-off in an incursion, by general *Bassompierre*. The son of the *Khān* being among the slain, that prince, incensed, threatened to return with his troops. For all this, the *Wazir* persisted in his attacks till the 13th of *October*, when the rains falling for seven days successively, so that the soldiers were up to their knees in the trenches, he, at length, drew-off in the night. These terrible rains, says count *Marfigli*, convinced the *Wazir* of his folly; nor could he have succeeded in his design, had his army been double the number°. The *Turks* thus ended the campaign; but the *Germans*, after this, added *Giula* to their other conquests. Let us now return to the *Turkish* historians.

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who is repulsed.

THE *Polish* and *Russian* forces this year also continue to guard their own frontiers, neither power performing or attempting any thing remarkable. The *Venetians* alone push the *Turks* this campaign with vigour, and effect that which would have gained them the dominion of the sea, if they had known how to use their good fortune with prudence and moderation. Early in spring, they send out a fleet, by invitation of the inhabitants of *Khios*, devoted to the *Romish* religion (H), and attack that island. *Silahdar Hassan Pasha*, who was then governor, had resolved to make a brave defence: but, finding the Christian inhabitants endeavoured to deliver-up the town without his consent, and having but a few *Turkish* forces in garrison, to avoid being made a prisoner,

Venetians
take Khios:

° *RICAUT*, ubi supr.

* *L'Etat Milit.* ubi supr.

(H) Originally from *Italy*, chiefly *Venice*. They possessed the greater part of the island; the *Greeks* the rest; and enjoyed more privileges than the other subjects of the *Othmān* empire. After the *Vienna* defeat, they became spies for the *Venetians*, and sent them an account of whatever was done in the *Turkish* fleet. When the *Venetians* had conquered the *Moræa*, they resolved to deliver-up their island to them: but first sounded the *Greeks*, who, believing they could depend neither on their integrity, nor pro-

tection, against the *Turks*, sent notice to the *Kâpudan Pashâ* to be on his guard. The *Latins*, having discovered this, invite the *Venetian* admiral, who comes, and takes the city, as mentioned in the text. The *Venetians*, now masters, exercise cruelty equally on the *Greeks* and *Turks*; forbid the exercise of their religion; and deem them rebels, unless they frequent the *Romish* churches. But next year, the island being taken by *Medxo-morto*, they were justly treated in the same manner themselves. —*Cant.*

surrenders

A. D. 1694. surrenders the place himself (I). The *Venetians* hereupon, to oblige the pope, shut-up the *Greek* churches; and partly by force, and partly by artifice, compel the inhabitants to conform to the *Romish* church: acting also in many other things contrary to justice, and the terms of the surrender.

threaten *Smyrna*: HAVING settled at pleasure the affairs of *Khios*, they resolve to besiege *Smyrna*: but the *French*, *English*, and *Dutch* consuls, meeting them in their march, intercede for that city; urging, among other reasons against a siege, that almost all the warehouses there were full of merchandize of their respective nations; and that, if they should be destroyed, or plundered by the soldiers, the republick would be responsible to their masters for the damage with interest. Upon this, the *Venetians* desist from their design, and return with their fleet. In *Dalmatia* however, under the command of *Delfini*, they take *Kiklut* and *Klobukh*, which last they attempted the year before. The *Seraskier*, *Soleyman Pashâ*, governor of *Albania*, endeavouring twice to recover the former, is both times repulsed: for which reason, being accused of negligence to the *Soltân*, he is deprived of his post, and succeeded by *Ehnaş Mehemed Pashâ*, governor of *Bosnia*, lately sent from the *Saray*.

The Arabs WHILE the *Othmân* arms are successful in all parts of *Europe*, a new sedition breaks-out in *Asia*. *Amir Mohammed*, one of the *Arab* princes, with several thousands of his countrymen, plunder and spoil the *karawân*, going in pilgrimage to *Mekka* (K).

AFTERWARDS, augmenting the number of his troops, he besieges *Mekka* itself: but, touched with reverence for the place, and the dread of sacrilege, retires from before it. The *Beglerbeg* of *Shâm* (or *Damaskus*), attended by the other

(I) *Ricaut* only says, that the *Venetians* by surprize, with little difficulty, took the island in a few days; that at first both the castle and forts capitulated; and, on the 19th of September 1694, all was delivered-up. Lastly, that the *Turks* were struck with a terrible consternation at the news.

(K) After the time of *Selim I.* 40,000 gold crowns were paid yearly to the *Arabs* of the desarts between *Damaskus*, *Bâgdâd*, and *Mekka*; by way of bounty un-

der the denomination of *Surreb*, as if paid them for securing the roads, but, in reality, to restrain them from robbing the *karawâns*. Now the *Surreb* not being sent for some years, on account of the *Hungarian* war, was the occasion of this attack. But the most illustrious *Khân* of *Tartary* being taken among the pilgrims, the *Arabs* obliged him to carry their complaint to the *Soltân*; and he never rested till the arrears were paid. *Cant.*

Pasbâs of those parts, is sent against him : but the *Sheykh* defeats them all by a stratagem, and puts them to flight P.

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1694.

THE *Amir Mohammed*, in the foregoing paragraph, seems, from circumstances, to be the *Amir* mentioned before from *Ricaut*, who, about this time, speaks of the *Sharif* (L) being in arms; and, having plundered a very rich city, he says, that his army, which observed exact discipline, was divided in two parts : that one division remained with the *Sharif*, encamped between *Mekka* and *Medîna*; the other in the province of *Bâsrah*, to oppose the *Pasbâs* on that side, and cut-off all communication with *Hâlep*, or *Aleppo*. At length, the *Mufti*, from a sense of the empire's low condition, wrote to the *Sharif*, exhorting him to peace; declaring, that he could not, without betraying the *Musulman* interest, persist in war against the *Soltân*, at a time when the *Othmân* empire was oppressed on all sides with enemies. This letter of the *Mufti* was seconded by exhortations from many *Pasbâs*, *Mollahs*, *Kâdis*, *Sheykh*s, and other religious : even *Kalailikos Ahmed Pasbâ*, who was sent with forces against the *Sharif*, became an advocate for peace, making use of the pen instead of the sword. These admonitions, in behalf of religion, had so good effect, that first, several *Arab* princes fell-off from their alliance with the *Sharif*; and, at length, the *Sharif* himself desisted from hostilities.

*Persuaded
to peace.*

THE year 1695 began with a terrible fire in *Constantinople*, Ahmed which consumed 4000 houses and shops : however preparations for war went on both by sea and land¹. Mean time, the empire being surrounded with so many enemies, and almost

intirely ruined, *Soltân Ahmed*, in the year 1106, leaves (M) the world, having lived fifty years, and reigned four. Hej. 1106. 1695.

IN his temper and disposition, he intirely resembled his brother *Soleymân*, to whom in devotion he was a little inferior; but was of a somewhat more lively, though not acute, genius. He listened to the calumnies raised by his domestick officers; and, on their suggestions, often, for slight causes, changed the most important affairs. He affected to appear a lover of justice, though, by reason of his stupidity, he could not discharge the function of a judge; and believed every thing which his friends, bribed by the contending parties, represented to him². His character

¹ CANT. p. 391, & seqq. ² RICAUT, ubi supr. ³ CANT. p. 394.

(L) This must be understood (M) The 27th of January, of the prince of *Mekka*, who ¹⁶⁹⁴. *Ricaut* puts it on the same pretends to be a descendant of day. *Mohammed*.

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1695.

RICAUT gives a more advantageous character of him ; as that he was a very good-natured prince, who feared no hurt himself, nor intended harm to any body : that he was of a lively, free, jocund, humour ; being both a poet and a musician, so that he made verses and sang them. He played well also on the *Citern* and *Koloffeo* after the *Persian* manner. The same author says, that the cause of his death was a great defluxion on the lungs ; that, in his last agony, he desired to speak to his brother *Mostafa* ; and that, *Mostafa* not being to be persuaded to go to him, he ordered him to be told all his desire was, that he would permit his son to live ¹.

and person. HE had large black eyes, a pale complexion, a round sandy beard, with a mixture of black ; a strait and long nose, a middle stature, with a prominent belly, occasioned rather by the dropfy than fat ¹.

C H A P. XXII.

The Reign of Mostafa II.

S E C T. I.

*Transactions to the Battle of Olash.*22 Soltân
Mostafa.

AFTER *Ahmed's* death, the *Wazîr Shâm Tarabolus Ali Pasbâ* attempts to set aside *Mostafa*, eldest son of *Mohammed IV.* as *Kyoprîli Mostafa Pasbâ* had done on the death of *Soltân Soleymân II.* but not with the like success. To gain this point, he calls a council of the principal officers of state, and exhorts them to place *Ibrahim*, the son of *Ahmed*, a prince of three years old, on the throne ; alledging that it was unjust to give the crown from the son of a *Soltân*, who had died in possession of it, to the son of one who had been deposed. These were his pretences : but his true reason was, that he feared to lose, under a prince of vigour, and versed in affairs, as *Mostafa* was, that absolute power over the state and army, which he had enjoyed under *Ahmed*, and hoped to continue, without danger or controul, under his infant son. But, before he could gain the great men to his opinion, *Nazîr Aga*, the *Hazandâr Bâsbi* (N), informs *Mostafa* of his brother's

¹ *RICAUT*, ubi supr.¹ *CANT.* ubi supr.

(N) Or keeper of the treasure deposited in the womens *Saray*. He was soon after made *Kizîr Aga*, and continued so the whole reign of *Mostafa*, with so much authority, that the *Wazîrs* feared

brother's death ; and, releasing him from his confinement, calls on him to assume the *Othmân* sceptre. The prince readily agrees to such grateful advice ; and, while the *Wazîr* is consulting about the election of a *Soltân*, without his knowledge ascends the throne, where he is first saluted emperor by *Chalik Ahmed Aga* (O), and *Cherkies Mohammed Aga* (P).

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• This election being notified to the rest of the courtiers, it was extremely agreeable to them, and all met to kiss the *Soltân's* robe. The *Wazîr* himself, finding his designs prevented by the domestick officers, hastens, with an air of joy in his countenance, to pay his devoir ; and is presented with a robe lined with sable by the new emperor : who, dissembling his resentment, orders him to take care of the affairs ; and the third day after declares his intention to command the army in person against the *Germans* (Q). He examines, orders, and disposes, every thing ; appoints great cannon to be cast, and directs the military preparations : nor was he unmindful of his father's faithful officers, dispersed in distant countries ; these he rewards with new posts. Among the rest, *Elmas Mohammed Pasbâ* (R), his father's most beloved chamberlain, is sent for out of *Bosnia*, and first made *Nisbânji Pasbâ* (S),

Confirms
the *Wazîr*.

ed him. But, after *Mostâfa's* deposition, the rebels laying on him the blame of all which had been done amiss, he was sent to *Egypt*. *Cant.*

(O) *Chalik* signifies maimed or wounded. He was *Imrâbor*, but would never accept of a *Pasbâlik*. There was another of the name, who was made *Janîzar-Aga* by the rebels under *Ahmed III.*—*Cant.*

(P) He succeeded *Chalik Ahmed Aga* as *Buyûk Imrâbor*, or great sword-bearer ; was afterwards *Pasbâ* of *Halep* ; then of *Jerusalem* ; and, lastly, *Seraskier* of the *Morea*, as he now is. *Cant.*

(Q) According to *Ricaut*, on this occasion, there having been only 15 paises left in the treasury by *Ahmed*, the great officers and *Uiemas* were taxed ; the *Wazîr* in a million and half, besides five millions in jewels. The queen mother advanced seven

millions and a half in ready money ; and half a million was taken from the widow of the late *Soltân*.

(R) For his great beauty called *Elmas*, or the diamond, by *Soltân Mohammed IV.* He was discrete, sober, and prudent, free from covetousness (a rare instance among the *Turkish* nobility), and a great lover of justice ; except when reasons of state obliged him to make away with rivals. Though not so experienced in war, as other old *Pasbâs*, the defect was supplied by good natural parts, and a wonderful quickness in executing affairs.—*Cant.*

(S) He who sets the *Tura*, mark, or character, of the *Soltân's* name at the top of all the *Fermâns*, or orders which are made. This is a very honourable place.—*Cant.*

then

A. D.
1695.

Puts him
to death.

Takes Lip-
pa and Li-
tul.

then *Rekinb Kaymakâm* (T). By this means he gains such a reputation, that the people revere him as a sun rising from behind a thick cloud; and the soldiers come voluntarily, offering themselves to serve under him the ensuing campaign.

ALL things being ready, early in the spring, he commands the *Wazîr* to encamp without *Adrianople*. Three days after, disguising himself to know what was said of him, and his ministers, by the soldiers, he finds, that they still supposed every thing to be directed at pleasure by the *Wazîr*, without his knowledge. As this increased his resentment against that great officer, he resolves to destroy him; and, perceiving, while he examines the warlike stores, that the carriages of the larger cannon were not sufficiently strengthened with iron, sharply reprimands him. The *Wazîr*, to clear himself, casts the blame on the *Topchi Bâshi* (U): but this latter, in his own defence, declares, that the *Wazîr* had refused to give him the iron which was wanting. The *Wazîr* not being able to deny this, *Soltân Mostafa* orders him to be put to death, and his body to be exposed for three days in the *Sirik Meydân*.

HE is succeeded by *Elmas Mohammed Pasbâ* before-mentioned, a person of most acute genius, and worthy that dignity; but not without the murmurs of the old *Pasbâs*, who resented that they should be commanded by a youth unexperienced in affairs. However, *Soltân Mostafa*, regardless of these murmurs, passes the *Danube* (W), with his army, near *Belgrade*, and takes *Lippa* (X). Afterwards he reduces *Titul*, and demolishes the walls of both places. Mean time, being informed by the *Tatar* scouts, that *Veterani*, with 7000 *Ger-*

■ CANT. in *Mostafa* II. p. 395, & seqq.

(T) That is, *Deputy Stirrup-bolder*, who is appointed to transact affairs when the *Wazîr* is at war.—Cant.

(U) Overseer of the cannon, and soldiers thereto belonging, with the *Kombaraji*, or gunners. The powder, balls, and rest of the artillery, are under the care of the *Jebeji Bashi*.—Cant.

(W) He set out the 10th of June, with an army of 50,000 mén, ordering, among other regulations, that no man should be served by boys, or ride into cultivated grounds. *Ricaut*.

(X) On the 7th of September 1695, putting all the garrison to the sword: for the *Turks* having got a good way before, the elector of *Saxony*, who had a somewhat stronger army, not able to overtake them, on account of the bad ways, after four days march was obliged to turn back to his former camp, leaving the enemy at liberty to attack *Lippa*; which they took by storm, after four hours desperate engagement. *Ricaut*.

rans from *Transilvania*, was within eight hours march of the imperial army, commanded by *Frederick Augustus* (Y), elector of *Saxony*, he sends *Mahmûd Beg Oglî*, *Beglerbeg* of *Râm Ili*, with the light-armed forces to intercept them, and follows hastily with the rest of his army. The second day he comes in fight of the *Germans*, who might be called the most courageous troops which *Germany* ever produced : for, without any sign of fear, they halt ; and, in a manner, challenge to battle the *Turks*, pouring upon them in prodigious numbers.

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MAHMUD Beg Oglî, though much superior in strength, orders his troops not to engage, but only keep the enemy in play till the arrival of the *Soltân*, who immediately orders his *Janizaries* to attack them on all sides. On the other hand, the imperial general, leaving two regiments to guard the camp, had drawn-out but 5000 men into the field ; who yet so bravely sustain the shock of the *Othmâns*, that, after a short opposition, they are obliged to retire. The *Soltân*, perceiving from a distance so unexpected a slaughter of his men, in a rage advances ; and, killing several of the runaways with his own hand, urges the rest to renew the fight. The *Turks*, excited by the shame of their repulse, passing by the left wing of the *Germans*, attack their camp surrounded with carriage, and break into it, though with considerable loss. *Veterani*, seeing this, leads back his troops ; and, falling on the plunderers, makes a greater slaughter than before.

Veterani
attacked.

HEREUPON the *Turks* again fly without stopping, till met by the *Soltân* : who, seeing *Shahin Mohammed Pashâ*, reproaches him in these terms ; “ He was guilty of a great error “ who called thee *Shahin*, that is, *the falcon*, since thou doest “ not, like a falcon with rapacious talons, strike at thy enemy’s head ; but, like a crane, draw after thee a company “ of fugitives.” *Shahin*, stung with these expressions, rallies with *Mohammed Beg* the flying troops ; and, resolving to conquer or die, makes a third attack upon the *Germans*. The *Janizar-Aga*, reprimanded by the *Wazîr*, does the like by the dispersed *Janizaries*. Thus the fight, being renewed, continues for several hours with great ardor ; and the *Germans* would probably have withstood all their efforts, if *Vete-*

His brave
defence,

(Y) Called by the *Turks*, take the *Turks* at *Lippa* ; but *Naal Kiran*, or the horse-shoe breaker, on account of his wonderful strength when young. *Cant.*—The elector was advanced again, in hopes to over-

they, being reinforced with 6000 *Tatars*, were marched towards *Transilvania* to attack *Veterani* in his camp, where he had 6500 men. *Ricaut.*

A. D. 1695. *rani* had not, in the heat of the battle, been obliged by a wound (Z) to quit his horse, and get into a waggon : for, on sight of this, the imperialists destitute of a commander, retire.

and retreat.

HOWEVER this retreat was performed in so good order, that *Soltân Mostafa*, perceiving it dangerous by pursuit to drive such valiant hearts to despair, privately orders the *Mufti*, by some means, to keep the *Othmân* army in the camp. This that prelate effects by a *Fetvah*, declaring, *That it is contrary to the precepts of the Korân to pursue too closely a flying enemy ; and that he would lose the crown of martyrdom, who should perish in such a case.* And indeed the *Soltân* had many important reasons for restraining his soldiers from any farther engagement ; since the death of 1000 horse and 1500 foot, slain on the enemy's part, had been revenged by the slaughter of the chief officers of the army (A), with about 10,000 common soldiers. The *Soltân* therefore, leaving the *Germans* to make a secure retreat, leads back his forces towards the *Danube*. In this march he takes *Logusb* and *Karansebes*, places destitute of defence (B) ; and, demolishing them, returns triumphant through *Walakhia* (C) to *Constantinople*. On the other hand, *Frederick Augustus*, having rather shown his troops to the enemy, than led them to battle, without any trophies, sends them into winter-quarters.

The Poles
quitt.

THE *Poles*, either on account of the king's indisposition, or deterred by their former losses, do not venture to re-enter *Moldavia* this campaign ; content with having secured their conquests, and defended their borders from the perpetual incursions of the *Tatars*. These never failed every year to lay-

(Z) He was shot through the body with a musket-ball, and cut over the head with a simeter, of which wounds he died. All his men were cut to pieces, having had to deal with 18,000 *Janizaries*, and 40,000 *Spahis*. *Ricaut*.

(A) *Mahmûd Beg Oglî*, *Beglerbeg* of *Rûm Ili* ; *Shabân Mehmed Pasbâ* ; *Ibrâhîm Pasbâ*, brother of *Kojah Jaffer Pasbâ*, and others of the first rank.

(B) According to *Ricaut*, the *Soltân*, for these exploits, got great esteem among his great men ; although nothing could be ascribed to his experience,

nor did he give any great indication of bravery : for in all actions he kept at a distance, and out of musket-shot, yet he wrote several letters to his mother, and several *Pasbâs*, extolling his actions, and declaring, that he had slain 10,000 *Germans*, and taken 3000 prisoners.

(C) In passing through *Walakhia*, strict discipline was kept. A *Tatar* was hanged for taking a kid by force ; and two *Turks* for robbing a bee-hive. The *Soltân* stopped a while about *Widdin*, and crossed the *Danube* opposite to *Nikopolis*.

waste *Podolia* and *Pokutia*, as far as *Leopolis*, and take the inhabitants prisoners, who confided too much in the *Polish* arms: nay the winter was hardly over, when *Kaplan Gyeray*, *Khán* of *Krím* assaulted the very suburbs of that city, carried-off four pieces of cannon from the very gate, and returned with above 14,000 prisoners; having been within a little of seizing general *Tablonowski* himself (D). *Peter I. Czar* of *Russia*, with a design intirely to destroy this pest, in the beginning of summer attacks *Azak* (or *Asof*), the strongest bulwark of *Krím Tartary*: but his soldiers, not being yet used to sieges, he was forced to retire (E) without success.

THE war was carried-on most successfully this year against Venetian the *Venetians* (F), who, flushed with their conquest of *affairs*. *Khios* (G), claimed the dominion of the sea; and the *Turkish* ships not daring to appear, frequent consultations were held at the *Porte*, for the restoration of their naval power. In these *Mezzo Morto* (H), at that time no more than the commander

(D) *Ricaut* inserts a letter of the *Polish* general himself, who gives a different account, viz. that, the 10th of *February* 1695, *Zabas* (or *Shabaz*) *Gberey*, son of the *Khán*, encamped with 70,000 *Tatars* in the plains of *Crakovian Leopolis*, with design to plunder, and carry-off slaves, which they did for eight days: that next day the general, gathering only 3000 men, making a sally to secure the suburbs, was attacked by the enemy, who strove to force the outworks fortified only with hedges, and a wall of mats; but, after 13 desperate attacks in four hours, were repulsed with great slaughter: that they then got between them and the city, with design to keep the *Poles* employed on that side, while they broke through the hedge on the other side; but, after two hours assault, were repulsed with great loss, though the number was unknown. Of the *Poles* only 100 were killed. Next

day the *Tatars* marched homeward.

(E) According to *Ricaut*, the *Russians* took *Asof* after 57 days siege, the *Khán* of *Krím* arriving there 2 days after the surrender.

(F) They however have success in the *Morta*, from whence a strong party of them advance as far as *Thebes*; when, after giving the *Turks* an intire defeat, they ravage all the country, and carry-off a great booty, besides a vast number of prisoners. *Ricaut*.

(G) It is, by the *Turks*, called *Sakis*, which signifies *Mafick*, because the island abounds with it. It is commonly named *Scia* by *Europeans*.

(H) *Mezzo* pronounced *Metzo*. — An *African*, born of *Moorish* parents, famous for his piracies when young, from *Tunis*. Being so grievously wounded in a fight, wherein he was taken by the *Spaniards*, that his life was despaired of, he got the name of *Medzo Morto*, or half dead.

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mander of a single ship, made a figure : for, being sent for to the council, he not only advised them against a defensive war, which the majority was inclined to, but undertook to recover *Khios* himself with four *Soltâns* only, and eight gallees. The admiral, *Amujeh Oglî Huseyn Pasbâ*, at this proposal, treats him with contempt, as a presumptuous rash man ; and even adds threats to his reprimand. But the *Seraskier Mesrîli Oglî* (I), who had the chief direction of the war against the *Venetians*, approving of his scheme, delivers to him the ships which he wanted ^w,

Defeated
by Metzo
Morto.

WITH these *Mezzo Morto* galls for *Khios*, followed soon after by the whole *Turkish* fleet ; and, after taking two of the *Venetian* ships, appointed for defence of the haven, obliges the rest to fly (K). The garrison, who before contemned the *Turks*, on sight of this defeat, quite lose their courage. They never imagined, that the *Turkish* fleet, so often defeated, could be repaired so soon ; or that there was any person among the enemy able to teach them the art of naval war : so that, trusting solely to their fleet, they had taken no care to fortify their city. And, as their whole business there had been to shut up the *Greek* churches, and commit other violences in breach of their faith ; so now finding themselves unable to defend the place against so numerous an army, they turn their resentment against their fellow-citizens ; and, calling them traitors, resolve to plunder and kill them. The *Greeks*, seeing themselves in this dangerous situation, endeavour to mitigate the fury of their tyrants, and incline them to mercy, by giving them strong proofs of their fidelity : but, finding the

^w CANT. ubi supr. p. 397, & seqq.

dead. After 17 years imprisonment, he was redeemed, and fell to his old trade with great success. For his services at *Khios*, he was made captain of a galley ; and, when the *Soltân* was going to confer on him the honour of admiral and *Wazîr*, with 3 *Tûgs*, he was allowed to retain his sailor's habit. When urged by the other *Wazîrs* to lay it aside, he said, the *Turkish* dress did not suit with sailors, and that fine cloaths were the greatest reproach to a mariner : so that, since then, all

the admirals and captains of ships have worn the sea-habit. He instructed the sailors and marine forces in the art of fighting at sea. CANT.

(I) Next to *Koja Jaffer* for bravery. He was so called as being the son of *Egyptian* parents. CANT.

(K) *Ricant* says, they were worsted in two engagements at sea, to the great wonder of *Europe*, and loss of their reputation ; and that the *Turks*, had they followed their blow, might have destroyed the whole fleet.

calumnies

calumnies of their accusers prevail against them, for want of a better remedy, they inform the *Seraskier* of the danger they are in. A. D. 1695.

THAT general, imagining this to be a stratagem of the *Venetians* to prevent a sudden attack, defers undertaking the siege of *Khios*; and so gives the *Venetians* time, after plundering the inhabitants and churches, to embark with their effects on board the ships remaining in the harbour (L). Next day the *Seraskier*, acquainted with the flight of the *Venetians*, takes the city; and, dragging-out from their lurking places, such as their ships could not contain, puts them to death. He likewise constrains those *Khians*, who had turned *Romanists*, either to conform to the *Greek* church, or submit to captivity; and, restoring to the *Greeks* the churches taken from them, shuts-up those of the *Latins* (M): thus retaliateing on the latter all the acts of tyranny which they had exercised on the former (N). Nor was their misfortune much alleviated by a victory gained by them near *Argos*, in which 400 *Turks* were said to have been slain. They desert Khios.

IN *Arabia*, the rebel *Sheykh Amîr Mohammed* is defeated by the pilgrims guarded by *Arslân Paschâ*, governor of *Tri-poli*, with some troops; and that dangerous wound of the *Othmân* empire healed for a time. *Soltân Mostafa*, on his return to *Adrianople*, solemnizes, with great pomp, these victories, as so many happy omens of his reign; and appoints *Mezzo Morto*, by whose conduct he had recovered *Khios*, Hej, 1107. A. D. 1696.

(L) *Ricant* only says, that all things being put in a consternation at *Scio*, from the two defeats suffered by the fleet, the *Venetian* commanders most shamefully abandoned the island in the night; leaving some troops, who were abroad to guard the isle, to be made slaves of.

(M) When *Medzo Morto* had taken the island, the *Latins* earnestly desired the same privileges from whence they had excluded the *Greeks*: but the latter representing, that they could not be safe, while mixed with the *Latins*, who had lately betrayed the town, and would do so again; the *Soltân*, on the *Kâpudân Paschâ*'s report, condemns them all to the galleies,

and their effects to be distributed among the *Greeks*. Nor could the *French* ambassador get them exempted from the galleies upon any other condition, but that they should renounce the *Romish*, and profess the *Greek* religion: so that at present there is not the least sign of a papist in *Khios*.—*Cant.*

(N) According to *Ricant*, they hanged up four; two of whom were deputies appointed to protect the *Romish* religion. Some however escaped with 40 of the chief families, who left all their possessions and moveables behind them: by which revolution the *Greeks* gained a full ascendant over the *Latins*.

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high admiral. He likewise rewards the rest, who had distinguished themselves in this campaign; while the *Turks* in general animated by their late successes, on issuing his commands for raising a more numerous army, list themselves voluntarily in great numbers. But, before he had made the necessary preparations for the field, *Frederick Augustus*, elector of *Saxony*, at the end of the year 1107, besieges *Temeschwar* with the imperial army. The *Soltân*, on this news, hastes to its relief; on whose approach the *Germans* abandon the enterprize, and encamp eight hours distance from that city, with a resolution to wait for the *Othmâns*.

The Turks attacked; THE *Othmâns* soon after come-up, and, pitching their tents in sight of the enemy, by advice of *Tekeli*, who attended on the *Soltân*, fortify their camp with strong ramparts, as well as wide and deep trenches; a method unusual with the *Turks*. The night following the imperial general resolves on a bold attempt, which would have been very glorious, if crowned with success. There lay between the two camps a place full of briars, surrounded with a marshy ground, scarce an *Italian* mile over; but, so thick, that a person unarmed could not pass through it. Here he orders 24 different paths to be cut; and, at day-break, the army, with as many cannon, to march through, and attack the *Turkish* ramparts. The soldiers execute these orders with great bravery; and, having discharged their artillery three or four times, make a vigorous assault on the *Soltân's* camp: but, unluckily for the imperialists, they happened upon the strongest part of it, where the *Janizaries*, and *Mesrîli* with his *Egyptians*, were posted. For all this, they penetrated their trenches, and made a great slaughter, which struck such a terror into the whole army, that the *Soltân* himself left his tent, and retired to the farthest part of the camp: but soon after they are overpowered by numbers, and repulsed with great loss of men, besides their 24 cannon.

and Germans repulsed. THIS victory was chiefly owing to the *Wazîr Etmas Mohammed Pasbâ*, who first, with his men, stopped the fury of the *Germans*, now pressing to the *Soltân's* pavilions; and, by his example, encouraged the *Janizaries*, thrown into the utmost confusion by the sudden irruption of the enemy. After the *Germans* had given way, they were intirely routed by the *Bostânji* (O); who, though designed only for the *Soltân's* guard,

(O) Or gardeners, instituted with a view, that, while they exercised themselves in the culture of gardens, they might be accustomed to heat, cold, and other severities of the weather; and

guard, and never employed before in any military service, were, in this danger, sent by *Mostafa* to assist the *Janizaries*. However there were slain, on the side of the *Turks*, *Mostafa Pâshâ*, governor of *Temiswar*, the *Wazîr's* brother, and many other officers of note, besides several thousand *Janizaries* and *Egyptians*. Of the *Germans*, those only were killed who were found in the trenches. The rest of the army stood the whole day in order of battle, expecting the *Othmâns*: but the *Soltân*, content with the present victory, orders the *Mûfti*, by a *Fetvâh*, to prohibit any farther engagement; and a few days after, marching eastward, puts an end to the campaign *.

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* As our historians are silent with regard to the *Germans* cutting roads thro' the bushes, so they mention other circumstances of moment not related by the *Turks*. According to them, the elector of *Saxony*, on the 30th of *August*, N. S. marched from his camp at *Olasch*; and, having given out, that he designed to besiege *Temiswar*, the *Turks* passed the *Danube* in order to observe his motions. On the 20th of *September* the elector advanced, and repulsed some of the enemy's cavalry with considerable slaughter; and next day was informed, by a *Chausb* taken prisoner, that the *Janizaries* were advantageously posted on the right side of a morass, their quarters reaching to the banks of the *Temes*: that another body of them encamped to the left, along the banks of the brook *Bege*, against which place their cannon was pointed, as being the only passage for an enemy to come at them; and that their camp was so well fortified on all sides, that they were not to be attacked without much difficulty and danger.

Turks
how post-
ed.A. D.
1695.

To invite the imperialists to a battle, the *Turks*, on the 24th, sallied out of their intrenchments, and, in two hours time, made other lines, where, having planted their artillery, the cannonading began briskly on both sides. On the 26th, they advanced in order of battle; and having, under cover of bushes, shrubs, and some trees, posted themselves between *Temiswar* and the imperialists, the latter marched directly to attack them: but they were so fortified with the bushes and

Battle of
Olasch.

* CANT. p. 400, & seqq.

and so become fitter to bear the fatigues of war. From them were formerly chosen the *Asâplâ*, or *furians*, the lowest kind of soldiery; and out of these the *Janizaries*. But these latter being now recruited out of their own sons, and such as will

inlist, the *Bosânji* are employed only to guard the *Soltân's* palace, dress his gardens, and row his barge. They are commanded by an officer, called *Bosânji Bâshi*, and never were used before this action, as soldiers to repel an enemy. *Cant.*

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ditches, that it was difficult to come at them. They had also a bog behind them, and a marsh on their left, besides three ranks of waggons chained together in the front; so that the attack seemed almost impracticable: however the generals being resolved upon it, at five in the evening six battalions of foot, sustained by two regiments of dragoons under general *Heusler*, marching into the bashes, charged the *Turks* in flank, whom they galled exceedingly with their fire.

The armies
fight

THE enemy's horse hereupon advanced, and charging the imperial line with great fury, 1200 of their best horse broke thro' two *Saxon* battalions, notwithstanding their brave resistance. But lieutenant-general *Zinzendorf*, with some regiments of horse belonging to the same line, beat them back, and again closed the line with *Saxon* battalions; after which he attacked the *Janizaries* in their intrenchments, and beat them back from their post. For all this, the enemy's foot being reinforced, and their horse taking the *Germans* in the flank, they were obliged to retire; only two regiments of dragoons, commanded by the young prince of *Vaudemont*, advanced to sustain them, and repulsed the *Turkish* horse. But the *Janizaries* returning to the charge, the dragoons suffered very much by their fire, officers as well as soldiers; when general *Heusler*, bringing-up another regiment to their assistance, beat back the enemy to their intrenchments, although he was himself dangerously wounded.

with va-
rious suc-
cess;

MEAN time another body of *Turkish* horse charged a body of *Germans* on the second line, who received them in such a manner as gave a check to their fury. Then *Roses*, advancing with the horse of the same line, drove them back, and pursued them about nine *Hungarian* miles; at what time victory began to declare in favour of the imperialists; and that general had orders to give over the pursuit. However some other squadrons of horse followed them to their entrenchments; from whence the *Turks* made so fierce a fire, both with great and small shot, that they were forced to retire, and were pursued by the enemy's horse, who put into disorder another of the imperial regiments which fell in their way. *Roses*, observing this, advanced with the regiment of *Caprara*, and, charging the enemy in flank, cut-off above 1000 of them.

HEREUPON the whole line marched forward, and pushed the *Turks* into their trenches; where they were in such a consternation, that the *Soltán* himself, with much difficulty, obliged them to keep their ground, and defend their entrenchments, killing several, who would have fled, with his own hand.

AT length the approach of night put an end to the battle, which the imperialists would have renewed the next day, but that the *Turks* had so fortified their camp before morning, as to have rendered it almost impregnable. The imperialists lost here a great many men, besides several brave officers; particularly general *Heusler*, and major-general *Poland*, died of their wounds: they likewise lost some cannon in the heat of the action, because their carriages were shot to pieces. On the other hand, the *Turks* had above 8000 men killed, according to the report of a *Pasbâ* taken prisoner in the battle. A. D. 1697. *their losses.*

THE *Poles*, besides their usual slowness, were prevented this year from raising an army, by the death of *John Sobieski*, after a long illness, on the 17th of *Zilkaadeh* (P); whence ensued the cabals, which attend the election of a new king of that nation. Mean time *Peter*, *Czar of Russia*, assisted by officers and gunners brought from *Germany*, with a larger and better disciplined army than the year before, assaults *Azâk* (or *Asof*) with such vigour, that the garrison, after being reduced to 400, surrendered the castle on the 18th of *Zilhajeh* (Q): and their example is soon followed by those of the castle of *Luttikh* opposite to it.

WHILE the *Russians* prevail on this side, the *Venetians* besiege *Dulcineum*, a port famous for the resort of the *Turkish* pirates; but are obliged by the garrison to raise the siege, after they had bravely repulsed *Omer Beg Pasbâ* of *Arnaud* from their trenches: although, it is likely, they would have received a notable defeat, had not *Liberakhi*, prince of *Mania*, drawn his countrymen by a stratagem to revolt, so that the *Othmân* forces being thus weakened, the *Seraskier* thought fit to retreat. The *Venetians*, on the other hand, content with defending their former acquisitions, apply themselves to repair *Hexamilion* (R), in order to secure the *Morea* by land.

AT sea, *Mezzo Morto*, *Kapudân Pasbâ*, regulates the fleet, in a manner before unknown to the *Turks*; avoids engaging, as his predecessors used, without regard to wind or situation; and watches all the motions of the *Venetians*: who, struck with admiration at his conduct, dare not hazard an engagement; so that nothing memorable was performed on either side the whole year.

• RICAUT, in Mostafa II.

(P) June 6, 1697.

(Q) The 6th of July,

(R) A wall six miles long,

built across the *Isthmus* of *Korinth*, with a town not far off to the south-west.

MOSTAFA,

A. D.
1697.Moṣṭafa's
triumph.Persian
ambassa-
dor.

MOSTAFA, having led back, and disbanded, his army at *Adrianople*, removes to his other capital, which he enters with as much pomp as if his victories had been far superior to those of the conquerors of *Constantinople*, *Hungary*, and *Egypt* (S). Yet the greatest ornament of this triumph was the 24 pieces of cannon taken from the *Germans* near *Temeſwar*, followed by several noble captives taken in the former battle against *Veterani*. On the third day after this publick entry, the *Soltān* visits the monument of *Abu Ayūb Anṣārī*, where he is girt with a sword by the *Shaykh* of that *Jāmi*².

ON the 1st of *November*, an ambassador from *Persia* (T) arrives at *Constantinople*; and, on the 20th, makes his entry into *Adrianople*, in great pomp, with a retinue of 150 persons; and had audience of the *Soltān*. The business of his embassy was to get *Babek Soleymān Bey* removed from his government of *Karamania*, on account of his unquiet disposition; to have a place assigned the *Persians* to pray in the temple of *Mekka*, separate from other nations; and that precedence might be given in the *Holy-Land* to the *Armenian* patriarchs, before others of the Christian sects who were subjects of the king of *Persia*. After 25 days stay, the ambassador was answered, that *Bābek*, being an hereditary prince, could not be removed without breach of the law: that the temple of *Mekka* being holy, and free alike to all *Mohammedans*, no separate place could be assigned in it to the *Persians*: lastly, that, in the time of the *Wazīr Moṣṭafa Pāshā*, the pre-eminence in the *Holy-Land* had been given to the *Franks*, in so solemn a manner, that it could not be taken away or violated. Indeed, at his request, a place of devotion at *Balata* in *Constantinople* was restored to the subjects of *Persia*, as having formerly belonged to the *Armenians*; but, after his departure, it was taken away, and the *Armenian* commissary could find no redress².

THE ceremonies before-mentioned being over, the *Soltān* applies himself wholly to warlike preparations, orders 36

² CANT., p. 402, & seqq.

² RICAUT, ubi supra.

(S) *Ricaut* says, they did not brag there much of their success this year, although they had, in reality, withstood a greater force of the Christians than for many years before: which they, in a great measure, ascribe to the valour of the *Soltān* himself.

(T) This must be understood to have been sent by *Shāh Selīm II.* otherwise called *Soleymān Huseyn*, who succeeded his father *Shāh Selīm I.* son of *Shāh Abbās II.* in 1694, and was de-throned in 1722, by *Mabmūd*, son of *Mir Faiz*, or *Wāis*, commonly called *Mirivāis*.

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1696.

large ships of war to be built, designing part of them against the *Venetians*, and part against the *Russians* (who, since the taking of *Azâk* (V), had begun to raise a fleet in the *Euxine* sea), with a great number of galleys and galliots. He honours *Mezzo morto*, the admiral, habited in a mariner's dress, with three *Tûgs*, and gives him the command of the whole sea, with the islands in it. He likewise bestows handsome rewards on the rest of the sea officers, who had distinguished themselves in former expeditions. To supply his army, he enrolls 12,000 *Tamaghi Janizaries* (U), and 8,000 *Levendi* (W); exercises daily the soldiers and courtiers in *Kyaghîz Khaneh* (X) in the use of arms; and having published a *Fermân*, orders the whole strength of the empire to be assembled at *Adrianople* about *Hedrez*^b, (or *St. George's* day). To enable him to do all these things, his first care was to provide money, by laying taxes on the people and employments. He likewise made a new regulation in the coin, never thought of by any of his predecessors, and unprecedented in any country except in *England* the year before; which was, that all the pieces of gold and silver current through the *Othmân* empire should be stamped with his own name. In consequence of this the *French* five *Sol-pieces*, *Venetian Chekins*, and *Dutch* lion dollars, many millions of which had been imported in a few years, were carried to the mint; and when recoined were delivered out for bullion, or other coin. He likewise reduced the charges of officers as much as conveniently could be: among the rest *Tekeli's* pension suffered a great retrenchment, no more than five dollars a day being allowed for the

Preparations for war.

Alters the coin.

A. D.
1697.^b CANT. p. 403. & seq.

(V) This seems to confirm *Ricaut's* account, that *Asif* was taken at the time when the *Turkish* historians say the siege was raised.

(U) Those newly listed, or taken occasionally out of the *Febeji*, or other new troops.—
Cant.

(W) A corruption of some *Italian* word. It denotes the marine forces; a disorderly kind of men: but brought under some regulation by *Mezzo Morto*. They are 14,000 in time of peace. In war the *Soltân* raises any number for 6 months,

ing them for that time 25000 dollars. It is the only branch of the *Turkish* militia wherein *Christians* are admitted. Cant.

(X) That is, the paper-mill, or house; so called from paper-mills formerly there; now a foundry for ammunition. 'Tis a very pleasant place, near the suburbs of *Aynab*. In the meadows about it the *Soltân's* horses graze in spring; and the mud of its river has supplied *Constantinople* with very good bricks and tiles, which have been used in the buildings erected there for so many ages. Cant.

main.

A. D. 1697. maintenance of himself, his consort, and retinue ; only to help them, they were licensed to sell wine, which was at that time prohibited. Accordingly the prince set up a wine-cellar within the *Græk* liberties, where he followed the vintner's trade to great advantage.

French vanity. THE *French* presuming on the obligations which the *Porte* had to them, grew very imperious ; of which we meet with an instance in the case of the *Pasbâ* of *Kayro's Bankier*, the most considerable *Jew* in *Egypt*. This *Jew* being complained of by the *French* consul in that city, for being wanting in some punctilio of respect which he claimed to himself, *Chateaufort*, the ambassador, made such a noise about it, threatening to depart home, if satisfaction was not given, that the *Wazir* thought fit to send for the *Jew* from *Egypt*, and imprison him. However, soon after the *French* influence began much to decline, when the court came to discover that they were busy in making peace with all the confederate powers then at war with them, although, at first, the ambassador confidently denied it.

S E C T. II.

Battle of Zenta, and Panic of the Turks.

Rebellion
in Asia.

THE *Soltân* all the while was very intent on preparing for the campaign : but the troops of *Asia* were detained by the progress which the rebels made in that part of the empire ; where they were grown so powerful, that they were forbidden by proclamation to transport themselves into *Europe*, on penalty of having their houses demolished, their *Ti-mârs* and *Ziamets* destroyed, with all the lands they held of the *Soltân*. These menaces so incensed them, as being soldiers, that they cut off the ears and noses of all they took prisoners ; and in that condition sent them to *Constantinople*. However, soon after, the *Soltân* promising them a general pardon, 10,000 deserted the cause, and came to serve him in his war.

Mostafa
sets forward.

MOSTAFA was now at *Sofia* in his march to *Hungary*, where the imperialists had been forced to raise the siege of *Bihacz* ; and though for want of recruits from several parts he had not above 40,000 men, yet he was resolved to proceed. He was so well pleased also on hearing the prince of *Conti* was elected king of *Poland*, that he ordered the *Wazir* to write *Tekeli* word that he had declared him king of *Hungary* ; and at the same time sent him his commission, with a letter superscribed *Orla Majjar Krâli ; To the king of Hungary*. This miserable prince was gone to the baths of *Prusa*, or *Bursa*, in *Anatolia*, for the benefit of his health ; and though

he

he was then grievously afflicted with the gout and palsy, was hurried away in a waggon by the *Chausß*, without the least regard either to his dignity or indisposition. At length the *Soltân* marched to join the forces already in *Hungary*.^c But it is time now to return to the *Turkish* historians.

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THE *Soltân* relying on this military force, though informed *Marches* that the king of *France* had concluded the war with the em- to Bel-
peror, yet rejects the peace offered by the *English* and *Dutch* grade
ambassadors, boasting that he was alone able not only to re-
press but subdue him. Towards summer therefore he
marches his troops to *Belgrade*, where, on mustering his
army, he finds it to consist of 135,000 men; besides the fa-
milies and servants of the *Pâshâs* (a very great number of
which attend the camp), with a multitude of other useless
persons. To this strong army the emperor had only op-
posed 46,000 *Germans*, under the command of prince *Eugene*
of *Savoy*, with orders not to attack the *Turks*, or engage in
battle without compulsion; but only to guard *Peterwaradin*,
and the other fortresses of *Hungary* situate on the *Danube*.

THE *Turks* having extorted this intelligence from the pri-
soners by torture, it is resolved in council to avoid the Ger- against the
mans encamped at *Segedin*, and penetrate into *Transylvania*.
This advice was given by *Tekeli*, who alledged that it would
be easy to subdue that country, both because the emperor's
general had drained the garrisons of their men, and the *Hun-*
garian rebels, assembled to the number of 50,000, offered
to join the *Othmân* troops. The army, having passed the
Danube, was ordered to move towards *Temeswar*: but in
his second day's march, hearing that the imperialists were
advanced to *Titul*, he again calls a council, wherein it was
determined to attack the enemy, lest while the *Soltân* was
in *Transylvania* they should take *Belgrade*; and by defeating
them, lay all *Hungary* open to the *Turkish* arms. To put
this design in execution, the *Soltân* orders his fleet to mount
the *Danube* to the mouth of the *Teisse*, and marches his land
forces towards *Titul*.

MEAN time the *Germans*, though but 6000 horse, per- The Turks
ceiving the approach of the *Turks* from the high mountain worsted.
on which that fortress stands, to prevent their passage, for-
tify its banks with ramparts and cannon. The *Soltân*, per-
ceiving himself braved by so small a body, orders several *Pâ-*
shâs to cross the river in open boats (Y); promising to the sol-

^c RICAUT, ubi sup.

(Y) Called *Dumba*, which the for the foundation of bridges
Turks carry in waggons to serve run over rivers.

diers

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diers 50 gold crowns for every *German* taken alive, and 25 for every head. Not knowing that the banks were fortified, they pass over without any order: but when several thousands of them were gotten on the other side, and their number began to encrease, the *Germans*, who were quiet at first, discharge their cannon among the thickest of them, and mounting their ramparts attack them sword in hand. The *Janizaries*, terrified with the unexpected noise of the cannon, and taking to flight, three thousand of them were slain: nor could one have escaped, if the fleet had not luckily come up in the nick of time, and seized the isle in the middle of the *Teisse*; by which means the *Janizaries* cross the river lower down, and then march in a body against the enemy's ramparts. Hereupon a second but slighter engagement ensues: for the *Germans* seeing the *Janizaries* continually encrease, to avoid being oppressed by numbers, retire first to the city, and thence to the plain of *Kobilu* (Z). In the evening some *Haydâks*, who stayed behind, set fire to the castle, and then follow their companions ^d.

Attempt
Peterwa-
radin.

THE *Soltân* hereupon passes the *Teisse* with the rest of his forces, and marches towards the enemy, still encamped at *Segedin*. Finding in the plain the bridge left intire by the *Germans* (through design or haste), he turns his army towards the *Danube*, and stops at the lower end of the isle formed by that river opposite to *Peterwaradin*. Here in a third consultation it is resolved to besiege that fortress, and running a bridge over the stream, pass the army, before the imperialists could march thither from their camp. This bridge was computed a work of two days, and might have been finished the second day, if some of the garrison of *Peterwaradin*, concealed in the island with four cannon, had not, when they saw the *Turks* near the bank, pierced several of their boats with great shot. For although, on the coming-up of the *Othmân* fleet, they are obliged to quit the isle, yet they prevented the *Turks* from finishing the bridge till the third day, and by that means deprived them of the victory.

The Ger-
mans ap-
pear.

FOR prince *Eugene*, who, on news of the *Soltân's* march, had left *Segedin*, with great expedition arrived that day at sun-set; and passing-by the enemy's camp, hastens to the head of the bridge, in spite of the endeavours of *Shabbaz Gyeray*

^d CANT. p. 404, & seq.

(Z) So the *Turks* call that large plain which reaches from *Titul*, *Segedin*, and *Peterwaradin*. CANT. the *Danube* to the *Teisse*, between

Soltân (A), who, to stop his swift progress, had, with 12,000 *Tatars*, burnt up all the grass; so that neither forage nor water was to be found for the space of nine hours. On this unexpected arrival of the *Germans* a fourth consultation is held, whether it was proper to attack the enemy in such an open plain, before they had fortified their camp, or to wait till they should assault the *Othmâns* in their trenches.

THE prime *Wazîr* endeavours to persuade the *Soltân* to *The Wa-* the former opinion, alledging "that it was not honourable *zir's ad-* " to suffer the enemy, who were so near, to escape without *vice* " offering them battle: that the impatience with which " God had inspired the soldiers for a battle, sufficiently de- " clared that then was the time to defeat the enemy; and " that if this ardor should be repressed, it was to be feared " it would throw the whole army into a pernicious languor, " or excite in them thoughts of sedition, for want of other " employment." This opinion of the *Wazîr* was boldly opposed by *Koja Jâffer Pasbâ*, an experienced soldier, who had been present in almost all the battles against the *Germans*. He urged, "that he had observed whenever the enemy fought " in an open plain, in which they could at pleasure open " their front, advance or retire, they had always gained the " victory, even though the *Othmân* troops were much superior in number; whereas they had never so great an army " in the field as at present: and that they were now commanded by a general of approved valour and conduct, " who, as he imagined, would not provoke the *Turks* to a " battle, unless he had placed his own troops to such advantage, as to be in a manner sure of victory."

THE *Wazîr* observing almost all the *Pasbâs* to be swayed *opposed by* by *Jâffer's* opinion, to prevent it taking place of his own, *Jâffer Pa-* stiles him an infidel and traitor for giving such advice, as if *thâ*. he had been bribed by the enemy, to prevent the *Soltân* from taking wholesome counsel. *Jâffer Pasbâ*, finding the *Wazîr's* obstinacy could not be surmounted any other way, desires the *Soltân* to remove the curtain (B), and hear in person what he had to say for the advantage of the *Othmân* interest. This being granted, *Jâffer* goes on, "But if, brother, you have " gained such high favour with God, that he inspires you

(A) Was *Khân* after his father *Selim Gyeray*, under *Ahmed III.* but soon after was surprised and slain by the *Cherkassians*, as before related. *Cant.*

(B) When upon an expedition a *Galibe Diwân* is called, the

Soltân sits indeed in it, but in a particular place, with a *Perdeb*, or certain curtain, drawn before him, where he can hear all that is said, without being seen.

Cant.

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 " blame me if, not knowing it to be fo, I do not believe it.
 " I am content to be laid in irons, by his majesty's order,
 " while you attack the enemy; and if within an hour or
 " two you do not betake yourself to a shameful flight, I
 " will submit to suffer like a stinking dog, whatever punish-
 " ment his majesty pleases to inflict: but if, which God for-
 " bid, my prediction should be fulfilled, may you give an
 " account of your imprudence to the Deity and the *Soltân*." He added, " That whatever happened to himself he should
 " adhere to his former opinion, and advise not to engage the
 " enemy, but only fortify their trenches, and wait to be at-
 " tacked: that, by this means, although the *Othmâns* should
 " not prove victorious, yet he could with certainty promise
 " they should not be defeated: that even in case the enemy
 " should pass by their camp, and advance to the head of the
 " bridge, he was of opinion they ought not to march out
 " against them, but surround them with ramparts; which
 " would oblige them, for want of provisions, either to at-
 " tack their camp, or pass the *Danube*, and so give the *Turks*
 " an opportunity of falling on them in their passage, without
 " any hazard."

*The Sol-
tân doubt-
ful.* THE *Soltân*, although he approved of *Jaffer's* advice,
 yet adjourns the council till next day; but commands his
 men to keep in their trenches, and the *Chausbi* (C) to beat
 back those who, of their own accord, had already taken the
 field. This not being sufficient to restrain the ardor of
 the soldiers for a battle, the *Mufti* proclaims by a *Fetvâh*,
That whoever should fall in such a battle, would not only lose
the crown of Shehadet (or martyrdom), but also lament their
unseasonable boldness in hell.

MEAN while prince *Eugene*, having advanced as far as
 the bridge, and with the waters of the *Danube* refreshed his
 troops almost dead with thirst and heat, drew them up, and
 in this posture remained all night. The *Turkish* soldiers
 were, on this occasion, seized with great terror, thinking
 that they had been restrained from fighting by their gene-
 ral's

(C) There are two sorts of *Chausbi*. The first are employ'd
 in the *Wazir's Diwân* to receive
 petitions of the plaintiff; to
 carry the *Wazir's* orders to the
 judge; and put his sentence in
 execution. The others, called
Alay Chausbi, are made in time
 of war, to carry the *Wazir's*
 orders to the *Pashâs*; to take
 care that the horse stand in a
 strait line; to give the signal of
 battle; to sound a retreat, and
 the like; in which they are not
 half so dexterous as the regular
Aids de Camp. Cant.

ral's fear, which they considered as the worst of omens to the *Othmân* affairs. The *Wazir* making use of these discourages in the camp, to expose *Jaffer Pashâ* to the *Soltân*, urges how fatal that officer's too great caution might prove, unless immediately obviated : for that the enemy could not be deprived of necessities, since they had the *Danube* open, and were masters of all the towns above them ; while by the *Othmân* inactivity time was lost, the army languished in idleness, and the *Germans* every day strengthened *.

BUT although the *Soltân* could not consent to attack the *Germans*, yet he complied to go and besiege *Segedin*, the *Wazir* suggesting that it could not hold out above ten days : that when taken, the whole country between the *Teisse* and *Danube* would be reduced to the *Othmân* obedience, and the neighbouring parts of *Hungary* laid open to be wasted by the *Tatars* : that the *German* army was so heavy and fatigued as not to be able to follow them : that they might indeed besiege *Belgrade*, but could have no hopes of succeeding against a place provided with such a strong garrison, plenty of provisions, and a fleet at hand to throw in supplies : that however, the more effectually to secure it, *Jaffer Pashâ* might be sent there as governor, whose abilities in defending cities had sufficiently appeared in the siege of *Temeswar*.

As this part of the *Wazir's* advice was given with a view to remove *Jaffer Pashâ* from the *Soltân*, and then find occasion to put him to death for a warning to others, *Mostafa*, who perceived it, would not consent, under pretence that *Jaffer's* counsels would be necessary in the army. Next morning, being the 5th of *Jomazio 'lâwel*, at day-break, he set forward with his forces, and after nine hours march pitches his tents near a lake, with a bridge over it, where the *Germans* had lately encamped. Next day, leaving *Kyuchûk Jaffer Pashâ* (D) behind, with 500 horse, he proceeds before day to *Zenta*, a castle, little noted before, on the banks of the *Teisse*, with extraordinary expedition.

PRINCE *Eugene*, on hearing the *Tubulkhâna*, imagined it was the signal for battle, and drew up his troops to receive the *Turks* : but when he understood by his scouts that they

* CANT. p. 405, & seq.

(D) Being taken here by the *Germans*, he gave them an exact account of the state of the *Othmân* army ; for which he was set at liberty after the battle.

Nor was he, at his return, punished by the *Soltân* for this treachery, but restored to his dignity. However he died the next year. *Cant.*

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were marching to *Zenta*, taking this to be a flight, he orders the *Hungarian* horse to haste before, and leaving behind the heavier and weaker part of his army, immediately follows, with less prudence than courage, at the head of only 16,000 men. The *Hungarians* that night coming to the lake, find the *Turks* sleeping, who expected nothing less than the enemy, and cut off the whole party, excepting the *Pâshâ's* chamberlain. This person, who escaped by means of the darkness, immediately flies to *Zenta*, and informs the *Wazir* of this disaster, and the approach of the *Germans*. That minister, to prevent the report from raising new commotions in the camp, immediately beheads the messenger of it; and informs the *Soltân* that the *Hungarians* had indeed surprised *Jâffer Pâshâ*, but were afterwards defeated by the *Othmân* forces. He had scarce made this report, when some *Tatar* troops arrive, and inform the camp that the whole *German* army were pursuing the *Othmân* forces with the utmost speed, and were now just at hand.

Mostafa
flies.

HEREUPON the *Soltân* commands his men to halt, and a bridge to be run over the *Tisze*; which was performed in four hours. At noon the *Soltân* passes over first on horseback, and when the *Wazir* came to kiss his stirrup, puts him off with a stern countenance; at the same time bidding him take care to convey over safely whatever was in the camp, for that if the enemy should take but a single waggon he should suffer an infamous death. The *Wazir* knowing it required at least two days to transport every thing, and that his ruin was inevitable if he should ever appear before the *Soltân*, at first sends over eight cannon with their ammunition, and allows the *Spâh's*, with the troops commanded by the *Pâshâ's*, to pass, but stops the rest; alledging, that the remainder of the cannon and army, which was the greater part, ought to be detained for defence of the camp, in case the enemy should attack it in the rear.

The Wa-
zâr stays.

THESE forces were scarce gotten over next day at noon, when the *Wazir* being informed the *Germans* were within three hours march of the camp, that he might not die without his rivals, sends for all the *Pâshâ's* who had already passed over with their troops, under pretence of consulting them. They being obliged to obey his order, return on foot, as the waggons on the bridge would not allow horses to pass; and being all assembled, except the *Kaymaykâm*, *Bayukli Mostafa Pâshâ* the *Wazir* tells them, "That the enemy being now
" in sight, they, who had refused to fight when they had a
" convenient place and opportunity, should now be forced to
" do it, without those advantages: that they had but one
" hap-

“ happiness left, to be *Gâzi*, if they conquered, or *Shehid*, if they died valiantly; and as one of those inestimable privileges waited for him that day, he thought it unreasonable to defraud them, his brethren, of the right they had to be partakers with him. Behold, therefore, continued he, paradise open before you, which I command you by the divine injunction to enter, and enjoy the delights promised by our prophet: but if you refuse to obey the law, and my orders, my sword* (which he shewed) shall deprive you both of the life which you desire, and the paradise which you despise.”

• THE *Pâshâs*, not daring to oppose the *Wazîr* in the midst of the camp, or knowing how to escape, pretend obedience, and retire to the trenches; which being too extensive for the forces which remained, they began to form a lesser trench within the greater. The soldiers indeed complained, and reproach'd the *Wazîr* to his face with their imminent danger, yet obey'd his orders, as their own safety was concerned. Mean time the German army appears, and covers the whole plain; at which sight the *Soltân*, enraged, sends repeated *Khatishâris* to the *Wazîr*; commanding him to send over the *Janizaries*, cannon, and ammunition, let what would become of the other carriages. But *Ehmâs Mohammed* conceals these orders from the *Pâshâ's*, and answers the bearer, *that he had rather die fighting valiantly with his sword, than be put to death by the Soltân*; and stops the *Janizaries* from passing. In this he is assisted by the negligence of the herdsmen, who, seeing the Germans approach, drive all the cattle appointed for drawing so many thousand waggons into the river. The stream forcing them against the bridge, they endeavour to mount it, and thus sink three of the boats on which it was founded; so that no more than one man at a time could make a shift to pass upon planks laid across.

THE imperial forces arrive about three hours before night; and imagining the Turkish camp to be only guarded by the carriages, fall on at once, but are repulsed with considerable loss. Therefore when they find, that besides two rows of waggons, chained together, the Turks were fortified by a double trench; and that the forces on this side the river were much superior in number to their own, they resolve to go another way to work. The channel of the *Teisse*, when swollen by the autumnal or winter rains, is full of water, which falling in summer, leaves a sandy space of thirty paces at the foot of the western banks of the river, which are high and scraggy. Here prince *Eugene* orders a trench to be dug a little below the Turkish camp; and several regiments to fall

Battle of Zenta.

A. D. 1697. on the enemy that way within, while he attacked them without. And lest the *Soltân*, to reinforce the *Wazîr*, should repair the bridge, he plants two cannon near the head of it, which quickly demolish it. To prevent this, *Mîstafa* had ordered *Arnaud Abdi the Kyehaya* (E), with four cannon, to fire from the opposite bank; but having nothing to secure the engineers but a place covered with reeds, he was forced to remove them, after several of them had been killed.

The Turks over-thrown. INDEED every thing seemed to conspire the destruction of the *Turks*: for the *Janizaries* themselves having repulsed the *Germans* from the outer trench, retire into the inner, and declare their resolution to defend it. But the *Wazîr*, with the rest of the *Pashâ's*, endeavouring to divert them from their purpose, first by entreaties, and afterwards by force, they turn their despair into rage, and destroy not only the *Wazîr* and *Pashâ's*, but all their own officers, excepting their *Agâ Delli Bâlta oğlu* (F). In the midst of this confusion part of the *German* forces seize the outer trench abandoned by the *Turks*, and feign to attack the inner; with a view to draw the enemy from that side of the camp next the river, and by disposing their own men along the bank, render the assault more easy. These appearing suddenly at the head of the bridge, the *Othmâns*, struck with terror, employ their whole strength in that part to hinder the *Germans* from entering. The inner trench being thus left negligently guarded, the imperialists, who were on that side seize it, and fall in the rear upon the *Turks* fighting at the river; who, now inclosed, and pressed on all hands, fight bravely, though in confusion. But at length, having in vain attempted to force a passage, in the space of three hours are all slain to a man.

THE account *Ricaut* gives of this famous battle is as follows. The imperialists under prince *Eugene*, having marched towards *Titul* and the *Teisse*, to meet the *Turks*, strongly en-

^f CANT. p. 407, & seq.

(E) He was inferior to none in courage and political knowledge. After the battle of *Zenta*, being the only surviving *Pashâ*, he was honoured by the *Soltân* with three *Tûgs*, and ordered to conduct the forces to *Belgrade*. And as this was what never happened to any before (for all the *Pashâ's* are created by

the *Wazîr*, and receive from him their badges of authority), he obtained the name of *Pâdishâb Chiraghi*. He was afterward made *Pashâ* of *Egypt*. CANT.

(F) Surnamed *Delli*, or the *Mad*, on account of his excessive daringness, in rushing on the enemy. CANT.

trenched

trenched themselves. Hereupon the *Wazir* assembles all his *Pashâ's*, 15 in number, and leaves the *Soltán* on the other side of the river, with part of the army: the *Arnauds* observing the *Germans* advance to attack them, endeavoured to pass the bridge, and fly. Their example the *Janizaries* intended to follow, saying they were deserted by the *Spâhî's*: but the *Wazir* interposing with his *Pashâ's*, to prevent their flight, and killing a great number of the *Arnauds*, they mutinied, and killed him. However, some *Spâhî's* posting themselves at the farther end of the bridge, would let none pass over. By this time the imperialists, having put themselves in order of battle, furiously assailed the *Turks* on all sides, who, at the second attack, began to give way; and being strangely terrified at the great slaughter which was made, threw themselves headlong into the river, where the major part of them were drowned. So considerable a number of men was never before known to have been destroyed in so short a space of time; for the whole action did not last above two or three hours².

By the lists there appeared to have been killed 14,070 *Janizaries*, with their *Agâ*; 73 *Ojak* and *Bulâk Agulari*; 3700 *Topchi* and *Jebeji*; 7000 *Arnauds* (G). The *Wazir Elmâs Mohammed Pashâ*, fifteen *Pashâ's* of three horse-tails (H); twenty-seven *Pashâ's* of two or one horse-tail; besides a great number of the usual attendants on *Turkish* camps: so that the whole number of slain may be justly computed (I) at above thirty thousand. The only person who escaped was *Mahmûl ebn ogli* (K) *Pashâ* of the *Arnauds*; who, being twice

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Kill their
Pashâs.

² RICAUT in Mustapha II.

(G) They are the bravest and boldest of all men in war, as resolute yet more discreet in attacks than the *Janizaries*. They are so expert in shooting, as to make nothing of taking an egg or apple from off their wife's or mother's head with a bullet, at 200 paces distance. *Cant.*

• (H) The most eminent of whom were *Koja Jaffer Pashâ*, *Misrli Ogli*, who recovered *Khi-os*, *Kiosch Halil Pashâ* of *Diya-hekr*, and *Fazli Pashâ* of *Sherculi* (*Shabrûl*). This last was famous for his learning (whence called *Fazli*), and other excellent qualities. He was, for his

fine writing, made *Kyehâya* by the *Wazir Elmas Mohammed*. *Cant.* *Ricaut* mentions all the *Pashâs* above recited

(I) The *Turks* were never known to fight so stoutly; for not one was taken alive. And had not the *Janizaries*, before the battle, slain their commanders, men renowned for valour, 'tis generally thought, that with their assistance they might easily have repulsed, if not defeated, the *Germans*, who were much inferior to them in number. *Cant.*

(K) *Beglerbeg* of *Rûm ili* [or *Rumelia*], whose family has there a great estate. *Cant.*

H 3

wounded,

A. D. 1697. wounded, was saved by the strength of his horse, who conveyed him over the river. However, the *Othmàn*s did not fall unrevenged, for six thousand *Germans* are said to have perished in that expedition (L).

Strange
panic

SOLTAN *Mostafa*, who was a melancholy, as well as idle, spectator of this misfortune, was seized with such a panick, that at midnight, without any guide or light, he abandons his camp, although there was nothing to be feared from the *Germans*; who, fatigued with toil, could not repair the bridge in sight of his numerous army. He directs his course towards *Temeswar*, putting to death the *Kâpuji Bâshi*, *Shahin Nohammed*, a *Venetian* by birth, as a dignified Christian, and bribed by the *Germans* to suggest pernicious counsels; only because he advised him not to leave his camp dishonourably, and by an unnecessary flight give the enemy, who had destroyed but a small part of his army, an entire victory. To add to the misfortune, the night was so dark that the *Soltân's* retinue, unable to discern the road, turning too much to the right, towards the *Teisse*, fell into marshy grounds, from which they were obliged to free themselves by leaving their horses and baggage behind. At length, about sun-rise, *Soltân Mostafa* comes to the place where a battle had been fought the year before with the *Germans*; and there changing his horse, as well as habit, unknown to all, flies with the utmost speed to the city whither he was bound.

of the
Turks

THE army arriving at noon near the same place, and perceiving neither the *Soltân*, nor any of the great officers among them, are struck with great surprize; which being increased by a rumour that the *Soltân* was taken by the *Hungarians*, or betrayed by his followers to the enemy, the soldiers disperse themselves different ways, every one anxious how to escape the *Germans*, whom they every moment imagined to be at their heels. In the evening, when they came to *Temeswar*, the governor, who had been ordered by the *Soltân* to conceal his arrival, lest the *Germans* hearing of it should invest him there, shuts the gates against them; which increases the rumour of *Mostafa's* being taken, as well as their distress: for, having been too much in haste to bring provi-

(L) The emperor, in his letter to *William III.* king of *England*, inserted by *Ricaut*, says, that in this battle, fought 10th *August* 1697, the *Turks* were 30,000 strong; that 10,000 were killed on the spot; and that the bridge being too nar-

row for the rest to get over, they threw themselves into the river, and were most of them drowned: that 72 cannon were taken, and some thousands of waggons laden with provisions; and that only 500 *Germans* were killed, and as many wounded.

sion

sion with them, both men and beasts were ready to die with thirst; and if there were any stinking puddles to be found in the dried-up morafs, about *Temefwar*, those who were strongest (M) seized them, and excluded the rest ^h.

and their
Soltân

AT last, after the *Gihmân* army had, for three days, been like a ship in a stormy sea, without either rudder or pilot, *Soltân Mostafa*, finding there was no danger from the *Germans*, discovers himself to his soldiers. These testify their joy on sight of him, as if he had returned in triumph, and cry out, they regard not their misfortune, since they were assured of their emperor's safety, and would take a severe revenge upon the enemy. Next day *Mostafa* leads his troops towards *Belgrâde*, and being met at *Ali-bunar* (N), by *Amâk-jegli Hufseyñ Pashâ*, governor of that city, whom he had sent for, as there were present no other *Pashâs* honoured with three *Tûgs*, he confers on him the *Wazîr-bîp*. After a short stay at *Belgrade*, he returns, in the end of *Jemazîo'kirwel* 1109, with his army, to *Adrianople*. Hej. 1109. A. D. 1698.

THIS was the fate of the *Turkish* forces after the battle. As for the imperialists, they continued all night in the place of victory, apprehensive of some stratagem usual among the *Turks*; but next day passed the *Teiffe*, and gleaned-up what *Tekeli* (O) had left in the camp. After this, being discouraged from the siege of such strong cities, as *Temefwar* and *Belgrade*, by the lateness of the season (P), they turned their arms against *Bosnia*, took the castle of *Doba* and *Mogla*, set fire to *Saray*, the capital of the country, and reduced almost the whole province. In this distress the *Turkish* forces appointed to guard the same, not knowing what other me-

Affairs of
Bosnia.

^h CANT. p. 411, & seq.

(M) Prince *Cantemir*, who was in the army at that time, gives a particular account of the confusion and distress it was in.

(N) The fountain of *Ali*, between *Temefwar* and *Belgrade*. As it lies very high for a prospect, the spies commonly meet there. *Cant.*

(O) After the defeat, knowing the bridge could not be repaired by the *Germans* in so short a time, he stayed all night in the camp, where he plundered all which was most valuable;

and by that means got greater riches than he could have done from the *Soltân's* pension, which was hardly sufficient to maintain him. *Cant.*

(P) However, on the 30th of *October*, some troops were detached towards *Karansebes* and *Vipalanka*; which being invested, on the 4th of *November*, by general *Rabatin*, was taken by storm on the 6th, and all the garrison of 800 men put to the sword, with the loss only of ten *Germans*; and thus the campaign ended. *Ricaut.*

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thod to take, go to *Dâltabân Mostafa Pashâ* (Q), who then happened to be at *Bichkia*, a town of *Bosnia*, and force him to take the command upon him. Under his conduct the *Turks* resume their courage, and not only repulse the victorious *Germans*, but oblige them to retreat beyond the *Save*, and take from them four and twenty castles, situated on both sides of that river.

Russian
and Venetian

IF we turn our eyes to other quarters, we shall find that the *Russians* this summer employ themselves in fortifying *Azakh* and *Lulkh* with new works, without any disturbance from their enemies; while the new king of *Poland*, *Frederick Augustus*, before elector of *Saxony*, is busy to gain the nobles, and prepare for the next campaign. Not long after the *Venetians* send a fleet into the *Mediterranean*; and *Kiel Mehemed Beg* (R), with his gallies, attempts *Tinos*: but being repulsed by *Bartolomeo Moro*, quits that island. Several other slight battles happened at sea with various success. The *Turkish* fleet, taking three pirate ships, carry them to *Constantinople*: on the other hand, as the *Turks*, after a short dispute, twice seemed to avoid a fight, the *Venetians* challenge two victories¹.

S E C T. III.

The peace of Carlovitz, and deposition of Mostafa.

inclinations to
peace.

SUCH were the events of this campaign. The beginning of the next might be justly said to confirm the *Turkish* proverb, *An enemy does never perfectly know the state of his*

¹ CANT. p. 414—422.

(Q) Famous for his warlike virtues. From a simple *Janizary* he at length became *Janizary Aga*; and from walking on foot about the city, instead of on horseback, both day and night, to see if order was observed, got the name of *Dâltabân*; that is, *unshod*, or *barefooted*. He was by the *Wazîr Husseyn Pashâ* made governor of *Bâghdâd*, and sent against the *Arabs*, whom he defeated, tho' 120,000 strong, and killed 32,000, with only 12 regi-

ments. He also recovered *Bosra* [a mistake for *Bâsrah*, or *Bassora*] from them. Cant.

(R) There are in the isles many *Begs*, who have one galley at least; wherewith they trade in time of peace, and exercise piracy in time of war. *Mehemed Beg* was richer than the rest, and kept three galleys at his own charge. The name of *Kiel* was given him, for having a bald and scurfy head. The *Greeks* called him *Kafida*. Cant.

enemy.

enemy. *Soltân Mostafa*, after his return to *Constantinople*, makes all possible preparations for war; but with a mind troubled, and foreboding ill success. The *Turks*, who had before entered voluntarily into the service, are now backward in obeying even the *Soltân's* commands, and inflexible either to intreaties or threats. *Mostafa*, while he passes in disguise through the assemblies of the people, frequently hears these words from the citizens and soldiers: "For the *Othmans* to defeat the *Germans*, is a thing beyond their power. God has publickly testified, that he is on the side of the *Gyawrs*. He has signified his decree in that respect by sufficient tokens. It is in vain therefore to shed such torrents of *Musulmân* blood, while we are to contend as well against God as man." The *Soltân*, who knew how necessary peace was to recover the exhausted state of the empire, earnestly wished for it: but was prevented from proposing it, lest the enemy should become elated, and the honour of the *Othmân* empire diminished. The *German* emperor was no less impatient on his part for an end of the war: not that he despaired of victory against the *Turks*, but he feared that if the king of *Spain* should die before the war was finished, the disputes which would arise, concerning the succession, might stop the progress of his arms. However, he thought it dishonourable to desire peace of a conquered enemy, and of his own accord offer him the palm. The *English* and *Dutch* ambassadors, indeed, were at hand to mediate a peace: but their offers having been so often rejected, they chose rather to hear peace sought for, than to propose it.

THE chief interpreter of the *Othmân* court, *Alexander Maurokordatus*, perceives the inclination of both parties; *kordatus* and as he was no less sagacious, and fond of glory, than devoted to the interest of the *Porte*, resolves to raise himself a great reputation by rescuing the *Turkish* empire from destruction. As his hopes of this were chiefly grounded on the pacifick disposition of the *Wazîr Housseyn Pasbâ*, he, in a visit to him, turning the conversation upon the subject of peace, tells him; that by considering the present situation of affairs in *Christendom*, he could with certainty affirm the *German* emperor was very desirous of a peace with the *Othmans*. The *Wazîr* answers, it was not probable that the emperor, flushed with his late victory, and full of hopes, would accept of peace, though offered; much less desire it. *Maurokordatus* replies, it might seem so indeed: but that if a week's time was allowed him to sound the Christian ambassadors, he would engage to procure not only the emperor's consent, but even his request for a negotiation.

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1698.to compass
it.

HAVING easily obtained leave, *Maurokordatus* waits on the ambassadors, and pretending "that he came of his own accord, in gratitude for the favours he had received from the emperor, and to demonstrate the fidelity due from him as a Christian; said, he knew the emperor, from his apprehensions of a *French* war, was very desirous of peace; that he would not discover this to the *Turks*, lest it should make them more large in their demands: but that, if they would confide in him, with a power to manage the affair as he should think proper, he would undertake to settle a peace on such terms as the emperor might reasonably desire." In the mean time he required of them an oath of secrecy, alledging the danger both himself and family should be exposed to, if suspected by the *Turks* of the least unfaithfulness. The ambassadors replied, "That the emperor would not perhaps reject honourable conditions of peace, yet would never ask it of the *Porte*: but that in case the interpreter, in his own name, would propose the affair, he would lay a great obligation on his imperial majesty."

Sounds }
both parties.

MAUROKORDATUS, returning to the *Wazîr*, gives him a very different account: for he tells him, he found by the Christian ambassadors that the emperor was not only not averse to peace, but very desirous of it, and had requested them, by any means, to put an end to the war. The *Wazîr* seemed by this speech to be raised from the dead; and embracing the artful framer of lies (S), says to him, "If you execute this divine work, and restore the wished-for tranquility to our empire, you may be assured that you will highly oblige the *Sultân*, and for ever endear the memory of your services to the rulers of the *Othmân* state." By these artifices of *Maurokordatus* both the *Turks* and Christians are induced to speak a little more openly concerning the affair of peace, and think they may do it without detriment to the honour of their respective masters, because each party being deceived by the *Othmân* interpreter, imagines the first proposal came from the enemy.

French
opposition.

As soon as these things became publick, *Feriele* (T), the French

(S) *Alexander*, who had a perfect knowledge of the eastern languages and poetry, seems herein to have followed the instructions of *Sheykh Saadi*, the famous *Persian* poet, especially where he says in his *Gyulistan*,

"A lie which does a [good] work, is better than truth which breeds confusion." Can-temir.

(T) He succeeded *Chateau-neuf*; was haughty and obstinate; opposed the *Porte* in many

French ambassador endeavoured, by bribes, promises, and other arts, to prevent a negotiation; alledging that his master had only made a short truce with the emperor, and that in a few years he would invade *Germany* with a greater force than ever. But the *Othmân* court having, by fatal experience, often found the insincerity of *French* promises, that ambassador's efforts are to no purpose; and he is ordered to desist from his design^k.

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MEAN time the *Turks*, omitting no measures proper to stop the progress of the *Germans*, Soltân Mostafa, in the end of *Zilkaadeh*, 1109, removes to *Adrianople*; from whence, on the first of next month, he orders the *Wazîr* to march with the army towards *Hungary*, while he spends the summer in the village of *Akbunar* (U), expecting the issue of the conferences relating to peace. In the same hopes both armies, the imperialists at *Peterwaradin*, and the *Turks* near *Belgrade*, continue without motion, and only guard their borders. The like is done by the *Russians* and *Poles*. The *Venetians* indeed have a slight engagement, near *Mitylene*, with the *Othmân* fleet, which is put to flight; and in *Dalmatia* attempt to take *Stolaz* by stratagem, but are forced to retire. The *Seraskier*, on the other hand, endeavours to reduce *Cing*; but on the approach of the *Venetians* raises the siege.

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1109.
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THUS much for the state of hostilities, this campaign. Let us now see what passed with regard to peace. The preliminaries having been settled at *Constantinople*, ambassadors were appointed by all the princes engaged in the war. The *Turks* chose *Rami Mehemed Reis Effendi* and *Alexander Maurokordatus*, honoured with the title of *Beg* and *Mahremî Esfar* (X); the emperor, count *Pettingen* and count *Schlik*, his privy counsellors; the *Czar* of *Russia*, *Prokopius Bogda-*

Ambassa-
dors meet

^k CANT. p. 422, & seqq.

ny respects, and demanded several things contrary to the usage of the *Othmân* court: which caused ill blood, and sometimes danger; of which our author produces instances. Yet he was endowed with many virtues, was courageous, liberal, an agreeable companion, of easy access, a most sincere and constant friend in all times. He fell at last into a frenzy, and was sent chained to *France*. Cant.

(U) That is, the white fountain, near *Adrianople*.

(X) That is, to whom secrets are discovered. He invented this name himself, and long solicited the princes of *Moldavia* and *Walakkia* to give him the title of most illustrious in their letters, instead of most excellent, which used to be given him as chief interpreter, and is not reckoned so honourable as the other.—Cant.

A. D. 1697. *nowitz Woznitcini*; the Poles, *Stanislaus Mikhelowski*, *Waywod of Pofnania*; and the *Venetians*, *Ruzini*; *Paget and Collier*, the *Englifh* and *Dutch* ambaffadors, were to aft as mediators of the pce. They all met about the end of the year 1110 at *Carlovitz*, between *Peterwaradin* and *Belgrade*, where they pitched their tents on both fides of the river of the fame name.

at Carlo-
witz. AT first there arofe difputes concerning the place of conference, the feats of the ambaffadors, and the order in which they were to vifit each other. The *Turks* infifted on having the firft place, which was claimed by the emperor's ambaffadors; next to whom the *Polifh* plenipotentiary demanded to fit, which was objected to by the *Ruffian*, and all the reft, excepting the *Venetian* minifter, who claimed the next feat to the *Englifh*. The conteft on this head grew fo high at laft, that what had been already done muft have come to nothing, had not *Maurokordatus* found out an expedient to reconcile the ambaffadors, now incenfed beyond meafure againft each other. He propofes that a round building fhould be run-up for the place of conference, with as many doors as there were parties, each facing the country from whence the ambaffador came: that the tents fhould be ranged in the fame manner round the building; and on the firft day of the conference, the minifters proceeding from their pavilions with an equal pace, fhould reach the houfe at the fame time, and faluting one another at the entrance, take the feats next to them (Y).

Peace con-
cluded. THIS expedient being approved by all, after many conferences, and difputes, the peace wifhed for by the whole world, excepting the *French*, is at laft concluded on the 26th of *Rajeb* 1110 (Z), and the inftruments figned by all the ambaffadors. The emperor made a truce for 25 years, upon condition that all *Transilvania* fhould be refigned to him in

Hej. 1110.

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(Y) The tent or houfe appointed for the conferences had four doors, at which the feveral ambaffadors entered; and after mutual compliments took their feats, placed in the middle of the tent, one oppofite to the other, in fuch a manner as that there could be no exceptions taken, or difpute about precedence. The fecretaries were placed behind their refpective ambaffadors, at a fmall table, where they took

down the minutes of articles. *Mauro Cordatus* flood a while behind the *Rcis Effendi*; but afterwards was ordered to fit on the ground after the *Turkifh* manner. The doors were guarded by an equal number of *Turks* and *Germans*. Ricaut.

(Z) This year begins *June* 29th, 1698; fo that the 26th of *Rajeb* falls on *January* the 15th, 1698-9.

the same extent as it had been held by *Mikhael Apaffi*, and his predecessors : that *Temefwar* should be left to the *Soltân* ; and to prevent its being blocked up by the adjacent castles, *Lipfa*, *Khonad*, *Karansches*, *Lugos*, *Herkonifia*, *Bech*, *Bechkerek*, and *Sabbia* (A), were to have their walls demolished : that the navigation of the *Teiffe* and *Maros* should be free to the subjects of both empires ; and the country between the *Danube* and *Teiffe*, called *Bachkâb*, remain in the emperor's hands : that the boundary of the eastern part of *Hungary*, belonging to the emperor, should be a right line drawn from the mouth of the *Maros* towards the banks of the *Teiffe*, to the mouth of the *Bassut*, where it falls into the *Save* : that towards the south the *Save* should part the *Turkish* from the imperial limits, till it receives the *Unna* ; and that no new castles, besides *Belgrade* and *Peterwaradin*, should be erected, or old ones fortified, any-where within those boundaries.

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THE *Russian* ambassador made a truce only for two years (B), upon the foot of each party possessing what he had taken. The *Poles* made a truce on like terms with the *Soltân* ; namely, that they should have *Kaminick*, *Podolia*, and *Ukrania*, restored to them in the same extent as possessed by them, before *Soltân Mohammed's* first expedition into *Poland* : and, on the other hand, resign *Soczava*, *Nemoz*, and *Soroka* in *Moklavia*, to the *Turks*. The *Venetians* obtained these conditions, that all the *Morea*, as far as *Hexamilos*, should belong to them ; and the firm land, with *Naupaktum* (or *Lepanto*) *Prevesa*, and the castle of *Romania*, which had been demolished, should be restored to the *Turks* : that the bay of *Korinth* should be common to both ; and the *Venetians* possess *Lenkade*, with the adjacent islands. The yearly tribute paid by the islands in the *Archipelago*, to the *Venetians*, was to be abolished ; and *Zakynth* to be declared free from the like burthen by the *Turks*. In *Dalmatia* *Knin*, *Cing*, *Kiklut*, *Verlika*, *Duare*, and *Vergoraz*, were to be left to the republic, and fixed as the boundaries of their dominions on that side. The *Ragufians* were to continue free, and the *Venetians* to retain the castles of *Castelnuovo* and

• (A) *Ricaut* has *Czanad* for *Khonad*, *Persche* for *Bech*, and *Sabla* for *Sabbia*.

(B) But afterwards, on sending an ambassador to the *Porte*, the time was enlarged to 30 years, on condition that the *Russians* should retain *Asof*, and all other places on the *Nieper* taken

from the *Turks* ; only *Kaskermen* near the mouth of that river was to be demolished, and left to the *Turks*. Neither could our author, *Ricaut*, find that the *Russians* could obtain a free trade in the *Black sea*, with all the instances they made for it.

A. D. 1698. *Risano*, with what they possessed in the neighbourhood. Both parties were allowed to fortify their borders with new fortresses; or to repair those which were decayed, excepting *Naupaktum*, *Prevesa*, and the castle of *Romania* before-mentioned (C).

Fresh murmurs THE *Turkish* ambassadors, at their return to *Adrianople*, receive royal rewards for their services from the *Soltân*; who having settled a peace with all his enemies, disbands his army, and departs for *Constantinople*. There committing the whole administration of affairs to *Husséyn Pashâ*, he removes, with his court, to *Karîstîrân* (D), to divert, by hunting, his regret for the loss of so many provinces. But the people, especially the soldiery, grow uneasy at this recess of their *Soltân*, after so many toils, as if the peace was granted them for no other end but to watch and censure his words and actions. They blushed not to say in their assemblies, that he seemed disposed to imitate his father in all things; and that, like him, after applying the first years of his reign wholly to the affairs of state, he was now resolved to follow dogs and hunting, though he was yet young, and not so conspicuous for his services to the *Othmân* empire as *Soltân Mohammed*: alledging that he had recovered nothing from the enemy, nor done any thing deserving the thanks of the public during the late war, except in hindering the enemy to penetrate farther into the empire. They therefore conclude, that since his father, illustrious for so many victories, was deposed on account of his excessive fondness for hunting, it was to be feared that a like, if not a worse fate, would attend the son, who was much inferior to him¹.

Russian preparations. To avoid these reproaches, *Soltân Mostafa* takes a method, often tried, and retires to *Adrianople* with the *Wazîr*, and all the great officers of the empire; which had the desired effect. During his stay there, in the month of *Râjeb*,

¹ CANT. p. 425, & seq.

(C) *Ricaut* has given the treaties made with the several confederate powers at large. The conferences began about the middle of *November* 1698, and by disputes were spun out in that cold place, till the new year began. The *Russians* were the first who signed the treaty; the *Poles* and *Germans* signed

two days after; the *Venetians*, last of all.

(D) A town between *Cborla* (or *Cbîurli*) and *Purgaz*, near the road to *Adrianople*, where is a fine palace built by *Mohammed* IV. for the conveniency of hunting in that pleasant country, whose hares are famous for their swiftness. *Cant.*

IIII (E), he is informed by letters from the *Khân* of *Tartary*, that the *Czar* of *Russia* having changed the habit and religious ceremonies of his country (F), had introduced those of *Germany*, and raised a very numerous army, disciplined after the *German* manner : that he was preparing a fleet with the utmost expedition, as well as building new cities and castles on the *Don*, *Nieper*, and other rivers : that therefore the *Soltân* ought to take care lest while he was at ease from the *Germans* in the west, a new *Nemche Gyawr* (G) from the north did not endanger the *Othmân* empire ; since nothing could hinder the *Russians* from over-running all *Krîm Tartary* in the first campaign, before the *Othmâns* could come to its relief : that it was necessary therefore either to settle a firm peace, or immediately to declare war, before the enemy could strengthen themselves ; and that if the *Soltân* should doubt the truth of this report, he would do well to send a trusty officer, who might examine it on the spot.

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HEREUPON *Soltân Mostafa* sends his master of horse, *Kibleli Kibleli Oghli*, son to the *Wazîr's* sister, without that minister's *Oghli's* knowledge, into *Krîm Tartary* ; with orders strictly to pry into the conduct of the *Russians*, and immediately return, without acquainting any person with the occasion of his journey. For all this charge *Kibleli Oghli*, before his departure, secretly informs his uncle of the *Soltân's* commission. *Hussèyn Pashâ*, for fear this spark should become a greater flame than what had been extinguished, directs his kinsman to come to him, at his return, for instructions what to say, before he went to the *Soltân*. *Kibleli* obeys his uncle's orders ; and, being returned, goes to him in disguise, and acquaints him, that the *Russians* had built a large fleet at two places, *Varonesbi* and *Azak* (H), and were every day increasing it : that they had fortified *Taganorok* in a surprising manner ; and that above 20,000 workmen were employed in building new fortifications : that the works at *Kamenzatôn*, above the *Nieper*, were already finished, and the cataracts of that river opened fit for navigation : that the *Tatars* had nothing secure beyond the *Kherfonesus* ; and were perpetually annoyed by the incursions of the *Kosaks*.

THE *Wazîr*, considering that if these and many other facts false re- of the like nature, were related to the *Soltân*, that they would port

(E) December 1699.

(F) The first is true ; the last false. *Cant.*

(G) That is, a new *German infidel* ; in allusion, doubtless, to

the *Czar's* introducing the *German* discipline. For *Nemche*, with the *Turks*, signifies *Germany*, or the *Germans*.

(H) *Veronitz* and *Ajof*.

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occasion a more dreadful war than the former, desires his nephew to conceal them, and persuade his master that the *Khân's* report of things was a mere fiction, aggravated after the usual manner of the *Tatars*, impatient for plunder: that the *Russians* had, indeed, during the war, began several castles, but had now discontinued their works; were desirous of nothing more than preserving the peace and commerce between both nations; and for that end would soon dispatch an ambassador extraordinary to the resplendent *Porte*. *Kibleli Ogli*, furnished with this false story, next day waits on *Soltân Mostafa*, as if just come from his journey, and tells him exactly what he had been taught. The *Soltân*, suspecting his fidelity, is extremely incensed against the *Khân*; and, in a letter, severely reprimands him for his false information. The *Khân* perceiving by this that the *Soltân* had been imposed on by his master-of-horse, answers, that he never dared presume to offer falsehoods to his majesty, but judged that *Kibleli Ogli*, bribed by the enemy, had concealed what he had seen and heard in the *Krim*, and perhaps had accused him of falsehood, because he had not received such rich presents from him as he expected: adding, that the account which he had before given his majesty, was as evident as the light of the sun; and that *Kibleli Ogli* himself would not deny it, in case he was strictly examined.

detected
and pu-
nished.

THIS answer of the *Khân* being delivered by unknown persons to the *Soltân*, as he was coming out of the *Jâmi*, he immediately sends for *Kibleli Ogli*, who, threatened with death in case he did not declare the truth, acknowledges that every thing which the *Khân* had asserted was fact; and, humbly begging pardon for his crime, alleges, that what he did was by persuasion of the *Wazîr*, whose commands he could not refuse on account both of his authority and relationship. The imposture of both being thus detected, the *Soltân* deprives *Kibleli Ogli* of his post, and banishes him; but soon after orders him to be put to death. At the same time removing *Hussèyn Pasbâ* from the office of *Wazîr*, he banishes him to a village near *Sillebria*, though without touching his estate. After his removal, the *Wazîrship*, by a very rare example, was vacant 40 days, till the arrival of *Dultabân Mostafa Pasbâ* governor of *Baghlûd*, whom the *Soltân* had resolved to advance to that dignity, for having subdued the *Arabs* (I); and during this

(I) This *Pasbâ* having been falsely accused during this expedition, by *Râmi Reis Effendi*, as if favouring the *Arabs*, an officer was sent to take off his head: but finding he had subdued them, and

this interval *Silahdar Hassan Pâsbâ* had the administration of affairs under the title of *Vekil* ^m.

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As soon as the new *Wazîr* was vested with his office, he calls for a list of the castles which the *Othmân* empire was possessed of before the last war with the *Germans*; and finding by it that a great many towns beyond the *Saave*, which he had taken from the *Germans* when *Pâsbâ* of *Bosnia*, were restored to them by the peace, he is extremely provoked, declaring that the persons who had made the peace were no less *Gyawrs* than the *Germans* themselves, since they had delivered-up, without any necessity, so many places reduced to the *Othmân* obedience by his own blood; and had given *Kaminiek*, a city designed by *Soltân Mohammed* for the bulwark of the whole empire, as well as a noble monument of the *Musulman* religion, by the erection of a magnificent *Jâmi*, in exchange for three towns of *Moldavia* filled with Christians. Not content with reproaching the makers of the peace, he resolves to break it, and particularly to declare war against the *Poles*, whose weakness, while *Seraskier* on that side, he had observed; and the rather as the confused state of *Europe*, on the death of the king of *Spain*, was such, that neither the emperor, nor any other Christian power, could assist them.

Dokabân
made *Wazîr*.

His next business was to seek a handle for declaring war, *Plots* lest the people, thinking the truce violated, might fear the event: but having no pretence to accuse the *Poles* of a breach of the treaty, he declares, that the *Othmân* ambassadors had acted contrary to the *Korân*, and the *Soltân's* command, by giving-up more than their orders would justify; for which reason he resolves to put them to death. But perceiving that the *Mustî's* authority would be a great obstacle in this affair, since he had not only approved of the peace by his *Fetvâh*, but was also a profest patron of the ambassadors, he determines to dispatch him privately, in reverence to his office. With this view he feigns a sincere friendship for him, often visiting him in a familiar manner, and discoursing with him about public affairs. At last, when he thought the matter ripe for

^m CANT. p. 428, & seq.

and that it was dangerous to execute his commission, he returns and tells the *Soltân* how matters stood. After this, *Dokabân*, knowing the *Mustî's* covetousness, and great interest with the *Soltân*, whose preceptor he had been, sends him a pre-

sent of 60,000 gold crowns. *Feizallah Effendi*, in return, offers to get him made *Wazîr* (*Husséyn Pâsbâ* being sickly, and become unfit for affairs by his drunkenness); which he accordingly performed. *Cant.*

A. D. 1699. execution, he invites the *Mufti* to a splendid entertainment ; directing some of his chamberlains suddenly to strangle that prelate with a cord, when the water was pouring-out for him to wash his hands.

His Kye- But this plot, through his own imprudence, proved his
haya's ruin : for having discovered the secret to his *Kyehaya Ibrâhîm*
treachery. *Aga* (K), the latter, to ingratiate himself with the *Mufti*, goes with the *Kasûb Bîşbi* (L), and informs him of the danger. On this the *Mufti*, pretending sickness, throws himself on his bed ; and, in a faint voice, answers the *Wazîr*, now come to invite him (M), that he was extremely sorry his sudden indisposition should prevent his going : but that he would send his son, the *Nakîb Effendi*, to supply his place. When *Hüseyin Pâşâ* was gone, the *Mufti* sends for the *Reîs Effendi*, *Râmi Mehemed Pâşâ*, lately made a *Kubbeh Wazîr* (N), and

Mu-

(K) For this treachery he was, by the *Mufti's* application, made *Paşâ* of *Saloniki* ; and on account of his lameness named *Topal Ibrâhîm Paşâ*, that is, *Ibrâhîm Paşâ the lame* : but died a few months after in horrible torments, as it was said, calling on the name of his master. *Cant.*

(L) Or *chief butcher* ; whose business is to see that none but sound and fresh meat be brought to market, or sold above the stated price. There is another made in time of war, to buy cattle for the army. He was named *Kara Mehemed Aga*, from his blackish complexion, and was the richest *Turk* in his time : for he often lent 500 or 1000 purses at three days notice, but was stripped of all at last ; as is commonly the case with such men, on a false accusation. *Cant.*

(M) The *Wazîr* and *Mufti*, who hold the highest offices in the state, never meet without great previous ceremonies ; the *Mufti* sending a proper officer to know if the *Wazîr* is at lei-

sure for a visit ; the *Wazîr* sends his officer to conduct him. Being come in his chariot to the *Wazîr's* palace, he is led under the arm, by two other domestic officers to the stair-case, where the *Wazîr* meets him on the first step, and salutes him. Then going-up, the *Mufti* follows, and, with both hands on his breast, blesses the people on both sides, with a *peace be with you*. Being come into the room, he is seated on the right hand of the *Wazîr*. *Cant.*

(N) He was of mean birth, and applied himself to learning and poetry. When he had finished his studies, and left the academy (where he got the name of *Râni*), he frequented taverns ; where, being handsome, and having a sweet voice, as well as skill in music, he got a tolerable livelihood. He was removed from this way of life by the famous poet *Nâvî Effendi*, by whose instructions he was esteemed at court a good writer : for he outdid all the *Turkish* writers in quickness of wit, and elegance of expression. He was first promoted

Maurokordatus : who being made acquainted with the design against them, it was agreed, by some accusation, true or false, to procure the *Wazir* to be removed ; and, if possible, to be put to death. The *Mufti* undertakes this province, and next day informs *Soltân Mostafa*, that the *Wazir* was engaged in some new designs destructive to the whole *Othmân* empire ; had secretly lifted a very numerous army ; made his dependents officers in it ; and ordered them to excite the soldiers to demand a rupture of the peace, with a charge to depose his majesty, if he refused to gratify their desires ⁿ.

THE *Soltân* readily believing what that prelate, for whom ^{Put to death.} he had a great esteem, falsely charged upon the *Wazir*, orders him to be sent for ; and, having loaded him with reproaches, commands him to be put to death (O), without suffering him to speak in his own defence (P), and gave his post to *Râmi Mehmed Pashâ*. But from the *Wazir's* blood, as from a copious fountain, torrents of human gore flowed-out. The *Ulema*, citizens and soldiers of *Constantinople*, hearing what had happened at *Adrianople*, begin to complain openly of the present administration ; declaring, " That the new *Wazir*,

ⁿ CANT. p. 430, & seq.

moted by the *Wazir Elmas*, and made *Reis Effendi* by *Husseyn Pashâ*, who joined him with *Maurokordatus* in making the peace ; although in effect he did nothing but what the latter proposed. After the rebellion he was made *Pashâ* of *Egypt*, under the *Wazir Haffân* ; and thence removed to *Cyprus*, where his constitution being proof against the bad air too long, an officer was sent to put him to death ; but he died while saying his prayers. Cant.

(O) *Motrayc*, who was then at *Constantinople*, pass'd over this remarkable event with as little notice as if he had been a thousand miles off. He only says, that *Ussim Pashâ*, having, in October, desired leave to lay down his *Vizirship*, one *Altaban Mustapha*, a Georgian slave, a bold, haughty, unpolite man,

who could not write his own name, succeeded him, and was strangled some weeks after, occasioned, as it was said, by a quarrel with the *Mufti*. *Travel*, Vol. I. p. 218.

(P) The history of this affair is told at large by prince *Cantemir*, in a note, p. 414, & seq. where the folly, as well as injustice, of the *Soltân*, appears to a surprising degree in putting *Deltabân* to death, on the bare accusation of the *Mufti*, without allowing him the hearing, tho' he said he had something of importance to impart to him. Being asked, at the place of execution, what it was he had to say to the *Soltân*, he answered, *that he could impart it to none but him ; although he should not then behold, without horror, the face of such a Soltân as put those to death who faithfully served him.* Cant.

A. D.
1699.

}

The people
murmur.New pro-
vocation
given

Hej. 1114.

" *Mufti*, and other great officers, were traitors ; and that
 " their whole management tended to the ruin of the em-
 " pire : that for this purpose they had persuaded the *Soltân*
 " to put to death *Daltabân Mostafa Pashâ*, one of the greatest
 " hero's of the age, who had twice signalized his abilities
 " against the *Germans* and *Arabs* ; so that supposing he had
 " been guilty of some misconduct, he should rather have
 " been banished, than he might, when occasion required, be
 " let loose upon an enemy : but that they being jealous of his
 " merit, would not suffer him to live ; and had raised to the
 " *Wazirshîp Râmi Mehemed Effendi*, a good scribe indeed, and
 " a learned man, but unfit for such an office : that this was
 " the reason of persuading the *Soltân*, thereby become haugh-
 " ty, to reside at *Adrianople*, and wander in the woods, while
 " the capital of the empire, by absence of the court and ty-
 " ranny of governors, was reduced to the lowest poverty :
 " that to disgrace it the more, *Kioprili Abd'olla Pashâ* (Q), a
 " youth of eighteen, who, except the glory of his father,
 " had nothing to recommend him but his marriage with the
 " *Mufti's* daughter, was appointed *Kaymaykâm* ; as if no
 " bounds could be set to the *Mufti's* will, who wanted but
 " little of ingrossing, with his family, the whole *Othmân* em-
 " pire : that all the best *Mollahshîps* were filled by his young
 " sons, or those who could purchase them ; for that his house
 " was become the office of avarice, where justice and eccle-
 " siastical dignities were sold to the rich, instead of being be-
 " stowed on men of integrity and learning °."

SUCH discourses as these sufficiently indicated the people's
 readiness to revolt : all they wanted was a leader, and plau-
 sible occasion ; which last is soon given them by the *Kaymay-*
kâm himself. For in *Moharram*, 1114, after the *Janizaries* had
 received their pay, the *Jebeji*, who are next in order, went to
 the houses of the *Kaymaykâm* and *Tefterdâr*, desiring also to
 be paid : but *Kioprili Abd'ollah* putting them off from day to
 day, about 40 of them go the *Diwân*, while he is hearing
 causes, and by an *Arzuhal* beseech him to grant their demand
 in turn. This petition firing his youthful blood, he re-

° CANT. p. 432, & seq. See also *Motray's Travels*, Vol. 5.
 c. 13. p. 230.

(Q) The son of *Kioprili Mo-*
stapha Pashâ, slain in the battle
 of *Salankamrûn*, 1691. After
 these troubles, growing wiser
 with age, he acted with more

moderation ; and after he had
 quelled a rebellion, was made
Pashâ of *Sirwas* (or *Sebastia* in
Anatolia) by *Soltân Ahmed III.*
 Cant.

proaches

proaches the *Jebeji* in every injurious language, and bids them wait, because there was no money in the treasury. The soldiers, provoked at this treatment, in going off, return the *Kaymaykâm*'s reproaches with great sharpness, on the very stairs of the *Diwân*, and so loud that the by-standers could hear almost every word.

THE *Kaymaykâm* being informed of this, commands the *Muhzurs* (R) to go seize and carry them to their chief officer, *Kaymaykâm*, to be put to death: for it is a capital crime among the *Turks* to contradict, or use reproachful terms to any judge, especially the *Kaymaykâm*, who is supposed to be the *Soltân*'s vicerent. The *Muhzurs* using force, are resisted by the *Jebeji*, who, raising a tumult in the street, in the usual phrase of the soldiers, *Yoldaş Yokmidur? Are no companions at hand?* call out for assistance. At this cry the *Jebeji*, flocking from all parts, rescue their fellows from the officers of justice, and returning to their quarters, there give an account of what had happened; adding, that it was in vain to expect their pay while the distribution was in the hands of a boy, whose brains were turned by his high and undeserved dignity. The resentment thus kindled, is inflamed by *Karakasb Mehemed*, a man of great boldness, and fond of changes in the government; who, exciting the whole assembly to revenge the injury, they immediately take arms, and run to the *Kaymaykâm*'s palace.

KYOPRILI *Abdo'llah Pasbâ* being informed of their approach, escapes through a back-door; while the *Jebeji*, on their disappointment, run about in parties to stir-up the *Janizaries* and *Ulema*. Next day the leaders of the sedition meet in the *At-meydân* (S); and there bind themselves by oath either to destroy the *Wazîr*, *Musti*, and other oppressors of the people, or perish in the attempt. In this assembly *Firâri Hassan Pasbâ* offers to be their leader, and is, by them, appointed *Kaymaykâm* (T) in the room of *Kyoprili Oglî*. The

(R) Their name is derived from *Ihzar*, to bring; because their business, besides guarding the *Wazîr*'s palace, is to bring the guilty, and if any are to be confined, to keep them till the next *Diwân*.—To put malefactors to death there is a body taken out of the *Muhzari*, who, from the *Falanga*, or instrument used in beheading, are called *Falangaji*. Cant.

(S) Or Hippodrome, built by Justinian, near St. Sophia, and still used to air and exercise the *Soltân*'s horses. Cant.

(T) *Motrays* says, that *Firalli*, having strangled the *Kapîji Bashi*, sent to strangle him, he hid himself among his women in Constantinople, and appeared on being cried by a public crier.

A. D. 1099 *Nakib Kiazibi Mehemed Effendi* (U), assumes the office of *Musti*, and *Dorojan Ahmed Pascha*, a person of no note, who had been recalled from his *Pasbâlik*, and lived privately, is made *Wazîr* by the rebels. *Kul-kyehaya Chalik Ahmed Aga* is appointed *Janizar Agah*, and *Dirw Ali Aga* (X), who had been deprived of the post of *Kul-kyehaya*, is restored to that office. By their advice the conspirators shut the gates of the city, and suffer no man to go forth unless sent by themselves, to prevent the *Soltân* being informed of their designs. After this they plunder the magazines of the arms kept there; and prepare themselves for war with the empire.

March in arms *SOLTÂN Mostâfa*, when he heard of this sedition, sends *Mostafa Effendi*, the chief secretary, to enquire into the reason of so great a rebellion in his capital city, with a promise to grant all their desires: but, arriving at the gate on the eighth day of the sedition, the guard force him from his horse, and carry him to the *At-meydân*; where the people, seizing him as a spy, before their leaders could restrain them, beat him almost to death, and tortured him to such a degree, to make him confess what the *Soltân* was doing, that they left him neither sense nor speech to declare any thing. Yet this (which they imputed to his obstinacy, rather than their own cruel treatment) incensing them more against the *Soltân*, they assemble above 50,000 soldiers on the 19th day; and, leaving the city, resolve utterly to destroy *Adrianople*, as the rival of the capital, in case the inhabitants should dare to oppose them. Being come to *Hafsa*, a town not far from thence, they send to inform the *Soltân*, "That they had not taken-up arms either to fight against him, or the *Musulmâns*, but only to oblige the evil ministers to submit to be tried by the divine judgment of the *Korân*: but that, if he should use the sword to decide this affair, they would repel force with force; and he would be accountable to God for the needless effusion of *Musulmân* blood." They likewise privately warn the inhabitants of *Adrianople* not to appear in arms, if they would avoid being plundered; since they came not to fight with their brethren, but to punish the betrayers and oppressors of the *Othmân* empire².

towards
Adriano-
ple.

² CANT. p. 433, & seq.

(U) He was of the race of *Amirs*, and had been *Musti* in the reign of *Mohammed IV*. He was called *Kiazibi*, or *liar*, as being thought much given to lying. *Cant.*

(X) He was the only one of the rebel party who escaped the pursuit of *Ahmed III*. flying to *Jezayri*, or *Algiers*; so that he could never be found. *Cant.*

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1699.

THE *Soltân*, on this message, assembles his *European* troops with the utmost expedition, and orders them to march under the conduct of the *Wazîr Râmi Mehemed*, against the rebels : who, by a *Fetvâh* of the *Mustî, Feyzo'llah Effendi* (Z), are declared *Gyawrs* ; and those promised a crown of martyrdom, who should die fighting valiantly against them. But, when both armies were in sight, the *Nakib Effendi*, who acted as *Mustî* among the conspirators, holds-up the *Korân* to the *Soltân's* forces, and desires them to consider : " That they " were brethren of the same religion, the same blood, and " subjects of the same dominion : that the people of *Constantinople* had not taken-up arms to overturn the empire, or " attempt any thing against the sacred law : but to punish the " infidels, and contemners of the law, agreeably to its precepts ; and that, if they endeavoured to oppose so pious " a design, they would draw upon themselves, not only the " indignation of God, but likewise the severest punishments." The *Soltân's* troops are so affected with this speech, that they abandon the *Wazîr*, and join the rebels, saluting them brethren.

Army join
them.

THE *Wazîr*, in this desperate state, flies, with two servants in disguise, to *Varna* ; and, from thence, back to *Constantinople*, concealing himself, for some time, in a house which he had in the suburbs of *Ayub*. Mean time the rebels encamped under the city, at *Solâk Chestemesi* (A) ; and, from thence, send to demand the heads of the *Wazîr*, the

The Mustî
tortured.

(Z) He was a native of *Wân*, in *Armenia*, and of the *Amir* race. In the time of *Mohammed IV.* when *Muderis*, or master, of the *Soleymâniyâh* school, he was appointed *Shehzadeh Hoja*, or preceptor to the *Soltân's* children, *Mostafa* and *Ahmed*. After having often changed, contrary to custom, his ecclesiastical employments, he was created *Mustî*, and continued in that dignity for seven years ; a thing unheard of among the *Turks*. He was a man of no great learning, and more crafty than wise : yet had such an ascendant over the *Soltân*, that he never did any thing without consulting him, nor could refuse him any thing. He was so covetous, that he

took presents with both hands ; would ask for them, if not offered him ; and would for money give any *Fetvâh* desired of him, whether right or wrong. The eldest of his four sons he appointed *Nakib* ; and conferred rich *Mollâships* on the other three, though but young ; which gained him the hatred of the *Ulema*, as well as people. What was worse, he encouraged them, like another *Eli*, in all sorts of extravagancies.—*Cant.*

(A) The fountain of *Solâk*, so called, either because the builder was of the order of the *Solâki*, or else had lost a hand. It is in a field a mile from *Adrianople*, in the road to *Constantinople*. *Cant.*

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Mufti with his sons, and *Maurokordatus*. The *Soltân*, expecting this, had sent off the *Mufti* two days before, but with several *Bostânji's* to attend him, with design to stop his flight, if the danger encreased: finding therefore the rebels more obstinate in their demands, he sends for him back, and delivers him up, with his two sons. As soon as they have him in their power, they fix nails in his knees; and, by other horrid cruelties, endeavour to make him discover the immense treasures he was reported to have amassed: but, being a man of great courage, he bears all with singular patience; and utters not one word, excepting to desire vengeance from God on such an impious and ungrateful people. At length, exhausted with so many torments, he is put to death; and his body (B) thrown into the river, as if he had been an infidel, and unworthy of burial.

Mostafa
resigns

THE *Soltân*, perceiving, from these circumstances, that the people were more exasperated against him than he had imagined, sends to *Dorojân Ahmed Pasbâ* (C), the *Wazîr* of the rebels, the seal belonging to that employment; and confirms the other officers chosen by them in their posts: with a promise to grant all their demands, and deliver up to them the *Wazîr*, and *Maurokordatus*, who were fled, as soon as they should be taken. But, growing more presumptuous by the *Soltân's* condescension, they concert measures to depose him. For this end, they dispatch a letter to *Ahmed*, brother of *Soltân Mostafa*, desiring him, since they scrupled to enter

(B) As the laws of the *Korân*, and the empire, forbid putting a *Mufti* or *Mollah* to death (the highest punishment of the whole order of the *Ulema* and *Kâdis* being banishment), the rebels, to excuse their treatment of him, declared he was a *Gyawr*; and would not allow his body *Mohammedan* burial, but hired a *Greek* priest to put him in the ground. This man got some person to drag him along, while he went before singing, instead of the burial hymn, *Ordure be upon thy soul*; and, at last, flung it into the river, having first, it is said, perfumed it with frankincense, and repeated two *Turkish* verses, whose sense is, *neither yours nor*

ours, he is gone directly to hell; with which the *Turks* were so pleased, that they both praised and rewarded the *Pépâ* for his ingenuity. *Cant.*

(C) So called by the rebels, because like *Doroſhenko*, *Hetmân* of the *Kofaks*, who was called *Doroſhân* by the *Turks*. But he was before named *Damad Ahmed Pasbâ*, that is, *Ahmed Pasbâ the son-in-law*: because he had married the sister of the *Wazîr Amuje Oglî Huſſeyn Paſhâ*, and granddaughter of *Kyoprili Mostafa Paſhâ*; the handsomest woman in her time, but so lascivious, that she kept many gallants, especially *Franks*. —*Cant.*

the

the imperial palace with an armed force, to come, if possible, to the camp, either with or without his brother's leave, and the army would immediately proclaim him emperor.

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SOLTÁN Mostafa, intercepting this letter, continues ^{the throne} long in suspense, whether he should kill his brother, or voluntarily resign the scepter to him. Many of his domestick officers advise the fratricide; alledging, that the conspirators would be obliged to confirm him in the throne, in case there were no other heirs to the empire. But the *Soltán* abhors such a deed, and resolves to commit himself to the divine providence. He goes therefore to *Ahmed*, and, embracing him with great affection, informs him, that he was universally desired to fill the throne, and first salutes him *Soltán*. At his departure, he speaks as follows: "Remember, brother, that, while I governed the empire, you enjoyed the utmost liberty; I desire you will allow me the same. Think also, that, although you by right ascend this throne, as having been possessed by your father and brother, yet, that the instruments of your advancement are treacherous rebels, who, if you suffer them to escape with impunity, will quickly treat you as they do me (D) at present." Having said this, he retires to the same chamber in which he had kept his brother; where, six months after his deposition (E), he died of a distemper contracted through melancholy. He reigned eight years and some months.

SOLTÁN Mostafa was a prince of great expectations in the beginning of his reign; but fortune afterwards blasted them. He had greater advantages from nature than both his predecessors: for he was of a mature judgment, great application, and strict sobriety. Neither covetous in collecting, nor profuse in distributing, the public monies. He was a good archer, and expert horseman. A lover of justice (E), and very devout in his religion. He gained great reputation by the peace of *Carlowitz*; which, having been in vain attempted by his father and uncles, he settled, by wonderfully reconciling all parties.

He was, as to his person, of a moderate size; his face round, and beautified with red and white: his beard red, ^{His person.}

- (D) *Ahmed* followed the advice of his brother, and, probably, by that means, escaped an early deposition. However that fate befel him at last: for he was deposed in 1730, by a sedition of the soldiery, which a corrupt administration had given occasion to; and his nephew *Mahmúd* advanced in his room. *Ahmed* died in 1736.
- (E) More properly his abdication, which is a voluntary deposition; by which he prevented a forcible one.
- (F) His treatment of *Doltabán* calls in question both his judgment and justice,

thin,

A.D.
1699.

thin, and not long : his nose short, and a little turned-up : his eyes blue ; and his brows thin and yellow. In the spring, he used to have spots break out in his face, which disappeared again in the winter. He left no son alive (F), although he had been father of several. He was particularly fond of *Ibrâ-hîm* (G), son of his uncle *Ahmed*, whom he always carried with him ; and designed, as was thought, for his successor, in case he died without issue ^a.

^a CANT. Othm. Hist. p. 435, & seqq.

(F) *Motrays* says, he left three sons, *Jesus*, *Mustapha*, and *Mahomet*. Trav. vol. i. p. 247.— Perhaps *Mahomet* is a mistake for *Mahmûd*, who succeeded *Ahmed* III.

(G) He was a hopeful and good natured prince ; but died at *Constantinople* after I left that city. *Cont.*

END of the OTHMAN HISTORY.



Modern

Modern History :

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

BOOK XVI.

CHAP. I.

The History of the Dispersion of the Jews ; or an Account of their distressed State from the Destruction of Jerusalem to the End of the last Century.

WE concluded the second part of the antient history of the *Jews*, with an account of the dreadful siege of their once celebrated metropolis ; the horrid slaughter of some myriads of its inhabitants ; and the dispersion and miserable slavery of the rest of the *Jewish* nation † : all which, we there observed, befel them as a just punishment for their horrid and complicated impieties, which were by that time grown to such a monstrous height, that *Josephus* himself scruples not to say, That, if this dreadful vengeance had not fallen upon them, the earth would, of its own accord, have opened itself to swallow up those ungrateful miscreants. Altho' the thing, which above all others aggravated their guilt, was their rejecting and crucifying the so long promised and expected Messiah ; who, in consequence of their unbelief, injustice, and horrid ingratitude, expressly, and in the clearest terms, denounced all those woes which have hap-

Impiety of the Jewish nation at the time of their dispersion.

† See before, vol. x. p. 686, & seq.

pened to them exactly according to his divine and infallible prediction. However had the divine vengeance stopped here, and had God contented himself with the destruction of a city and a temple, in which his worship had been so impiously profaned; and with the dispersion of a rebellious nation, whom he had so often tried to gather under his wings; or had the effects of his vengeance fallen only on the guilty, especially on the chiefs of the nation, the Scribes and Pharisees, who were deepest in the guilt; there would have been nothing surprising in all their punishment how heavy soever.

Their wonderful state ever-since.

BUT that it should have continued from generation to generation, and from age to age; that their posterity should have already groaned under the same severe captivity almost seventeen centuries, without the least glimpse of relief or abatement, is what may justly fill us with wonder: especially if we add to it, that the *Jewish* nation, as unhappy and numerous as it is over the world, hath preserved itself so long, under all the contempt and hatred, ill treatment and cruelty, and sometimes under the most bloody persecutions, raised against it almost in all the places of their dispersion. Such infinite difficulties and discouragements have they met with from Christians, and *Turks*, as well as all other sorts of nations, that their history is hardly any thing but a continued series of woes and miseries, of injustice and violence, the most flagrant calamities, and bloody cruelties exercised against them: so that one cannot but wonder, how a people, whom he might rather have expected to find long since drowned in those seas of blood which had been drawn from them, should yet subsist in so many parts of the world; unless we suppose, that the divine providence has preserved them hitherto for some great and glorious purpose.

Preserved hitherto by divine providence

for a miraculous conversion.

AND, if neither the length and dreadfulfulness of this their last captivity, nor the learned books which have been since written by Christians against them, exposing the poor shifts which their rabbies have been driven to, as well as the many palpable lies, forgeries, false glosses, and interpretations of the sacred books, to keep up their desponding hope in a Messiah not yet come, hath not hitherto been able to open their eyes to their fatal error; if all attempts made by Christians, whether by fair arguments or by violence, have hitherto proved ineffectual to persuade them to seek for truth, peace, and happiness, in the gospel of Christ; and, if they have all along preferred a miserable and ignominious slavery to their temporal, as well as eternal, welfare, we may justly conclude, that the divine wisdom and goodness, which hath so wonderfully preserved them through such a series of ages, and thro'

such vast difficulties, and dreadful persecutions, designs their conversion in his own time to be altogether as miraculous as that of the heathen world. When that glorious and happy time will come is one of those inscrutable secrets, which God hath been pleased to reserve in his own disposal^a: altho' we cannot read the sacred books of the Old and New Testament with any attention, without observing indisputable promises of their call and total conversion. But, as this last is out of our province, we shall readily refer our readers to those many and learned treatises which have been written on the subject, particularly those which the reader will find in the margin^b; whilst we confine ourselves to what more properly relates to their history, their dispersion over the world, their various settlements in the east and west, their sufferings, their learned men and writings, false Messiahs and miracles, their academies and famed professors, their disputes with Christians and other nations, as well as among themselves: likewise to such material occurrences as have happened to them since the destruction of their city and temple, by the *Romans*, to the close of the foregoing century, beginning with those who retired immediately after the sad catastrophe into the eastern, and ending with those who settled in the western, parts of the world, from which they came to be distinguished into eastern and western *Jews* (A).

By

^a Acts i. 7. ^b Vid. int. al. JOSE. MEDE, JURIEU, MEKLING, RHOD, and a late treatise on the restoration of the Jews and Israel. Bishop SHERLOCK on Prophecy, & q. plur.

(A) We must here take notice to our readers, that, by this distinction, we do not mean that ancient one which was made between the *Jews*, who were transplanted beyond the *Euphrates*; and whose situation being easterly from those of *Judea*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, &c. were called eastern, and these western. But, by the former, we mean those who have dispersed themselves thro' the eastern part of the world, such as *Turky*, *Persia*, *Egypt*, *Palestine*, &c.; and, by the latter, or western, those who have been, or still are, tolerated in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *France*, *England*, *Germany*, and other

provinces of *Europe*, where they have had, or still have, very considerable settlements.

Besides this distinction, the *European Jews* divide themselves into northern and southern; the former of whom, being those who for many ages lived in *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Poland*, and other northern provinces not only differ in their liturgy, ceremonies, and in some of their tenets; but, being more strict adherers to them, do hate and despise the southern ones, which are those chiefly of *Spain* and *Portugal*, who are not only more remiss in all these respects, but, go even so far as to make out-

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*Jewish ac-
counts
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with fa-
bles.*

By this vast scope of time, place, and matter, which this chapter comprehends, the reader will easily imagine, that we do not intend to give a full and regular history of the whole nation in every place of their dispersion, much less a chronological one through every age to this time, which would rather require some volumes; and, consequently, can have no place in a work so comprehensive as this. Neither would the greater part of it be either instructive or delightful to him, as most of our knowledge of it is fetched from the *Jewish* writers: who are justly noted not only for their more than ordinary partiality to their own, and hatred as well as contempt for other nations, but likewise for their constant dealing in the most palpable falsehoods and absurdities. In reality, they outdo all the fabulous writers in the number, variety, and extraordinariness, of their miracles and surprising events; the sublime character of their doctors, Saints, and martyrs; the exaggerated descriptions of their schools, academies, and cities, their riches, populousness, and a vast number of other pretences. The whole calculated indeed to raise the credit of the *Jewish* nation above all others, even under all the disadvantages lately mentioned; but in effect these stupendous stories are couched in such positive and unguarded terms, and with such magisterial confidence, as serves rather to expose either their imposture or credulity (B). To this if we add, that they are the most wretched

*Their chro-
nology very
imperfect;*

ward profession of popery in those countries, for the sake of enriching themselves; and scruple not to go to mass, to confession, to worship the host, crosses, relicks, &c.; or even to take priestly orders among them, and enter themselves into their convents, as we shall have further occasion to hint in the sequel.

(B) To give at once a satisfactory proof of this, we shall subjoin some instances of it by way of specimen to the rest. First, most of their eminent men, either for sanctity or learning, have not only been very conversant in miracles, but their very conception and birth have been accompanied or preceded by some signal prodigy; whilst

their lives, and even deaths, have been signalized with a much greater number and variety of them.

We begin with the famed *Simeon Jochabides*, the pretended author of the book of *Zohar*, said to have lived a little before the destruction of *Jerusalem*; and the first who ventured to write down the sublime mysteries of the *Cabbala*, which had, till then, been only conveyed by the angels unto the patriarchs, till *Moses*; and by him revealed to the seventy elders, from whom it passed from mouth to mouth unto his days, when he undertook, for the first time, to commit them to writing in the book above-named, as we have

wretched chronologists, not only in the imperfect calculations *very often of false and absurd.*

have had occasion already to mention in a former part (†).

They tell us, among other things, that he and his son did, in some miraculous manner, escape the cruelty of the emperor *Titus*, who had condemned them to die; and went and hid themselves in a cavern, where they found leisure to write the book above mentioned, not without the assistance of the prophet *Elijah*, who was sent to him, from time to time, by God, to explain to him such mysteries of that divine science as were above his reach. The book thus miraculously compiled, *Simeon* came forth to communicate the contents of it to such disciples of his as were fit to receive those sublime mysteries; and whilst he was uttering them, such a resplendent light filled the whole house, that they were not able so much as to cast their eyes on him; and at the same time a fire surrounded the place, which kept all other persons from coming in. At length, the double miracle ceased; by which they perceived, that the light of *Israel* was gone out; upon which, one disciple kissed his hand, another his feet, and vast numbers came to attend and honour his funeral.

Whilst they were carrying him to his grave, a voice was heard in the sky, crying out, Come to *Simeon's* nuptials; he will enter in peace and repose in the bridal chamber. A bright flame likewise surrounded the bier, as if to set it on fire; and,

on his being let down into the grave, another voice was heard, saying, This is he who hath caused the earth to quake, and the kingdoms to tremble. These are some of the wonders, they tell you, of the author of the *Zohar*, whom they look upon as the chief of all the *Cabalists*; altho' his book doth not appear to have been so much as known among the *Jews* till 1000 years after.

Nor are they less lavish of their prodigies, even to some of their ancient doctors; whom the nation ought rather not only to have been ashamed of, but to have even execrated, for their impostures, and for the dreadful calamities which those brought upon them.

Of this number was their famed *Akiba*, who set up for the forerunner of the false *Messiah Coxiba*, who appeared under *Adrian*, and took upon him the name of *Bar-Chochab*, the son of a star; and of whom we shall have occasion to speak more fully in the sequel. *Akiba*, according to them, was descended from *Sijera*, general of *Jabin*, king of *Tyre*, by a *Jewish* mother (1), who had kept the flocks of a rich inhabitant of *Jerusalem* 40 years, when his daughter became enamoured of him; and, being ashamed to marry an obscure shepherd, advised him to go and spend 12 years in study at some academy, which our author does not name; and, upon his promise of doing so, was privately married to him (2). He went

(†) See ancient history, vol. iii. p. 5. note (B). (1) *Gantz Tzemaeh Dazid*, p. 99. (2) *Ex Ketuboth*, fol. 62. ap. *Vagenheil* in *הקדמה* p. 312.

of time, in which they vastly differ from us and other nations,
as

accordingly; and, at the end of 12 years, brought home 12,000 disciples; at sight of whom, she bad him go again another 12 years; at the end of which he came home to her with 24,000. She met him in tears, and, with her cloaths rent, told him, that her father had disinherited her on his account. However the old man had no sooner set his eyes on him but he altered his mind, fell on his knees before his son-in-law, and bestowed a handsome fortune on him. What they add, concerning the death of his pretended 24,000 disciples, who died every one between the feasts of *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, for some misbehaviour to each other, and their being all buried in a valley near *Tiberias* along with their master and his first wife, is no less extraordinary.

As to his learning and writings, they tell us wonders of them (3): they assert that he could account for the least tittle in the sacred books. They even add, that God had revealed things to him which he had concealed from *Moses*; and that the *Mishna* and *Talmud* have collected 1000 of his sentences, which are esteemed for many judicious and infallible decisions: moreover that, a large volume would hardly contain all the memorable things which he wrote and did (4). They also affirm, that he was permitted to enter into paradise, as well as the famed *Rabbi Asai*, to whom he was to give his sister in mar-

riage. These are some of the wonders which they tell us of the celebrated *Akiba*, who was nevertheless the pretended fore-runner and strenuous fautor of that false Messiah, whose imposture brought as great a destruction on the Jewish nation under *Adrian*, as their former had been under *Titus*. This we shall see in the sequel, where we shall take notice of the sad catastrophe of both by order of that emperor.

In like manner they extol several of his disciples, particularly those who follow *Rabbi Judah*, the son of *Elai*, not only for having been the prince of orators, but much more so for not having committed one single sin during his whole life. He became the chief of an academy, and his comment on *Leviticus*, is styled, by way of excellence, the Book. He fasted most of the year, lived upon herbs and roots; and was ranked among their greatest saints after his death: inasmuch that his tomb, which they place on a hill covered with olive-trees, near the little town of *Zaithun* in *Galilee*, was visited and revered by all the Jewish devotees.

R. Chanina, the son of *Chabchai*, another of *Akiba's* disciples in the same reign, and one of the five judges of the Jewish tribunal at *Japhneh*, is reported to have married when young, but to have left his wife and home to study the law; to which he applied himself with

(3) *Ex Ketuboth*, fol. 62, ap. *Vogenseil* in *יוסף*, 312.
in Jacobson, p. 62.

(4) *Zacchut*

as the reader may see by the short account which we shall

such assiduity, that, upon his return, he neither knew his wife, house, nor family. Another, named *Eleazer Ghisma*, became so profound an arithmetician, that he could calculate the drops of water that were in the sea (5). We omit several others of less note to come at the most celebrated of them, called, by way of excellence, *Mehir*, or *in-lightner*, and was stiled, *the light of the learned*, as his master *Akiba* was the light of the world; which title descended likewise on his disciple *Judab Hakkodesh*, or the saint of whom we shall have further occasion to speak. *Mehir* married a wife who became more learned than he, and whose decisions bear a much greater authority; insomuch that she is reckoned in the rank of the *Tanaites*, one of the highest classes of their doctors. She has left 300 traditions, which she had learned from 30, or, according to others, 300, masters. She one day, among the rest, took upon her to correct one of her husband's interpretations in such a manner as displayed, if not a greater judgment, at least a higher degree of charity; for some loose fellows having by their noise interrupted him in his study, *Mehir* immediately pronounced a curse against them out of the civth Psalm *Let the sinners be consumed out of the earth*, &c. verse ult.; upon which she checked him with some emotion, telling him, that the curse of the Psalmist was levelled against the sins, and not against the sinners; for that if the for-

mer were routed out of the world, there would be none of the latter left in it (6). It is pity his resentment caused her end to prove dishonourable and tragical to her. For we are told, that she suffered herself to be so far deluded by one of her husband's disciples, who acted in concert with him, as to appoint a private meeting with him, in which being caught, and unable to outlive her disgrace, she went and hanged herself; soon after which, *Mehir* married another, which he took care should not eclipse his fame as this had done.

All these, as was lately observed, were the disciples of *Akiba* above-mentioned; and this sketch of the surprising things which the *Jewish Rabbies* have wrote of them, will suffice to give our readers an idea of their swollen stile and fondness for the fabulous sublime. We shall only add, what they say farther of the famed university of *Bether*, or *Bither*, in which their master and his false Messiah had refused themselves against the army of the emperor *Adrian*; and which had 400 schools or colleges, each college 400 professors, and each professor 400 disciples; all which formed such a potent army, that the defence they made against the *Romans* made not only *Judea*, but the whole earth to quake; there being none of them but was stout enough to pluck up a cedar by the root upon a full gallop.

(5) *Barto'loc Bibl. Rabin. tom. iii. p. 271. Wolf. sub voc. & alib. pass.* (6) *Gantz Tzemach, Wagens, ub. sup. p. 300. See also Wolf. Bibl. Rab. sub voc.*

give in the margin (C); but that they are the most negligent in that important point, leaping over whole scores of years, if not

(C) We need not here repeat what we have observed in our ancient history of the imperfect calculations of the antient *Jews* (7), before the *Babylonish* captivity. And though it was in some measure rectified, as we have elsewhere shewn under the *Maccabitijs* princes (8), yet was this amendment far enough from being so exact as those of other nations. Besides, their writers made no scruple to compute their years from different æras, such as from the flood, from *Abraham's* or *Jacob's* descent into *Egypt*, others from the exod, from their being formed into a monarchy, from the first or second destruction of the temple under *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Titus*, &c. And it doth not appear, that they began to reckon from the creation till after their *Gemarrab* was finished; at which time they fixed that for their common æra.

But, in this, we must observe, that the *Jews* since fix the birth of Christ in the year of the world 3760, contrary to our chronology, which fixes it at the end of the 4th millenary, so that they come short by 240 years from ours; for add that number to 3760, and that makes up the whole 4000 years. But, besides this, they have another, which they call the lesser reckoning, in which they throw off all the millenaries, and reckon only the years that have elapsed since the last; which being add-

ed to the 240 years above-mentioned, brings it exactly to the christian æra. Thus when we read of any of their famed *Rabbies* who flourished, or of any persecution, or other considerable event that happened to them in the year 460, according to this lesser calculation, the above-mentioned addition of 240 to that number will bring it to the 700 of Jesus Christ, and so of the rest. Our readers will not be displeased to have a farther and fuller idea given them of this new way of the *Jewish* computation which is taken from the year of our Christian æra 1674, which was with them, according to their short reckoning, the year תל"ה, or 435th year, their chronology ran thus (9):

From the	
Creation	5435
Flood	3779
Confusion of tongues	3439
Birth of <i>Abraham</i>	3487
—of <i>Isaac</i>	3387
—of <i>Jacob</i>	3327
Descent into <i>Egypt</i>	3197
Birth of <i>Moses</i>	3067
Exod, and the giving of the law	2987
Entrance into <i>Canaan</i>	2947
Anointing of <i>David</i> king	2547
Building of the temple	2507
Captivity of the ten tribes	2231
Destruction of the first temple	2097
Beginning of the <i>Mede</i> and <i>Persian</i> monarchy	2046

(7) See vol. iii. p. 22. sub note p. 30, & seq. p. 36, and notes p. 238, & seq. (8) See *Anc. Hist.* vol. x. p. 177, & f. 1. p. 302 (K) & alib. pass. (9) See *Baj-nage Hist. des Juifs*, lib. vi. c. 29.

not sometimes more than a whole century, to make their fabulous conceits coincide, of which we may have occasion to give some pregnant instances in the sequel; it will be no wonder that we decline a task, which would make us continually liable to stop, either to confute some of their absurd fables, or rectify their wretched anachronisms.

For, with respect to this task, they appear wholly careless and unconcerned about it; and, as long they know, that their people never read any of our books, and wholly rely upon their own, they are in no pain about any objection we raise against them, or any error or falshood we prove against them.

WITH relation to the history of the eastern *Jews* we are still more in the dark. The *Jews* themselves being ignorant of what hath happened to their brethren in those remote countries; and having received but a very imperfect intelligence from thence, either from books written there, or from any epistolary intercourse. Their chronologers have indeed taken the pains to transmit the names of those doctors who have presided at their most celebrated schools, both in the east and in the west; but they speak rarely of those whom they style the chiefs or princes of the captivity, in the former. We find at most but three of them mentioned from *Huna*, who was the first of them (D), to the time of the finishing of the *Talmud*, that

*Eastern
Jews still
more un-
known to
us.*

From the	Maimon's writing his Hai-	
Building of the second temple	<i>cad</i>	500
Beginning of the <i>Greek</i> monarchy	<i>Jews</i> banished out of <i>France</i>	279
Cessation of prophecy	out of <i>Spain</i>	183
Beginning of the <i>Assyrian</i> kingdom	<i>Portugal</i>	175
Beginning of the Christian æra	(D) This chief did not flourish till about the End of the second century of the Christian æra, and was cotemporary, according to the <i>Jewish</i> chronologers, [except <i>D. Gantz</i> , who makes him near a century more recent] with the famed <i>Jehudah Hakkodesh</i> , or the saint of whom we shall speak in the sequel; and was chosen chief of the oriental <i>Jews</i> about an. Ch. 220, or 222. Before him we meet with no mention of any; and we may affirm, that in the west that dignity did not begin till after the destruction of <i>Jerusalem</i> ;	
Ruin of the second temple		
Compiling of the <i>Mishna</i>		
Reign of <i>Constantine the Great</i>		1401
Origin of the <i>Manean</i> sect		1382
Completing of the <i>Talmud</i> or <i>Gemarra</i> of <i>Babylon</i>		1196
Ditto of <i>Jerusalem</i>		1167
Birth of <i>Mohammed</i>		1184
Beginning of the <i>Ismaelitic</i> , or <i>Mohammedan</i> faith		1080
	K 2	

Chiefs or
princes of
the capti-
vity.

that is, during the space of three whole centuries; which is a plain proof that they knew little of them, or, at least, that those so much boasted dignities were inconsiderable there, and had little or nothing in them that could raise the honour or credit of the *Jewish* nation; as the learned Mr. *Basnage*, whom we have chosen to follow in the most material transactions of this history (E), hath fully proved in his. And yet some of the

lem; for till then, those that dwelt in the east sent their gifts to *Jerusalem*, or if they were of the schismatic leaven, to mount *Garizzim*; and the chiefs of both being under the *Roman* power, their authority was inconsiderable.

Some critics (10) indeed pretend, that soon after the destruction of the metropolis, the *Jewish* nation divided itself into three bodies, each of which chose a chief over them. Those which remained in *Judea*, continued under the chief of the *Sanbedrin*: those that refuged themselves in *Egypt* set up a patriarch over them, who is mentioned by *Adrian*: and those of *Babylon* appointed another, whom they styled the chief of the captivity; though it is still pretended, that that of *Judea* had some kind of jurisdiction over the whole nation; which was the opinion of *Origen* and *St. Jerom*; and is farther confirmed by the emperor *Adrian's* mentioning but one patriarch over the whole *Jewish* nation; and whose authority extended over *Egypt*, as well as over the east. The former of these is indeed more than probable; since *Egypt* being subject to the *Roman*, as well as *Judea*, the patriarch of the last, or of *Tibe-*

rias, being the only one acknowledged in the *Roman* empire, the other seems of course to have been subject unto him. But as to that of *Babylon*, who was independent of the *Romans*, it is more likely that the *Jews* chose him there to exempt themselves from the homage and tribute which those of *Judea* exacted from them. It were presumptuous to affirm any thing positively in so dark and disputed a matter; and we shall trouble our readers no farther with it.

(E) We do here readily acknowledge, that we have for the most part chosen to follow that excellent author in the sequel of this chapter, not only as his history of the *Jews* from their dispersion is the most elaborate and diffused, but as it hath hitherto been esteemed by the learned the most exact and accurate; and hath stood the test of so many editions in other countries as well as in *Holland*; infomuch that the editor of that of *Paris*, the famed *Dupin*, who published it without the author's name, hath not been able to accuse him of any one material error or omission; tho' he hath made no scruple to curtail and castrate it of a great number of facts and remarks

(10) Vide *Cassiodorus. Cod. Theod. tom. viii. c. 24.* Vide *Basnage, ubi sup. lib. iii. c. 4.*

which

the *Jews* pretend that these chiefs were superior in dignity and authority to the patriarch of *Judea*; because all that were

which he thought would displease those of his own church.

We have had two editions of it in *English*; the first by Mr. *Tho. Taylor*, A. M. ann. 1708, which the author himself owns to be faithful and exact; and the other, which is rather an abridgment of it, by *J. Cruth*, M. D. F. R. S. in two vols. 8vo. and printed in the same year—But we have chosen to follow the last *French* edition, which Mr. *Basnage* hath not only much enlarged, but hath cleared it from all the little cavils raised against it on the other side of the water; for on this side his work hath met with all the kind reception which it so justly deserves.

In his preface to this new edition, that learned author hath not only acknowledged and corrected every fault, supplied every omission, which hath been objected to his first, and exposed the unfair practice by which his pirated and mangled history was ushered into the world by Mr. *Dupin*, and his learned licenser *Arnaudin*, but hath been at the pains to confute a great number of objections raised against him, with more prejudice and partiality than reason or candor from those of the *Roman* church; among which we may reckon those of the learned father *Hardouin*, written chiefly in vindication of his own chimerical systems, which yet his whole society were so much ashamed of, as to oblige him to recant it, notwithstanding the great honour and commendation, which they foresaw such

a public act must reflect on the *Jewish* history and its author, a person, in all other respects, the least in favour with the Jesuitical Society.

Some other libels, as we may justly stile them, came out against his learned work from the same *Romish* quarter; one in particular written by Mr. *Simon*, tho' published by his kinsman *Barat*, anno 1714; to say nothing of some others from the monkish tribe, not worth mentioning here; all which the author hath likewise condescended to give a full and satisfactory answer, either in the said preface, p. 10, & seq. or in the body of the book; on which, for that reason, we shall not dwell longer.

But there is still an extraordinary one which we cannot, in justice to the author and ourselves, omit taking notice of, as it came out from a very opposite quarter; and, by its meandering stile and aspect, joined to a more than common display of learning, seemed to threaten no less than the utter explosion of that great and learned work, and the ruin of its author's character. This singular piece was published under the pompous title of *Entretiens sur divers sujets d'Histoire, de Religion, Littérature, & de Critique*; but the writer, who was likewise a minister of the *French* reformed church, and had been library-keeper to one of the late kings of *Prussia*, prudently conceals his name, as well he might; and, to give his censures the greater sanction, puts them into the mouth of a pretended *Jew*, but half converted to Christianity.

were left of the race of *David* are affirmed to have left that province, and to have retired into that of *Babylon*, where they

ty, by way of dialogue; in which himself bears no other part than that of commending, applauding, and sometimes backing, his objections with some specious proof, but more frequently by prefacing them with expressions the most derogatory, and reflecting on his antagonist, or with some fulsome encomium on his pretended *Jew*. The two first dialogues being merely introductory to his design, and to apprize the readers, how this *Aboab* (that is the *Jew's* name) came by his stock of polite literature, we shall say no more of it, but proceed to the third, where the threatened censure on the *Jewish* history begins at p. 126, and ends at p. 244. *Aboab* comes punctually at the hour, is so eager to vent his spleen against his adversary, that he breaks out with this exclamation, *Di magni horribilem & sacrum libellum!* and then bluntly opens his first heavy charge against our historian, which is, that he hath falsely accused the *Jews* of preferring their *Talmud* to the Sacred Scripture, by their comparing the latter to water, and the former to wine.

We have formerly observed †, that the Talmudists compared the Written Law to water, the *Mishna* to wine, and the *Gemara* to hippocras, or a rich compound wine. The fact is so undoubted, that no *Jew*, before his pretended *Aboab*, ever denied or pretended to disprove it; and he is the first, if not the

only one, who hath attempted to expound that proverbial saying in a quite opposite sense. The method he takes to do it is no less new and singular; water, says he, being the most useful and necessary liquor, especially to the *Jews*, on account of their frequent washings and legal purifications, it plainly follows, that the comparing the written law to it must imply their giving the preference to it on the very account.

A man must indeed have the stupidity as well as impudence of the worst of *Jews*, to father such an unheard of exposition on a talmudist, so contrary to their avowed sense of it, and to the manifest import of the gradation from water to wine, and from common wine to the most excellent and cordial of that kind. Mr. *La Croze* therefore rightly judged, that such an unfair and unjust censure would better fit the mouth of a *Jew in nubibus*, than the pen of a protestant: though, in order to qualify him for that part, and to give some colour of reason to his censure, he hath been forced to supply him with some quotations out of the Greek poets, and other parts of literature; for which the talmudists always expressed a more than ordinary contempt. But there was still, it seems, a farther occasion for furnishing his *Aboab* with all this pompous shew of literature, as the bulk of his censures were to be merely critical, and of the lowest of that kind, and every *Hebrew, Greek, or Latin*

(†) *Arnot. bib. vol. iii. p. 5, note B.*

they conclude the sceptre, mentioned by *Jacob*, is only to be found (F) ; so that these princes of the captivity are, according

word mis-accented or spelt, and other as palpable as unavoidable errors of the press, were to be brought in as so many undeniable proofs of the *Jewish* historian's ignorance of the learned languages ; though had he but revised his own short dialogue with half that critical accuracy, he must have observed a much greater number of such inaccuracies, if not much more palpable blunders, than he hath been able to spy out in that voluminous work. But for such a severe and exaggerated examen of those errata, his censures against it would have appeared as impertinent and contemptible for their number as they are in their nature. And such we dare affirm every candid reader will believe, and all that will be at the pains to read will find them, at the first sight ; though much more, if they will be at the trouble of perusing the full and satisfactory answers, which the learned author hath condescended to give to each of them, in his preface to that new edition of his work ; for which reason, we shall dwell no longer upon that idle heap of impertinent censures, being no farther concerned with it than to justify what we had asserted in our antient history, which was the very first point which that pretended *Jew* undertook to confute. The reader will easily guess at the rest of his performance by this his *first coup d'Essay*, and excuse us from following its author farther in it, especially, as nothing material hath come out from that or any other quarter against the work

above-mentioned since its author's full reply ; but, on the contrary, a general approbation of the one, and encomium on the other.

(F) These accordingly quote a concession of *Judab Hakkodesh*, who is reported to have owned, that if *Huna* above-mentioned had come into *Judea*, he would have been obliged to have acknowledged him his superior, that *Babylonish* chief being of the seed of *David* by king *Jeboakim*, whereas he (*Judab*) was of the tribe of *Benjamin*, and only of the royal race by the females. But this passage, so derogatory to the *Jews* of *Palestine*, seems rather to have been inserted in the *Jerusalem* talmud long after the extinction of those patriarchs, and when the *Babylonish* chiefs had got all the authority in their own hands. Neither is it credible, that *Jehudab Hakkodesh*, who was dead before *Huna* had been chosen to his dignity, or at least before he came to take possession of it in *Judea*, could make him such a compliment before his election, especially as his progenitors were equally of the tribe of *Judah*, and of the *Davidic* race, as we shall shew from the very genealogies of the *Jews*.

However that be, those chiefs have always distinguished themselves by the title of *Rabona* ; whereas they give the *Jewish* pontiffs only that of *Rabbies*. They likewise assume the title of *Nassi*, or prince ; on pretence that it is only with them that the royal race of *David* subsists in its full vigour ; though that

Royal line-
age not
confined to
them.

ing to the *Jewish* tradition, affirmed to have been set up in lieu of the royal dignity ; and that they have the same right with the ancient *Jewish* monarchs, over the whole nation where-so-ever dispersed ; and whether they pleased to assume or disclaim it (G). But here they grossly contradict themselves, merely to raise the authority of those *Babylonish* chiefs, who afterwards flourished a considerable time, and in great splendor there, above that of the patriarchs, who were more obscure, and of shorter duration, most probably to keep up the notion of the regal power being still extant in the former ; and, to evade the objection which the Christians raise against them, of its having been long since extinct ; for their very genealogies plainly shew, that the elder *Hillel*, the chief of them, was of the tribe of *Judah*, and of the seed of *David*, being descended, according to them, from *Shephathiah*, the son of *Abitail*, the son of *David* (H). The western *Jews* pretend moreover, that some of the most considerable families of the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* went and settled in *Scytharad*, or *Spain* ; and that it is among them that the royal line is best preserved, on which account they have looked upon the rest of their nation with a singular contempt, and arrogate to themselves a superiority over them : though we should think, that if any could justly claim such a merit over the rest, it should be those, who, instead of abandoning their native country to go and seek their fortune either in *Spain* or *Babylon*, preferred the living in it among the dreadful dilapidations of their metropolis, and other cities, and with a view of calling the dispersed thither again, and raising it as much as was in their power out of its ruins. We shall leave it to the *Jews* to dispute these points among themselves ; and only

title is often taken in a much lower sense by some of the western *Jews*, especially in *Germany*, *Poland*, and *Italy* ; where they give it those who have only the superintendency over about 20 synagogues.

(G) So says the book intituled *Jad Kbaxabba* (11), *Capita five principes captivorum qui sunt Babylonice vice reges sunt constituti, licetque ipsis imperare in omni loco, five placeat illis five non placeat.*

(H) We may further add,

that this pretended retreat of the royal race into *Babylon*, is not only without foundation, but it appears, on the contrary, that they subsisted still in *Judea* in the time of *Adrian*, particularly in several of the relations of *Jesus Christ*, who never, that we can find, left their ancient dwelling to go into *Babylon* ; so that it is a mere *Jewish* fiction ; that they were all to be found in the latter, and none in the former.

(11) *Traff. de Regib. cap. iv. de Aizmalatarcha.*

add, that all this artifice of theirs will by no means prove what they design by it, *viz.* the existence of the sceptre, or royal dignity, since those *Babylonish* chiefs were then subjects to the kings of *Persia*, and so could have no pretence to either. We shall find a more proper place to speak of their pretended grandeur, pompous installation, and other particulars, related of them by the *Jewish* writers; and thus much shall suffice to have premised concerning their swollen and fabulous style; their fondness for sublime fictions and miracles, in order to keep up the people's desponding expectation of a Messiah, as well as to raise an implicit faith and sovereign regard for those doctors and their writings. By all which our readers will easily see, what dependence can be had upon historians and masters, whose main authority is founded on heaps of the most absurd miracles, as are only fit for a *Jewish* creed. We shall therefore resume the thread of their history, and proceed to give an account of the most material events that have happened to that nation since the destruction of their *Jerusalem*.

We need not repeat here what we observed near the close of the Jewish history, of the desolate condition to which both city and kingdom were reduced; or of the dreadful slavery to which the greatest part of the surviving *Jews* were condemned by the conqueror (I). Those that survived this sad catastrophe, and escaped the fury of the *Romans*, retired, some into *Gallilee* and a much greater number into *Egypt* and *Cyrene*, Jews dispersed into *Gallilee*, *Egypt*, &c.

(I) Were we to credit the exaggerated calculation which some Christian authors have made of the number of inhabitants in *Judea* (12), amounting, according to it, to 65240,000, one would hardly suppose it to have been so far depopulated by the loss of 13 or 14 hundred thousand, which *Josephus* reckoned to have perished in this war; but that there would be still a sufficient number to have kept it from such an utter desolation as the *Jewish* historian represents it. But if the former is visibly wrong and exaggerated, the latter seems no less so on the other side; since we find in *Ju-*

dea, about 60 years after, the destruction of the temple, a sufficient number of them to put a numerous army on foot, to fortify 50 castles, and to make a stout defence against the emperor *Adrian*, besides the city of *Bithur*, which held out a long and stout siege against him. All which shews plainly, that either there were a greater number left in the country than his account would intimate, or, at least, that they were not so far dispersed, much less destroyed or enslaved, but that they could quickly rally again, and resettle themselves in it.

(12) *Vid. int. al. Villalpand, de vision, Execb. explan. tom. ii. p. 3. disput. xv. disput. iii. cap. 52, & alib.*

*Sanhedrin
whether
subsisting
after the
destruction
of Jerusa-
lem.*

where we shall find them again raising new rebellions, committing horrid massacres, and bringing again the victorious Romans against them. A learned countryman of our own c, however hath imagined, that the Jewish sanhedrin was not immediately destroyed, but only removed to *Jamnia*, and thence to *Tiberias*, where it subsisted till the death of *Judah* the saint; and that there were likewise academies set up in other cities, whilst the nation was still governed by a patriarch. But all this is said on the bare authority of their tradition, which is little to be depended upon where the Jewish honour is concerned, and is eminently false in this (K); for it doth not appear that that supreme court had the least shadow of power or authority left it by the Romans; but, on the contrary, that the whole nation was oppressed all manner of ways, on account of their frequent and bloody revolts; inasmuch that they were not even permitted any exercise of their religion, unless they paid the annual didrachma to the emperor's treasury (L), over and above the other heavy taxes formerly laid on them; and we find that *Titus*, who appropriated

* LIGHTFOOT, op. posthum. p. 70.

(K) This tradition, founded on some predictions of the *Cabala*, says, that this translation was performed about forty years before the destruction of *Jerusalem*; whereas it is plain that Christ, St. *Stephen*, and St. *Paul*, appeared before, and were condemned by, that court sitting then in the metropolis; and *Josephus* informs us, that it subsisted there still in the time of the Jewish war. Neither doth it appear from his whole history to have been removed to any other place. Those that say, that *Titus* granted that favour to the Jews at the request of *Jochanan*, the then patriarch of it, not only contradict those which pretend it was removed forty years before, but even *Josephus*, who would not have omitted so singular an instance of that emperor's condescension

to that pontif, who, if any such there was, must have been dead before the siege of that place. Lastly, it contradicts the common notion both of the Jews and Christians, who affirm, that that supreme court had no power to sit in any other place but in *Jerusalem*, as we have had occasion to shew in our ancient history *; and our Saviour seems to hint as much when he said (*Luke* xiii. 33.) that it could not be that a prophet should perish, or be condemned to death, out of *Jerusalem*; since the sanhedrin alone had the power of passing that sentence on him.

(L) This was a yearly tax, which each Jew was formerly obliged to pay to the temple, and amounted to about 1 s. 3 d. of our money; but which *Titus*, after the taking of *Jerusalem*, ordered to be paid to *Jupiter*.

(*) See *ancient List*, vol. iii, R, p. 418, II. Vol. 195, Y. 376, M.

appropriated that tax to his own use, as well as his successor *Domitian*, made them pay it with the utmost severity; insomuch that they stript men of all ages and conditions to discover whether they were circumcised, in order to extort that tax from them^d. And is it credible, that a people, become so odious and oppressed, would be allowed to keep up such a supreme court, and endowed with such an extensive authority; or that, if *Titus* had made any such concession, *Josephus* would not have taken notice of it, both for the honour of that emperor, and the credit of his own nation? And as to *Domitian*, he is known to have hated the *Jews* too much to have suffered them to enjoy any such signal privilege, and was rather a persecutor, than a friend or benefactor to them: it must therefore be under his successor *Nerva*, who proved a much more favourable prince to them (M), that we must seek for the first appearance and institution of these *Jewish* patriarchs, rather than in the two preceding reigns, during which they had met with nothing but cruelty and oppression; and therefore cannot be supposed to have been able, under all those calamities, to have recovered themselves from their total dispersion; and to have been in a condition to obtain this new

^d SUTTON. lib. vii. XIPHIL. in *vespas.*

Capitolinus (13); and was so much the heavier and disgraceful, because it obliged them to buy their liberty of religion with that very money which they used to contribute for the preservation of it, and the service of the temple.

(M) This emperor made three ordinances in favour of the *Jews*, viz 1st, That all those, that had been accused of impiety on account of their religion, should be released; and those that had been banished on that account, should be recalled; which shews that if *Domitian* had had any such favourable design towards them, as some attribute to him, he had been assassinated before he could accomplish it. 2dly, He forbade the molesting of the *Jews* on account of their

religion: and 3dly, He ordered them to be discharged from the grievous taxes which had been imposed on them on that account in his predecessor's reign, all which seems farther proved by a medal of that prince with this legend,

Calumnia fisci Judaici sublata.

From this some have imagined, that the impost of the didrachma, mentioned under the last note, was also taken off; but *Origen* doth so positively assure us, that it was still paid in his time, that it is likely this ordinance freed the *Jewish* nation only from the disgrace or calumny of those heavy fines which had been imposed upon them on account of their religion, or, as *Domitian* styled it, impiety.

dignity, much less to have raised it to such a degree of authority.

The rise of the patriarchs of Judea. THESE are generally looked upon, not without good grounds, to have been rather of the *Aaronic* or *Levitical* race, than of the tribe of *Judah*, which, in these parts of *Judea*, was either extinguished, or, at least, so far depressed that they were not only in no condition of resuming their former power, but the very least attempt to do it would have rendered them obnoxious to the resentments of the jealous *Romans*; but that the priests and *Levites* should be suffered to assume the power of teaching the people, and to that end to set up schools, to appoint masters over them, and at length to install one at the head of the rest, with the title of *Rosh Abboth*, or head of the fathers, to which the *Greek* one of *Patriarch* answers, and came to be most in vogue, is the more probable, because neither their tribe, which had nothing to do with the regal dignity, nor their office, which was then confined to matters of religion, could give any umbrage to the *Roman* power, especially as their authority over their flocks did chiefly owe its gradual growth to their great reputation for learning and piety, and consisted chiefly in deciding of cases of conscience, and other controversies about their religion, and establishing the wisest and most effectual rules for the re-establishment and durable settlement of it. And as the towns of *Tiberias*, *Japhne*, or *Jamnia*, and *Lydda*, appeared to them the most commodious to set up the first academies in, not, in all probability, without the government's permission, this might give occasion to the *Jews* to affirm afterwards, that the *Sanhedrin* had been removed to those cities. These *Patriarchs* having likewise gained some great reputation for their extraordinary learning, zeal, and piety, might, in time, not only bring a great concourse of other *Jews* from other parts, as from *Egypt*, and other western provinces of their dispersion, but likewise prove the means of their patriarchal authority being acknowledged there. From them they ventured, in time, to levy a kind of tribute, in order to defray the charges of their dignity, and of the officers under them, whose business it was to carry their orders and decisions thro' the other provinces of their dispersion, and to see them punctually executed by all; that some shadow of union, at least, might be kept up among the western *Jews*. They likewise nominated the doctors who were to preside over their schools and academies; and these were, in process of time, stiled chiefs and princes, in order to raise the credit of that dignity, or to imply the great regard which their disciples were to pay to them. These chiefs became, at length, rivals of the patriarchs;

patriarchs; and some of them possessed both dignities at once; which caused not only great confusion amongst them, but oftentimes very violent and bloody contests. However, as the *Jewish* rabbies have trumped up a much older æra for this patriarchal dignity, and have given us a succession of them down to the fifth century, in which it was abolished, it will not be amiss to give our readers the substance of what they wrote of it in the margin (N); and, at the same, to shew them

*Fabulous
list of pa-
triarchs
mentioned
by the
Jews.*

(N) According to them, the first patriarch was *Hillel*, surnamed the *Babylonian*, because he was sent for from thence to *Jerusalem*, about 100 years before the ruin of their capital, or 30 years before the birth of Christ, to decide a dispute about the keeping of *Easter*, which on that year fell out on the Sabbath day; and it was, on account of his wise decision, that he was raised to that dignity, which continued in his family till the said 5th century. He was likewise looked upon as a second *Moses*, because he lived like him 40 years in obscurity, 40 more in great reputation for learning and sanctity, and 40 more in possession of this patriarchal dignity. They make him little inferior to that law-giver in other of his excellencies, as well as in the great authority he gained over the whole *Jewish* nation. The wonder will be how *Herod the Great*, who was so jealous of his own power, could suffer a stranger to be raised to such a height of it, barely for having decided a dispute which must, in all likelihood, have been adjudged by others long before that time.

However *Hillel* was succeeded by his son *Simon*, whom ma-

ny Christians pretend to have been the venerable old person of that name, who received the divine infant in his arms (14). The *Jews* give him but a very obscure patriarchate; though the authors above quoted make him moreover chief of the *sanhedrin*; and *Epiphanius* says, that the priestly tribe hated him so much for giving so ample a testimony to the divine child, that they denied him common burial. But it is hardly credible, that St. *Luke* should have so carelessly passed over his twofold dignity, if he had been really possessed of them, and have given him no higher title than that of a just and devout man.

He was succeeded by *Jochanan*, not in right of descent, but of his extraordinary merit, which the Rabbies, according to custom, have raised to so surprising a height, that, according to them, if the whole heavens were paper, all the trees in the world pens, and all the men writers, they would not suffice to pen down all his lessons. He enjoyed his dignity but two years, according to some, or five according to others; and was the person, who, observing the gates of the temple to open of their own accord, cried out, *O temple, temple! why art thou*

(14) *Luke* ii. 25, & seq. *Vid. int. al. Baron sub. an. 1°. N. 40, p. 58. Allet. de Simon. p. 2, & seq. Calmet sub voc.*

them the absurdity and falshood of that pretended succession to this imaginary dignity. By all which they will plainly see,

thus moved! We know, that thou art to be destroyed, seeing Zechariah hath foretold it, saying, Open thy gates, O Lebanon, and let the flames consume thy cedars. Upon this, he is further reported to have complimented Vespasian, or rather, as some have corrected the story, Titus, with the title of king, assuring him, that it was a royal person who was to destroy that edifice: on which account they pretend that general gave him leave to remove the sanhedrin to Japhne, as was lately hinted.

The *Jewish* writers add, that he likewise erected an academy there, which subsisted till the death of *Akiba*; and was likewise the seat of the patriarch; and consisted of 300 schools or classes of scholars. Another he erected at *Lydda*, not far from *Japhne*, and where the Christians have buried their famed St. *George*. He lived 120 years; and being asked, what he had done to prolong his life? he gave this wise answer; I never made water nearer a house of prayer than four cubits: I never disguised my name: I have taken care to celebrate all festivals: and my mother hath even sold my head ornaments to buy wine enough to make me merry on such days; and left me at her death three hundred hog-heads of it, to sanctify the Sabbath. The doctors that flourished in his time were no less considerable, both for their

number and character, particularly the famed Rabbi *Chanina*, of whom the *Bath Col* (†) was heard to say, that *the world was preserved for the sake of him*; and *R. Nicodemus*, whom they pretend to have stopped the course of the sun, like another *Joshua*.

He was succeeded by *Gamaliel*, a man, according to them, of unsufferable pride; and yet, of so universal authority over all the *Jews*, not only in the west, but over the whole world, that the very monarchs sundered his laws to be obeyed in their dominions, not one of them offering to obstruct the execution of them (15). In his days flourished *Samuel the Less*, who composed a prayer full of the bitterest curses against heretics, by which they meant the Christians, and which are still in use to this day. *Gamaliel* was no less an enemy to them; and yet both have been challenged, the former as the celebrated master of our great apostle, the other as his disciple in his unconverted state; for take the *Mem* from שמואל, and there remains סנאל, *Saul*; and the word *Kalon*, or lesser, in the Hebrew signifies *paulus*, or little, in the *Latin*; and as for the *Mem* it being the first letter of the word *Min*, a heretic, it was thus taken from the name of *Samuel* to shew that *Saul* did turn Christian (16). The apocryphal author of the recog-

(†) *De hac vid. Anc. Hist. vol. x. p. 582 (C).* (15) *Vid. Gantz Tsemach David.* (16) *Alking. in Scilo, lib. vi. c. 28. Vid. Bafnag. Hist. des Juifs, lib. iii. c. 1. §. 13, & seqq.*

see, that it did not begin to appear in *Judea* till about the time of the emperor *Nerva*, lately mentioned; nor to be raised to

nitions pretends, that the *Gamaliel* mentioned in the *Acts* was actually a Christian, but secretly, and suffered to remain among the *Jews* by the consent and advice of the church (17). *Baronius* hath not only followed that fabulous author, but pretends that *Gamaliel* was buried afterwards in the same tomb with the proto-martyr *Stephen*, both whose relicts were pregnant with miracles. It is surprising if *Gamaliel* was originally a patriarch, and prince of the sanhedrin, St. *Luke* should give him no better title than that of a pharisee, and doctor of the law, and in great repute among the people; and that, instead of presiding in the council, he should only represent him as a member of it, and giving his opinion among the rest of his brethren (18). There is moreover a manifest anachronism in making him succeed *Johanan*, who out-lived the ruin of the temple. He could not therefore be the person mentioned in the *Acts*.

Simon II. his son and successor, was the first martyr who died during the siege of *Jerusalem*. The people so regretted his death, that an order was given, instead of ten bumpers of wine, which were usually drank at the funeral of a saint, to drink thirteen at his, on account of his martyrdom. These bumpers were in time multiplied, they tell us, to such shameful height, that the sanhedrin was forced to make some new

regulations to prevent that abuse.

These are the patriarchs, which the Rabbies tell us preceded the destruction of the temple; and we need no farther confutation of this pretended dignity, than the silence of the sacred historians, who not only make not the least mention of it; but assure us all along, that they were the high priests who presided in the sanhedrin; and before whom all cases, relating to the *Jewish* religion, were brought and decided. It was the high priest who examined and condemned our Saviour; that condemned St. *Stephen*. The Lord the apostles to preach in his name; and who was judge on the great apostasy at the head of that supreme court. The same may be urged from *Josephus*, who must needs have known and mentioned this pretended dignity, if any such there had been; and yet is so far from taking the least notice of it, that, like the evangelists, he places the pontiffs alone at the head of all the *Jewish* affairs; and names the high priest *Ananus*, as having the care and direction of the war against the *Romans*; which is an evident proof that there were then no such patriarchs in being †.

To all this let us add, that, if there had been any such remarkable succession, the talmudists would have preserved it to future ages; whereas neither they, nor any of the an-

(17) *Recog. Clement. l. i. c. 65.* (18) *See Acts v. 34, & seqq.* (†) *Ant. lib. xx. c. 8, & bell. Judaic. in fin. lib. iii. & alib.*

to that degree of authority which the *Jews* give it, till that of his successor *Trajan*, or, perhaps more properly, till the reign of *Adrian*.

Its most likely beginning.

ALLOWING, therefore, the list and succession given in the last note to be right in the main, though false with respect to the great power and dignity attributed to five or six of them, *Gamaliel* will be probably the first who took the title of *Rosh Abboth*, or *Patriarch*, in *Nerva's* time, and began to get some credit over the western *Jews*; but if we are to date that dignity from the first cotemporary author who makes mention of it, we shall be forced to bring it down to the reign of *Adrian*, who is the first that takes notice of it (O), and

tient authors of the *Jewish* church, make any mention of it; but only some of their doctors, who have written a considerable time after them; and of whom we have had occasion to speak in a former part (†), as of writers to whom little credit can be given in points of this nature; especially as there are such unsurmountable contradictions between them, as no authors, either *Jewish* or Christian, have, with all their pains, been hitherto able to reconcile (19).

Their succession, according to the generality of those rabbies, stands as follows:

- 1 *Hillel*, the *Babylonian*.
- 2 *Simeon*, the son of *Hillel*.
- 3 *Gamaliel*, the son of *Simeon*.
- 4 *Simeon* II. the son of *Gamaliel*.
- 5 *Gamaliel* II. the son of *Simeon* II.
- 6 *Simeon* III. the son of *Gamaliel* II.
- 7 *Judab*, the son of *Simeon* III.
- 8 *Gamaliel* III. the son of *Judab*.

- 9 *Judab* II. son of *Gamaliel* III.
- 10 *Hillel* II. son of *Judab* II.
- 11 *Judab* III. son of *Hillel* II.
- 12 *Hillel* III. son of *Judab* III.
- 13 *Gamaliel* IV. son of *Hillel* III.

According to *Gantz Tzemach David*, who hath reduced them to ten. They are:

- 1 *Hillel*, the *Babylonian*.
- 2 *Rabbun Simeon*, son of *Hillel*.
- 3 *Rabb. Gamaliel Ribona*,
- 4 *R. Simeon*, the son of *Gamaliel*.
- 5 *Rabban Gamaliel*, his son.
- 6 *R. Jebudab*, the prince.
- 7 *Hillel* the prince, his son.
- 8 *Rabban Gamaliel the Old*.
- 9 *Simeon* III.
- 10 *R. Judab, Nassi* or prince.

(O) We are told, that that emperor was informed in *Egypt*, that a certain patriarch, who came thither sometimes, was much importuned by some to worship *Serapis*, and by others *Jesus Christ* (20): from which one

(†) See *Antient Hist.* vol. iii. p. 242, & seq. (19) *De his vid. Worsl. Observ.* p. 214. *Bartoloc & Wolf. Bibbict. Rabbim. Otton. Hist. Deſſer Miſſonia. Boſnag. ub. ſup. l. iii. c. 1. §. ib. & ſeq. Calmet. ſub. voc. patriarch. &c.* (20) *Vid. Flav. Joſep. p. 245.*

and then *Simon* III. will be the first who enjoyed it in that high degree; for he flourished in that emperor's time, and was lineally descended from *Hillel*, in whose line it continued till its abolition, A. C. 429, as we shall see in the sequel.

OUR design, however, is not to go through an historical account of those pontiffs, especially as we find it fraught, by the *Jewish* writers, with the most absurd and fabulous legends, and miraculous exploits. What we have already given by way of specimen, of some of the former, will easily incline our readers to excuse us from doing the like by the latter; and to think it sufficient, that we take notice of their most material transactions in every age they have flourished, and stripped of all the rabbinic fables, and of every thing that is dubious, controverted, or impertinent.

HAVING thus far settled the most probable æra of their rise, our next business will be to fix the place of their residence; which, tho' some have supposed to have been *Lydda*, or *Jamnia*, yet is, by the far greater number, allowed to have been the famed city of *Tiberias*, situate on the lake of its name; and so called by *Herod* who built it, in honour of *Tiberius* †, and which became afterwards the capital of *Gallilee*, and the residence of *Agrippa*, on whom *Claudius* the emperor bestowed it, and from whom it was also called *Claudia Tiberias*. This city, famed for its advantageous situation, as well as for its medicinal waters, was chosen, as less liable to give umbrage to the jealous *Romans*, to be not only the patriarchal seat, but likewise that of the *Jewish* learning, a new academy being soon after founded in it, which became famous for its learned men; particularly the compilers of the *Mishnah*; of which more in its proper place (P).

Residence
at Tiberias.

An academy
founded there.

THE

† De his vid. vol. ii. p. 425, 459, & seqq. sub. note (Y).
Vid. & Jos. Ant. l. xviii. c. 3. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 8.

may conclude that he was neither Heathen nor Christian, but a *Jew*, who refused to worship their God. We took notice, that all things considered, that dignity could but begin to spring up; it could make but a slow progress under *Trajan*, who used the *Jews* with great severity; but in *Adrian's* time was got up

to such a height, as to take frequent progress even as far as into *Egypt*; no æra therefore can be more proper to fix the rise and progress of that dignity than this, in which we find the first mention, as well as the first signal exercise, of it.

(P) Buxtorf adds (21), that it did still subsist in *Jerom's* time;

(21) In *Tiberiad*.

The patriarchal authority.

THE authority of these *Patriarchs* hath been much exaggerated by the *Jews*, in order to repel a powerful argument urged by the Christians of those early ages, that the scepter, or regal authority, mentioned by *Jacob* ^a, was departed from them. But whatever they may write of it, it was rather a shadow of power, than a real one; and the *Romans* were too jealous of it to let them enjoy it in any higher degree. It was mostly confined to religious and controverted matters. They had officers of several ranks under them, whose business it was to carry their decisions, and to regulate other matters, under their cognizance, in all places where their authority reached. And these were stiled *Apostoli*, *Legati*, and the like. They likewise levied the tribute that was paid to the *Patriarch* (Q), and, at their return, gave him an account of the state of the *Jews* under his dependance; and were also used as counsellors by him; on which account they held a rank superior to the rest. The chiefs of the synagogues, schools, and academies, were likewise nominated by, and

Their apostles or officers;

^a Gen. xlix. 10. See also *Anc. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 317, and (B).

and that it was at this academy that the *Mazorites*, so famed in the *Jewish* history, made the noblest appearance; and where they are supposed to have invented the vowel, and other grammatical, &c. points, of which we have spoken in a former part *.

(Q) What this tribute was which he exacted from the *Jewish* nation, whether the didrachma paid formerly to the temple, and since to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, but released by *Nerva* either in part or wholly, or some other imposed by him, is hard to guess. But it is undeniable, from the origin of that tribute to maintain a new dignity and union among the dispersed, from the writings of the rabbies, as well as from some of the imperial laws, that such a tribute was universally paid to the patriarch of the west, and was conveyed to *Tiberias* from all

the countries of the dispersion, and not to the chief of the captivity at *Babylon* as *Bartolocci* hath affirmed. All the synagogues of the west were bound to pay it; and that which was levied in *Egypt*, where the *Jews* were richer than in most other places, amounted to a very great sum; and it was perhaps on that account, in part, that he went thither in person. *Epiphanius* tells us, that it was paid in all the provinces of *Sicily*, and the imperial laws mention its being paid in all the parts of the *Roman* empire where any *Jews* were settled. And we are further told, that it was exacted with such severity that the people were at length forced to complain of the avarice of those pontiffs, in order to obtain a relief; till at length we find it quite abolished by *Julian* the apostate, an. 363, if the letter quoted to prove it be really his (22).

(*) See *Anc. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 220, & seqq. (22) *Jul. epist.* *νομιμα Ἰουδαίων*, p. 223. obliged

obliged to receive their directions from him ; and the imperial laws gave him the title of *Illustris*, or *Clarissimus* ; and some of them forbade the Christians to molest or use them disrespectfully, though we find nothing in any of them that shews that they had the power of life and death. Titles.

THEY could inflict severe censures, penances, and even excommunication, as well as some corporal punishments ; but in this last they are charged to have abused the indulgence which the laws gave them ; and to have suffered, if not ordered, delinquents, especially those that were found inclined to, or had embraced, Christianity, to be whipped to death. As their dignity was hereditary, and exceeding profitable on many accounts (R), it came at last to be so abused, that the emperor *Theodosius* the younger was obliged to issue out an edict to suppress the exorbitant power they had assumed, and to reduce it to its proper limits. It was customary for them to enrich themselves, not only by the exactions lately mentioned, but by selling of places under them, such as chiefs of the academy, of the schools, of the synagogues, &c. and, by-and-by, deposing them, and putting others in their place^b, the licensing of new synagogues, setting up tribunals, and trying of causes between *Jews* and Christians, were some of the abuses suppressed by that edict. Abuse of their power.

THUS much for the origin of the patriarchate in the west, and of its institution in this first century of the church. The *Jews*, to raise the character of their nation, make this and the next century pregnant of learned men, to whom they attribute a great number of celebrated books, which, upon strict enquiry, are much more recent, since they mention facts and writers which are posterior to them by some centuries. We shall therefore waive the far greater part of them, as not worthy farther mention, and throw the others into the margin (S). Great part of this century.

THE

^b Vid. Pallad. in vit. Chrysostom.

(R) Some pretend, that it was not so far hereditary, but that the owner might alienate it, and instance in the famed *R. Judab Hakkodesh*, who preferred *Chanina* to his own son. But that is falsely urged, since he left the patriarchate to his son *Gamaliel*, and also made *Chanina* chief of the academy. And

Epiphanius assures us, that it was so far hereditary, that *Hil-el* having left only a son behind him, he succeeded him, though a child ; and this he had from *R. Joseph* who was left tutor to the boy, and could not but be well informed of the customs of his own nation.

(S) We have already mentioned

The chief
events of
the 2d cen-
tury

THE next century produced several remarkable events ; the most considerable of which were, 1. The rebellion they raised

tioned the famed *R. Johaides*, author of the book of *Zohar* (†). The next was *Elisba Hagaili*, or the *Galilean*, who wrote a very mystical treatise of the thirty-two properties of the law, answerable to the thirty-two roads to wisdom (23). One *R. Elcazar* wrote another of the measures of the temple (24), and is pretended to have lived whilst it stood ; and to have taken them from it, as most of the rabbies since did theirs from him (25). The next worth speaking of was the poet *Ezechiel*, who wrote a poem on the exod, or the deliverance from the *Egyptian* bondage, probably to comfort his nation under their present calamities. He is supposed to have lived between the times of *Josephus*, who makes no mention of him, and of *Clement of Alexandria*, who hath quoted him, so that he must have flourished about the end of the first, or the beginning of the second, century (26).

The last we shall mention is the testament of the twelve patriarchs, whose author hath concealed his religion ; but speaks so frequently like a *Jew* that the learned *Dr. Grabe* (27), who first published it in *Greek* (for till then it was only known by that poor *Latin* version which *Dr. Greathead*, bishop of *Lincoln*, who had procured a *Greek* copy in the 13th century, caused to be made of it by one *Nicholas*

a *Grecian*, and by some few other scattered fragments) believed it to have been wrote originally in *Hebrew* by some doctor of that nation, whom he supposes to have lived some time before our Saviour, seeing he follows the common notion of the *Jews* in expecting a temporal and conquering Messiah. The bishop above-named seems also to have been of the same mind, seeing he so bitterly complains of the jealousy of the *Jews*, who had kept that work so long concealed from the Christians, lest they should urge the prophecies that are in it, concerning the Messiah, against them.

These prophecies are indeed very many and pregnant against them, was the book itself of any authority : but it seems rather to have been wrote by some half converted *Jew*, who puts into the mouths of the patriarchs sundry prophecies concerning Christ, but still retains a great number of *Jewish* prejudices, particularly that of his being a temporal, instead of a spiritual, Redeemer ; and so is not fit to be quoted either against *Jew* or Christian. We shall refer our readers to the authors quoted in the margin for the further character of the book (28), and its pretended version into *Greek* by *St. Chrysostom*. And all that we shall add to it is, that it must have been very antient, since

(†) *P.* 126 (B). (23) *Barto'oc. & Wolf. Biblist. Rabbin.* (24) *Middoth. in Taanith. fol. 7. Wagensiel. p. 311.* (25) *Bartol. ub. sup.* (26) *Le Moyne ar. sacr. tom. ii. p. 356. Bafnag. ub. sup. lib. vii. cap. 11. § 16.* (27) *Specul. patr. tom. i. § 1.* (28) *Grabe ibid Fabric. Apocr. vet. Test. Newry. appar. ad B.b.l. Bafnag. ub. sup. Calmst. sub voc. Testament. Prideaux Connell, &c.*

raised under the emperor *Trajan*. 2. The horrid slaughter they committed in *Cyrene*, a city of *Lybia*, and in the isle of *Cyprus*, and other places. 3. The appearance and punishment of the false messiah *Barchoccheba*; the taking of the city of *Bithur* by the *Romans*; and the dreadful condition the *Jews* were reduced to after it. 4. The rebuilding of *Jerusalem* by *Adrian*. And, 5. The writing of the *Mishnah*, by *Judah Hakkadosh*, or the saint.

1. THEIR rebellion under so powerful a prince as *Trajan*, can only be ascribed to their impatience under a foreign *Rebellion* under *Trajan*, can only be ascribed to their impatience under a foreign yoke, aggravated by the misery and hardships they endured under it, which made their resentment break out with such *Rebellion* under *Trajan*, can only be ascribed to their impatience under a foreign yoke, aggravated by the misery and hardships they endured under it, which made their resentment break out with such fury, notwithstanding the low state they were reduced to, as cannot be read without horror. It began at *Cyrene*, where the *Jews* had been settled for some centuries, and were become powerful; and had now gained some considerable advantages over the *Cyrenians* and *Egyptians*. These fled immediately to *Alexandria*, and filled that city with such alarms; that they massacred all the *Jews* they found in it. Those of *Cyrene*, provoked at such a dreadful reprisal, which yet they had brought upon themselves, chose one *Andraea*, whom *Eusebius* styles king *Lacuas*, for their head; under whom they presently destroyed two hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, wasted the whole country of *Libya*, and fought many desperate battles against *Martius Turbo*, whom *Trajan* had sent with a powerful army against them; infomuch that *Adrian* was forced afterwards to send a fresh colony to re-people that wasted country (T).

ON

^c Eccl. Hist. l. iv. c. 2. ^d GANTZ TZEMACH DAVID, p. 104. SOLOMON, filius virgæ tribus Jud. p. 64.

Origen quotes it; and could not be wrote before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, because it makes particular mention of it, and of the writings of the evangelists. And thus much shall suffice for the writers of this century.

(T) *Eusebius* in the last quoted place mentions this rebellion at the beginning of *Trajan's* reign, but in his *Chronicle* one year sooner: but the former, being the more exact, ought to be preferred. The *Jews* pretend,

that this rebellion was caused by some of their refugees from *Jerusalem* to *Alexandria*, who had built a temple there, and wanted to domineer over the rest. Upon which, such a fierce contest arose, that the weakest side was forced to call *Trajan* to their assistance, who killed about 500,000 of them. But what they say of the building of a temple there, is a mere fable; there being no other built in *Egypt* but that of *Onias*, of

IN the next year those of *Mesopotamia* appeared in arms, and in such a manner as made the whole country tremble, which obliged the emperor to send the famed *Lucius Quietus*, the greatest general in the whole empire, who slew such vast numbers of them as quelled them for the present; but, for fear they should rise up again after he was gone, *Trajan* appointed him governor of *Palestine*, and ordered him to stay there to keep them in awe^c.

Massacre of the Cy- THIS did not hinder those that were settled in *Cyprus*, an island formerly described †, from making a much more dreadful insurrection, in which their own authors make no scruple to increase the number of the massacred, instead of lessening it; though others, both Pagans and Christians^f make it to have amounted to two hundred and forty thousand inhabitants (U).

HOWEVER, this obliged *Trajan* to send his head general *Adrian* against them, who, with some difficulty, subdued them; after which an edict was published, express

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^c EUSEB. in *Chron.* Jud. Hist. l. iv. c. 2, & seq. XIPHIL. ex *Eion.* lib. lxviii. ^f COSIUS, & alib. † See *Anc. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 236, & seq. ^f DIO, EUSEB. *ib.* sup.

which we have spoken in our *Ancient History* †. Some of the talmudists absurdly place this massacre under *Adrian*; and add, that he destroyed more *Jews* by half at this time in *Egypt*, than ever came out of it under *Moss*; which, according to the calculation we have formerly made of these (*), must have amounted to several millions: but this is a *Jewish* exaggeration not worth confuting.

(U) They tell us, that the report they heard of other insurrections in different parts of the empire, encouraged those of *Gophri*, so they call that island (29), to fall upon the *Cypriots* with such fury, that they did not leave one of them alive. Some authors

have imagined, that *Egypt*, and not *Cyprus*, was the scene of this horrid massacre, by supposing an error in the *Hebrew*. בְּנִיפְרִי instead of בְּנִיפְרִי occasioned by the likeness of the נ and ד, the *r* and *d*. But, without giving way to such improbable conjectures, we have proofs enough in the *Acts* of the apostles of the *Jews* being very powerful and rich in that island, which was the native place of *St. Barnabas*; which is also confirmed by *Heathens*, as well as *Christian* writers; particularly *Dio*, who tells us, that having appointed one *Artemion* their general, they slew 240,000 inhabitants: on which account they were forbid ever to come

(†) See *Ancient Hist.* vol. x. p. 317, E3 (M). (*) *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 392, sub note 448, & seq. & alib. (29) *Caniz.* *ib.* sup. p. 102. *Zacutus.* in *Juchasim.* &c.

ding the *Jews* to set foot in that island, under the severest penalties. Which edict was so severely kept, as we observed in the last note, that it was a very long while before we meet with any settled there.

3. THE next insurrection was raised under their false messiah *Caziba*, or, as he stiled himself, *Barchocheba*; who, taking the advantage of the heart-burnings which then reigned among the *Jews*, on account of *Adrian's* having sent a colony to rebuild *Jerusalem* which he designed to adorn after the *Roman* style, and to call by his name *Ælia* (to which the *Jewish* writers add another, and much greater cause of discontent; viz. his having forbid the *Jews* to circumcise their children), set himself up as head of their nation, and proclaimed himself their long-expected messiah (W). He was one of those banditti that infested *Judea*, and committed all kinds of violence against the *Romans*, and was become so powerful by this time, that he was chosen king of the *Jews*, or, according to their own writers, succeeded his father and grandfather in that dignity (X), and was by them acknowledged

into that island; and that they even killed all those who were driven thither by bad weather. *Eusebius* (30) is no less particular about it, and only confines the massacre to the capital of that island; tho' 'tis hard to guess how *Salamis* should have been able to contain such a number of people (31); and it is more likely to have extended to all the *Cypriots* in general (32).

(W) We avoid for brevity's sake mentioning several other impostors that had appeared before him; some under the title of Messiah, others only his forerunner. *Gamaliel* mentions two who had come to an untimely end a little before his time (33). *Origen* ranks *Simon Magus* and *Dositheus* among that number. They were both *Samaritans*; and the latter is said to have been

master to the former. It doth not indeed appear from *St. Luke* that *Simon* took on him the direct character of the Messiah, but only of a man endowed with some supernatural power from God (34). However, these and several others we pass by, were signal impostors, of which these two centuries were very pregnant; most of whom, being disciples of *Judas*, the *Gauche* spoken of in a former part (†), did still inspire the *Jews* with hopes that the deliverer would soon appear, and so stirred them up to fresh rebellions.

(X) These pretend, that *Caziba* I. and grandfather to this we are upon, was raised by the *Jews* to that title fifty-two years after the ruin of the temple, and died at *Bithur*, a city near *Jerusalem*, and the then

(30) *Cbron. & Hist. lib. iv.* (31) *De hac vide Anc. Hist. vol. viii. p. 244, & seq.* (32) *See Rajnag. Hist. des Juifs. l. vii. c. 11. §. 24.* (33) *Aff. v. 30, & seq.* (34) *Ibid. viii. 9.* (†) *Anc. Hist. vol. x. p. 467 (G). 477, & 529 (V).*

leged their messiah. However, to facilitate the success of this bold enterprise, he changed his name into that of *Barchochab*, or *Barchochbas*; alluding to the star foretold by *Balaam* *. 2. He pretended to be a star sent from heaven, to restore his nation to its ancient liberty and glory (Y).

Precursor. And, 3. Chose for his precursor the famed *Akiba*, of whom we have spoke at the beginning of this chapter †; who, being then in high repute among the *Jews*, as chief of their *Sanbedrim*, declared him to be the star that was to arise out of *Jacob*. The persecution which they had suffered under *Adrian* had so far paved the way for these two impostors, that they quickly raised an army, out of their own nation; of 200,000 men, of prodigious strength and courage, and made *Bithur* the place of their retreat, and the capital of this new kingdom (Z).

Thus Bithur his residence.

Declares war against Adrian, A. C. 134. HERE *Barchochab* was anointed king, and caused some money to be coined with his name, by which he proclaimed himself the messiah and prince of the *Jewish* nation; but deferred declaring war against the *Romans*, till *Adrian* had quitted *Egypt*; so that it did not break out till the 17th year of that emperor's reign, as a late author hath plainly shewn ^b. *Adrian* seems at first to have neglected this new revolt; and as the *Jews* had been so effectually humbled by his prede-

* Numb. xxiv. 17. † P. 127, sub not. ^b Vid. BASNAG. ub. sup. & Auct. ab eo citat.

capital of his kingdom. He was succeeded by his son *Rob* or *Reu*; and afterwards by his grandson *Romulus*, surnamed *Coxiba*, who, according to them, was afterwards put to death by his own men, because he was wanting in one main characteristic of the Messiah; viz. the discerning a guilty person by the smell (35). These make the reigns of the three *Coxiba's* to have lasted twenty-one years, or even beyond; whereas the ancient chronicle makes no mention of the two former, and allows but two years and half's reign to the latter; and is, in

all probability, the most to be depended upon (36).

(Y) For proof of which, he was wont to vomit fire and smoke out of his mouth when he spoke, to amuse the populace.

(Z) We have already spoken of this city, and its numerous academy. St. *Jerom* calls it *Bethoron*; and both he and *Eusebius* place it in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*. However there were two towns of that name; viz. this about twelve miles, and another about fifty-two, from that metropolis (*).

(35) *Seder Olam*, cap. 31. vid. & *Gemar. tract. Sanhedr. c. 11. R. Abr. Gabbola. Hist. Gamtz. ub. sup. ad an. 388. p. 102.* (36) See *Basnage, ub. sup. l. vii. c. 12. §. 11.* (*) *Euseb. & Jerom. loc. Hebraic.* See also *Anc. Hist. vol. xi. 277 (B), & c. 304.*

cessor, he would hardly imagine they could be so soon in a condition to make head against him. But when he found what shoals of banditti, and other straggling *Jews* flocked to *Barchochab*, he thought fit to send *Tinnius Rufus*, with a strong reinforcement, against them; though they did not prove sufficient to prevent the impostor's gaining great advantages over him, and massacring all the converted *Jews*, as well as *Romans* and *Christians*, that came in his way. At length *Julius Severus*, who was then in *England*, and was one of the greatest generals of his age, was sent against them; who, not thinking it safe to engage so vast and powerful an army, contented himself with defeating them by parties, by which means he did at length so inclose them as to cut off all supply of provisions, and went and laid siege to *Bither*. The besieged made a stout defence, and *Triphon*, a famed rabbi, was put to death for having proposed to surrender the place; but it was at length forced to it by the death of *Barchochab*, *its dreadful slaughter of the Jews*, inasmuch that their writers affirm, that a far greater number of them perished than at first came out of *Egypt*; and the scholars, who had defended it so gallantly, though with no other weapons than their writing pencils, were flung by thousands into the flames, with their books tied about them (A). As for *Akiba*, after a very severe imprisonment, he was condemned to a cruel death; and

(A) The *Jews* add, that when the head of the impostor was brought to *Adrian*, he expressed a desire of seeing his body; but that, when they came to take it up, they found a serpent twined about the neck; which so scared them, that the emperor, being told of it, declared, that God alone was able to kill such a man. But that did not hinder his cheat from being found out at last; upon which account they changed his name into that of *Barchozab*, or the son of impostor or lie.

They add, that the massacre was so dreadful and universal, that they found upon one single stone the skulls of above 300

children, which had been dashed against it: the brooks were so swelled with the blood of the slain, that they carried large stones quite into the sea, though at four miles distance from it; and the ground round about was so enriched with the carcases of the slain, that it wanted no manuring for seven years. In memory of this, the *Jews* appointed a kind of mournful hymn to be used on the 18th day of the month *Ab*, answering to our *July* and *August*, in which they styled *Adrian* a second *Nebuchadnezzar*, and pray to God to remember that tyrant, who destroyed 480 synagogues (37).

(37) *Vid. Lent. de Judæor. Pseudo-Mess. p. 17, & seq. Basnag. ubi sup.*

with him, the *Jews* tell us, died the glory of the *Jewish* law (B).

Number of slain, &c. THE *Romans*, on the other hand, lost a vast number of their own troops; and, if we may believe their own authors, it was one of the bloodiest wars they ever waged. Five hundred and eighty thousand were killed on the *Jews* side, besides vast multitudes of others which perished by famine, fire, and other calamities¹; which could not be done without great losses on the *Chemy's* side; the former being ever known to fight most desperately, and selling their lives at a dear rate. Besides, at the taking of the city of *Bithur*, they had still fifty strong castles well garrisoned. However, upon the death of their chiefs the rest made but faint efforts; and the war came soon to an end.

Jerusalem rebuilt, A.D. 137. *ADRIAN* took the advantage of this peaceful interval for finishing his design of rebuilding *Jerusalem*. We have formerly taken notice of the difference between this new city and the old one, with respect to its circumference †, though, in the main, the old foundations were still made use of for it. This design was carried on, not in favour of the *Jews*, who might the rather have been induced to new revolts, had they been allowed to settle in it. It was designed, on the contrary, to mortify and humble them, by rearing so many heathenish structures, as should make them abhor coming into it (C); besides a severe edict of that prince, which expressly

¹ DIO in *Adrian*. p. 263. HEDRON, *Chr.* p. 168. † See *Anc. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 473.

(B) He had his flesh torn off with iron combs (38). *Light-foot* mentions him as the only considerable person that suffered in this massacre (39), though a good number of others, no less celebrated, were likewise put to cruel deaths; particularly *Judah* the son of *Bava*, who, notwithstanding the emperor's orders against filling up the vacant places of the *Sanhedrin*, did appoint five doctors into that body, and, among them, the famed *R. Meir*; who, tho'

all the rest deserted the place, yet stood firm till he had received some hundreds of wounds in his body (40).

(C) Accordingly we find, that he ordered the ancient monuments to be demolished, and a theatre and other public buildings to be built of the materials. Some of the stately stones of the temple were likewise put to the same profane use; and, in their room, statues of the heathen gods and goddesses were set up in that holy place, and

(38) *Mishn. in Sota*. (39) *Chronic. Temp.* v. & vi. tom. xi. p. 144. (40) *De his vid. Mish. ub. sup. Gemar. tract. Sanhedr. Bartoloc. tom. iii. Wagens in Sota. Beshag. & al.*

pressly forbid them all farther access to it. And the more *The Jews* effectually to clear it of its *Jewish* inhabitants, he caused a *forbid to* prodigious number of them to be sold at two different *come to it.* fairs (D), at the common price of horses; and ordered the remainder to be transported into *Egypt*. After this the state *Vast num-* of the *Jews* became one of the most melancholy that can be *bers of* imagined; and being thus doubly excluded the entrance into *them sold.* the holy city, they were forced to content themselves with

in several others which were become venerable to the Christians. But the greatest indignity to the *Jews* was his ordering a hog to be carved, and set up over the gate that led to *Beth-lehem*; not so much in token of their slavery to the *Romans*, as an ancient father imagined (41), as because that creature was forbid by the *Mosaic* law, and abhorred by all the *Jews*.

(D) One of these fairs was annually kept on the plain of *Mamre*, sacred for having been the place where *Abraham* had often pitched his tent, and where he received the three heavenly guests (42). It was called the fair of *Therebinthus*, from the famous oak which grew there, and which the vulgar translates by that name, though the Hebrew word *Elab* rather signifies an oak, elm, or large tree. However that be, *St. Jerom* tells us, that it was still standing in his time, and much resorted and revered by Christians and *Jews*; and *Hegesippus* tells us, that it had stood ever since the creation, and been famed for being a place of great resort by merchants of all the neighbouring nations. This oak, or *Terebinth*, *Josephus* and

Eusebius place about six miles from *Hebron* (43). *St. Jerom* only two miles from it, and *Sozomen* about fifteen stades (44). *St. Jerom* adds, that this fair was still kept in his time, but that the *Jews* were ashamed to come to it, on account of so great a number of their nation having been exposed to sale at it (45). Those that could not be sold here were sent to *Gaza*, where was another celebrated fair; and the rest were sold into *Egypt*, where they soon grew numerous.

In memory of this signal overthrow of the *Jews*, the emperor ordered a medal to be struck, with the figure of a woman holding two naked boys, and sacrificing upon an altar, with this legend;

Adventus Aug. Judeæ; or, The arrival of the emperor in *Judea*.

There is likewise another of the same emperor, on which *Judea* is represented like a woman kneeling, and holding a hand up to him, with three children, one of them naked, and all in a suppliant posture; and representing thereby the subjection and misery of the *Jewish* nation (46).

(41) *Hieronim Chronol. in an. 137.* (42) *Vid. Genes. xviii. 1, & seq.* (43) *Bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 7. Euf. loc. Hebr.* (44) *Histor. l. iv. c. 4.* (45) *In Sophon. p. 396.* (46) *De his vid. Trifan. com. hist. Adrian. Frenber. de numismat. cenj. Bafneg. ubi. sup. c. 12. §. 34.*

beholding it, though with floods of tears, from some of the neighbouring hills; neither could they obtain this liberty from the Roman soldiers, but by dint of money. The Mount of Olives, in particular, was often seen covered with men and women, with their clothes rent, bewailing the ruin of that once famed metropolis.

A hard
tax laid on
them.

SOME other imposts we find laid on them for the liberty of their religion; particularly for that of reading the sacred books, circumcising their children, &c. Concerning which, authors, both Jews and Christians, vary; but which are not worth dwelling longer upon. As for the Jews of the east, they seem to have fared much better; for, though Trajan had carried on a war against them as far as Mesopotamia, yet Adrian, upon his coming to the empire, having consented that the Euphrates should be the boundary of the Roman empire on that side; those beyond the river had no other share in the war we have been speaking of, except that many of them came over to assist their brethren, and served only to increase the number of the slain and conquered on this side (E).

Judah
Hakkadoth com-
piles the
Mishnah.

THE last remarkable thing in this century is, the compiling of the Mishnah by Judah Hakkadoth. He was the son of Simeon surnamed The Just, and the third Patriarch of the Jews. He succeeded him in that dignity, and was born in the city of Tzipori, or Sepphoris (F), and flourished during the reigns

(E) This last supposition is founded on what Dio insinuates, that the Jews did every-where rise up against the Romans, and that the world was in an universal uproar. From which, we may conclude, that many of those on the other side of the Euphrates came over, either to help their brethren on this side, or in hopes of plunder, and hatred to the tyrannous Romans. And indeed, considering how wasted Palestine had been in Trajan's reign, it is scarce credible they could be so numerous and powerful in that of Adrian, under whom the number of those that were destroyed

amounted to above six hundred thousand, unless we suppose, that a great part of them were come from the east to them.

(F) A city situate on one of the mountains of Galilee. Its name, which signifies a little bird, implies its being but a little place; yet the Jewish rabbies cry it up as such a considerable one, that it had one hundred and fourscore thousand confessioners. They pretend, that he was born on the day on which Akiba died, to fulfil Solomon's prophecy, that one sun sets and another rises (47). We lately took notice of the former being put to death at the taking of Bi-

(47) Ecclef. i. 9. 2d. Gantz Tzemach, p. 107.

reigns of three emperors, who were great enemies to the Christians, but very favourable to the Jews; viz. *Antoninus Pius*, *M. Aurelius*, and *Commodus*; the first of whom came to the crown, *A.C.* 138; and the latter died *An.* 194. So that he quietly enjoyed his patriarchate 45 years^k. He became very considerable on account of his sanctity, and much more for his great learning, and presided over the great academy of *Tiberias*, lately mentioned, with an uncontrouled authority. During which time he had had frequent occasion to decide controversies of the highest nature, and gained a very great reputation by it. But he was esteemed above all for his celebrated book called the *Mishnah*, or repetition of the law, and styled by the *Greeks* *Deuteronomy*, or second law; a short account of which the reader may see in the margin (G). This work was so much the more necessary at that

An account
of that
work;

^k Vid. GANTZ & al. sup. citat.

that, so that, according to them, the latter must have been born *A.C.* 135. We omit a great deal of miraculous stuff which they tell of his birth and life, for which he obtained the title of *Hakkadosh*, or the Saint, or even of the Saint of Saints. Neither do we think worth mentioning some absurd anachronisms relating to him, particularly the prolonging his life down to the reign of *Dioclesian*, and mentioning a number of learned men as his contemporaries, who did not flourish till a long time after. These are usual things among those writers; and we have given already some instances of them at the beginning of this chapter, to serve as a specimen to the rest (48).

(G) We shall need say the less of this famed treatise, because it hath been since translated into *Latin* by *Surenhusius*, with the notes of the learned *Maimon*, *Barthenera*, and *Gu-*

ifus, in six vol. fol. *an.* 1702. It is divided into six parts; the first is intituled, סדר זרעים, *Seder Zerabim* ordo seminum, and treats about seeds in the field, of trees, fruits, plants, &c. The second, סדר נוערים, *Seder Mubadim*, ordo fistorum, and treats of the right observance of the Jewish feasts. The third, סדר נשים, *Seder Nyschim*, ordo mulierum, treats of women, and all matrimonial causes. The fourth, סדר נזיקים, *Seder Nexikim*, ordo damnorum, treats of losses, damages, trade, &c. the law-suits arising from them, and the manner of proceeding in them. The fifth, סדר קדשים, *Seder Kedoshim*; ordo sanctorum, and treats of sacrifices, oblations, and all other holy or sacrificed things. The sixth, סדר טהורות, *ordo purificationum*, treats of all kinds of expiations, and all things relating to purification. The au-

Ruben
wrote

Judah's
character.

that time, because the nation, having been forced to undergo such frequent dispersions and vicissitudes, had, in a great measure, and would have still more, forgot the oral traditions about the rites, laws, and customs, of the ancient *Jews*, which were become very numerous by this time, unless they were committed to writing, and digested into one body or system. And this he did with such success, that all the *Jewish* academies have since followed him without any deviation. The time of his writing this book is variously conjectured. The most probable opinion is, that he finished it about the year of Christ 180, or about the 44th year of his life, when he was in the flower of his age; and had, by long experience, been enabled, himself, to decide the most arduous questions of the law.

THE great reputation and authority which his learning and works had gained, did, however, even according to the *Jewish* writers, swell him up into such a height of pride, as little

thor bath likewise added to the fourth part, or *ordo damnorum*, a chapter intituled, עֲבוֹדַת זָרָה, *Abodah Zarah*, or *cutens extraneus*; such they call idolatry, and the penalties annexed to it. Each of these books contained several tracts amounting in the whole to sixty-three.

This code or body of oral traditions is founded upon a fivefold authority; viz. 1st, Upon the writings of *Moses*, whose expositions are contained in the pentateuch, and are either decisive of themselves, or by consequences fairly drawn from them. 2d, Upon the ordinances of that lawgiver delivered to him on the mount, or as they are commonly styled the oral law spoken of in a former part (†); and which are looked upon to be of the same authority with the written; tho', as was there observed, no good proof can be given of any such oral law having been given to that lawgiver. 3d, Upon the

different decisions of the ancient doctors, concerning which a man is at liberty to take which side he pleases, whether, for instance, those of *Hillel* or *Shammai*. 4th, On the maxims and sayings of the prophets and wise men, which are on that account styled the hedges or fences of the law; but from which the rabbies do often swerve, though in the main they hold them in great esteem. 5th, On the ancient rites and customs, which have since gained the sanction of a law, and are made by it equally obligatory. This is the sum of that so much boasted treatise, which is therefore styled a body of civil and ecclesiastical rights of the *Jews*, and as a collection of their oral laws, rules, &c. However it is likely this book was not published, or, at least, received immediately, since we find mention in *Hegesippus* of such oral traditions being still appealed to and canvassed towards the latter

(†) See *Acc. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 5 (B).

little answered his title of saint (H). He even indulged it to his dying hour, by the disposal of all the places and titles under him; and among them, that of *Kacham*, or wife man, to one of his sons named *Simcon*; that of chief of the synagogue to *Chanina*; and that of prince, or chief, to his eldest son *Gamaliel III* (I). He likewise ordered his own funeral to be performed in the most sumptuous manner, and that his body should be carried about through the most considerable cities, and there bewailed after the *Jewish* manner. A great concourse, we are told, accompanied the funeral pomp from all the adjacent parts¹. What they farther relate of it, the reader may see in the margin (K). *Excessive pride.*

¹ Vid. Oth. Hist. doctor Mishnic. & aust. ab eo citat. p. 161.

end of this second century. Those who want a fuller account of it may consult the *Latin* version above-mentioned, and the authors quoted in the margin (49). All that we shall say farther about it is, that it must not be confounded with the *talmud*, which was not compiled till a long time after; and of which we shall speak in its proper place.

(H) He was the first that set up his own authority above that of the *sanhedrin*, and its decisions, which, till then, those chiefs were subject to; insomuch that one of that council, named the son of *Lachi*, having ventured to dispute it, and to affirm, that a chief ought to be whipt if he transgressed, *Judab* immediately sent officers to apprehend and bring him to a severe punishment; which he found no way to escape but by a speedy flight. How can it therefore be supposed, that a man of such proud and ungovernable spirit should ever own the authority of the chiefs of *Babylon*

to be superior to his, as the *Babylonish* rabbies, mentioned in a former note, pretend that he did?

(I) These were the three chief dignities of the *Jewish* church. The prince, or as we have chose to style him the patriarch, was the highest. The chief was the next, and presided in his absence in the council; and the *kacham* held the third rank. This last was to be learned above all the rest, because he was the person consulted in all doubtful cases, and sat on the left, as the chief did on the right, of the prince.

(K) They tell us, that, tho' the people flocked to the solemnity far and near, yet the day was so far prolonged, that they had all time enough to get home, and light a candle against the next day, which was the *Sabbath*; and the *Bath kol* was heard to declare them all saved that had assisted at it; one only excepted, who thereupon, falling into despair, put an end to his own life (50).

(49) *Bortoloe. Bibliot. Rab. tom. iii. Basnage's Hist. Jud. lib. iii. c. 3. Calmet. sub voc. mishna, Prid. Connect. part i. lib. 5. (50) Vid. Gantz. & al. sup. etat. ap. Othm. & Basnage. ub. sup.*

Gamaliel
succeeds
him.

Hillel rec-
tifies the
calendar ;

and others
after him.

HE was succeeded by his son *Gamaliel*, who is said to have confirmed his father's *Mishnah*, and to have died. *An.* 229. His son *Judah* did nothing worth our notice (L), except that he left his dignity to his son the famed *Hillel* II. a person of great merit and learning ; who is the first that began, as we hinted at the beginning of this chapter †, to compute the years from the creation ; but whether he, or, which is more probable, the gemarrists, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, did wilfully curtail that æra, in order to make it appear that Christ did not come into the world at the end of the fourth millenary, and at the time expressly signified by the prophets, we will not determine. Another improvement he was the author of, *viz.* the cycle of 19 years, to conciliate the course of the sun with that of the moon, by the help of seven intercalations. We have taken notice of some such thing having been done before, under *Simon the Maccabee*, above 170 years before our Saviour *. Some others have since put a helping hand to this emendation, particularly *Rabbi Samuel*, nicknamed *Jarkin*, or lunatic, who was chief of an academy at *Nabardea*, about the year 240, and was esteemed a great astronomer ; but as his calculation was found still defective, one of his successors, *viz.* *R. Ada*, greatly improved it, as *Hipparchus* had formerly done that of *Calippus* ; upon which all these *Jewish* emendations were founded. However, *Hillel*, as prince of the captivity in the west, introduced it by his authority, and thereby made way for the other two ; though it is not improbable that they, as a conquered people, were forced, in this, as in other cases, to submit to the laws of the conquerors, and to adopt the reformation made by *Julius Cæsar*. *Hillel* made, however, some farther ones to the *Techuphath Husbana*, or revolution of the year ; such as changing the equinoxes and solstices ; by bringing them back 13 days from where he found them ; as for instance, the vernal equinox from the 7th of *April* to the 25th of *March* ^m.

† See before, p. 13. * See vol. x. p. 302 (Y). ■ Vid. SCALIG. CÆNON ISAG. l. iii. p. 279.

(L) The *Jewish* writers pretend that he lived to the end of the third century, in order to make him cotemporary with the two famous rabbies *Amaus* and *Azæus*, who flourished, according to them, *A. M.* 4060, or of Christ 300. But this is but one of those anachronisms that run through all their works.

BUT that which most endeared him to the Christians was Hillel's his conversion and baptism a little before he died (M), when *conversion* he sent for the bishop of *Tiberias*, under pretence of consult- *at the point* ing him as a physician about his distemper; but in reality to *of death* own himself a Christian, and to be baptized by him. The ceremony was accordingly performed, but in the privatest manner; the servants, who were ordered to bring in the water being ordered to leave the chamber; and the matter was concealed for some time, lest his friends or domestics should do him any prejudice on that account. Though it is surprising so edifying a conversion should be kept so secret, especially as *Constantine the Great* being then upon the throne, the Christians did not want for power to have sheltered him from any insult from the *Jews*; though the edict of that prince against such outrages did not perhaps come out till some years after (N), that is, in the patriarchate of *Hillel's* son and successor, on account of whose guardian it seems chiefly to have been made, as we are going to shew.

HILLEL left his only son *Judah*, a minor, under the *Succeeded* guardianship of *Joseph*, an intimate friend, mentioned in a late by *Judah*, note, and one of his apostles. But the *Jews*, upon some jea- *a minor*, lously that *Joseph* was such another dissembler as *Hillel*, perse-

(M) This fact is not owned by any of the *Jewish* writers, who were too jealous of his glory, as well as of that of their nation, to take any notice of it. But we have it upon the authority of *Epiphanius*, who tells us, that, being gone with *Eusebius Vercellensis* to *Scythopolis* to see one *Joseph*, an intimate of the deceased *Hillel*, and guardian to his son, as well as one of his apostles, they had the whole story from his own mouth.

(N) It is not easy to fix the year in which this conversion happened, seeing the *Jews* pretend that he lived beyond the year 360; by which they confound him with another of the same name, who lived in *Julian*

the apostate's time. *Bartolocci* places his death about A. C. 320; but that seems too late by eight or ten years: 1st, Because it gives him too long a reign; and, 2dly, This conversion ought to have preceded *Constantine's* edict above-mentioned, published ann. 315, to suppress the violent outrages to which the proselytes from *Judaism* were exposed from the zealots of their own nation. If *Scaliger* had considered this circumstance, he would not have supposed him to have been resigning the *Jewish* calendar about the year 344, as he hath done (1). Upon the whole then, it is most probable that *Hillel* died about the year 308 or 310.

(1) *Idem ibid.* vide & *Gemar. tit. fante Jr. c. li.*

Joseph,
his tutor,
persecuted.

His ac-
count of
Hillel's
conversion.

Gamaliel
IV. the
last patri-
arch.

That dig-
nity abo-
lished.

cuted him with such bitterness and violence (O), that he was forced to apply to the Emperor, by whom he was graciously received; and not only protected from all future insults, but permitted to erect several sumptuous churches for the use of the *Christians*, in places where they were still wanting, by which he grew exceeding rich, and built some stately houses in *Scythopolis*; and here it was that he gave *Eusebius* and *Epiphanius* the account of *Hillel's* conversion above-mentioned. As for *Judah*, his pupil, he succeeded his father in the patriarchal dignity, and enjoyed it still in the year 356; when *Joseph*, who was then in the 70th year of his age, related the transaction to those two bishops. He seems to have outlived him but a few years, since *Julian*, in a letter to the *Jews*, dated *an.* 363, mentions another patriarch then in the chair, whom he names *Julius*; which is only that of his son and successor *Hillel* III, græcified, who govern'd the *Jewish* church till the year 385.

He was succeeded by his son *Gamaliel*, IVth of that name, and last of the patriarchal race and dignity. *St. Jerom* speaks of him as of a learned man who had had several disputes with *Hesychius*, before *A. C.* 392; and it was not till *an.* 415, that we find him stript of part of his authority by an edict of the Emperor *Theodosius*; but whether that pontiff had abused the patriarchal power, or by some other way disoblged him, or whether the male line was extinct, that dignity was quite abolished about 14 years after; *i. e.* *an.* 429, after having continued in the same family thro' thirteen generations; or about the space of 350 years (P).

The

(O) They had only a bare suspicion of his being a *Christian* in his heart; for he had as yet made no public profession of it; however, that was sufficient to provoke some of them to break abruptly into his house, where they found him reading the gospel. They first snatch'd the book out of his hands, and fell a beating him most unmercifully, and then dragged him to the synagogue, where he was cruelly whipped, and at length threw him head-long into the *Cynus*, where he was borne off by the stream, far enough for them

to think him drowned. But, Providence having preserved his life, he immediately made open profession of *Christianity*, received baptism, and with it the several marks of the emperor's favours above-mentioned. And it is supposed that it was on account of the violent excesses which the *Jews* committed on these occasions, that the edict lately mentioned was issued out.

(P) We have seen in the late list of these patriarchs, or, as the *Jews* since called them, *Princes*, that some of their chronologers, particularly *D.*

Gantz,

The next dignity that succeeded the patriarchate, was that of the primates, which being inferior in honour and authority, as well as in point of time, will be spoken of in another place. It is time now that we go back to the remaining part of the 2d century, from which this list of the patriarchs and successors of *Judah Hakkadosh* had carried us.

WE observed a little higher from the *Jewish* writers, that they enjoyed great peace and liberty under the reigns of *Adrian's* three successors, *Antoninus Pius*, *M. Aurelius*, and *Commodus*. The former of these they not only make a great friend and patron of their nation, but also one of their religion, and a disciple of *Judah* the saint; tho' outwardly a heathen, and much addicted to superstition (Q). However, as the edict of *Adrian* against their circumcising their children was still in force against them, they grew now so impatient under it, as to appear in arms, and oblige him thereby to recal it, and restore them to the free use of their religion. *Antoninus* soon suppressed the revolt, but used such moderation towards them, as to grant them the liberty for which they took up arms; which, tho' it extended to all the *Jews*, did yet exclude the *Samaritans* from it; and, 2dly, forbade the former to make any proselytes to their religion (R).

*Jews re-
volt under
Antoni-
nus.*

WE

Gantz, shorten the duration of that dignity by three generations and ends it at *Judah II*. But it is plain from what we have said above of the *Theodosian* edict, that it reached down to the time there mentioned.

(Q) Among other fabulous legends of this emperor's affection for that *Jewish* chief, they tell us that he had caused a subterranean way to be made between his own palace and his house, by which he used to go and converse with him (2).

(R) Some add a prohibition likewise of making eunuchs. It is not easy to say when this revolt happened; and *Capitolinus*, who hath summed it up,

and the defeat of the *Jews*, in five or six lines, hath inclined some to suppose it to have broke out about the beginning of *Antoninus's* reign (3); others think the *Jews* could hardly be so soon ready for it, considering how dispersed and how low they had been reduced by *Adrian*, and that it must have required some years to put themselves in a proper condition to attack so powerful a prince. (4). And so it would indeed, had this been such a regular war as some of those they waged before. But by the short account and the few particulars given us of it, it seems rather to have been a tumultuous insurrection at which

(2) *Juss. Mart. apok. xi. lib. viii. c. i. §. v.*

(3) *Baron. & al. sup. citat.*

(4) *Besarg.*

Justin's di-
alogue
with Try-
phon.

WE shall pass by two famous disputes which happened under the reign of *Antoninus*; the former between *Jason*, a converted *Jew*, and *Papiscus*, one of the synagogues; in which the former proves Christ to have been the Messiah, and the latter used very bitter imprecations against him. The few fragments we have left of that conference give us no great cause of regretting the loss of the rest. The other was between *Justin Martyr*, and the learned *Tryphon*, at *Ephesus*, whither the latter had been forced to flee, on account of the war which that prince then waged against the *Jews*, and where *Justin* met and had this conference with him, which is supposed upon good grounds to have happened about *A.C.* 155, or after the Emperor had restored the liberty of circumcision to the *Jews*. For before that time it is not probable *Tryphon* would so readily have acknowledged his religion from the very beginning of the conference (S).

The Jews
ill treated
by M. Au-
relius.

THE reader may see by what we observ'd in the last note, that the *Jews* were so far from enjoying any degree of tranquillity even under that prince, that they fared still worse under his successor, *M. Aurelius*, who had such an ill opinion of them, that, going thro' *Judea* into *Egypt*, he cried out, he had found there a people as wicked as the *Sarmatians* and *Marcomans* †. What increased his resentment, was their

† Pap. stat. Sylvar. l. iii.

the *Jews* were ever quick and ready; and their defeat might be no other than obliging them to lay down their arms, upon promise that they should have the grant they contended for, as they actually had.

(S) The *Jewish* writers mention a learned rabbi, named *Tarphon*, who flourished about this time, and whom *Lightfoot* supposes to be the person (5). If so, he doth not appear to have been a man of extraordinary learning, by his answers to his antagonist. However, we do not pretend to pass a judgment on either, which

would be going out of our province. But what is more worth observing to our readers is what that father objects against the *Jews*, viz. that their cities were burnt and laid waste, and their country inhabited by strangers; that they were forbid still to come to *Jerusalem*, and could not with any safety abide in *Judea*. Notwithstanding all which, and the present misery they laboured under, they made no scruple to curse in their synagogues all that believed in *Jesus*, and, by their imprecations, to send them to hell as atheists and apostates (6).

(5) *Chron. temp. tom. ii. sect. 5. Vid. & Bartoloc Bib. Rabb. tom. i. p. 363.*
(6) *Dialog. p. 234. 257, & seq.*

joining to *Vologeses* King of the *Parthians*, against the *Romans*; and afterwards, with *Cassius*, his general, who had caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor at the instigation of *Fauftina*, *Aurelius's* Empress^a. For, tho' he forgave *Cassius's* friends, as will be seen in the sequel, yet he renewed *Adrian's* severe edicts against the *Jews*, and caused them to be put in execution against them (T).

THE last thing worth taking notice of under this century, *New sects* is the rise of some new sects among the *Jews*, besides those *start up* which we have taken notice of as predominant in our *among, the* Saviour's time^b, and mention'd by *Hegefyppus* as still rise in *Jews*. his, particularly the *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, *Essenians*, and *Gaulonites*; which last preserved still their seditious spirit against all foreign government. The new ones, according to him, were the *Emerobaptists*, famed chiefly for their often washing in a day; and the *Masbotheans*, who denied the Divine Providence, and attributed all events to chance (V): and

^a VULGATI CASIUS, p. 40. ^b See before, vol. x. p. 241, & seq.

(T) This must be only understood of the nearer provinces; for as for those more remote, especially towards the east, the edict was not so severely executed; for there they displayed a more inveterate hatred against the Christians; particularly at *Smyrna*, where they had a great hand in the martyrdom of bishop *Polycarp*, and solicited the heathen judge, not to deliver his dead body to the Christians, lest they should worship him; upon which account it was ordered to be burnt to ashes. The learned are divided about the time of this martyrdom; some placing it in an. 147, under *Antoninus* (7); and others with more probability, under *Aurelius*, about an. 166, on the 22d of February, which was an high sabbath with them (8); but it is plain

the *Jews* were every-where very inveterate against the Christians; more especially against those who turn'd from *Judaism* to them; but we have no room to multiply instances of it (9).

(V) So that they seem rather to be the spawn of the Pharisees and Sadducees, tho' not known to the evangelists by these names. To these *Justin Martyr* adds three others, which he calls the *Genists*, *Merists*, and *Hellenists*. The two former are inconsiderable; the former, according to him, laying a great merit in being descended from *Abraham*, the father of the faithful; and the latter differing from the rest in their canon of scripture, out of which they excluded some of the prophets. The last therefore is the only one worth the reader's notice here.

(7) Pearson *vid.* *3 Dodwel Dissert. ad Ob. postb. Pearson, c. 15.* (8) *Nicetus Dissert. in Epoch. Syro-Maced. p. 30.* (9) *Id. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. v. c. 16. Nicephor, &c.*

That of the
Hellenists.

some others, which the reader may see in the last note. But the most considerable of all was that of the *Hellenists*, which began soon after the version of the *Septuagint*, of which an account hath been given in a former part *, and who had been so long dispersed among the *Greeks*, as to have adopted their language, and forgot the *Hebrew*. We observed there how these rejoiced at the first publication of the sacred books in that language, and from that time made use of no other; and on that account were despised by the rest of their brethren, who made use of the original (W). This open rupture is variously canvassed by the learned, some of whom pretend, that neither the *Septuagint*, nor any other version, was read in the synagogues †; others join the *Hellenists* and *Jews* in one and the same synagogue ‡; a third sort extol that, not only above all other versions, but even above the original †; and as such, justly preserved by the *Hellenists*, for its exactness and perspicuity. However that be, it were madness to deny that the *Greek Jews* were not allowed the use of it in their synagogues (X), as it was then the tongue most universally understood, and, perhaps, the only one which those *Hellenists* knew.

BUT

* Ancient Hist. vol. x. p. 239, & seq. † Vid. SALMAS. & Auct. ab eo citat. (‡) OROS. Obser. in N. Test. p. 238. ap. BASNAG. ub. sup. † MORIN. Exercit. Bibl. p. 238. Voss. de LXX Interp.

(W) These upbraided them with reading the sacred scriptures after the *Egyptian* manner, or backwards; that is, from the left to the right, which they affirmed was contrary to the course of the sun, and as absurd as making that planet rise in the west and set in the east: in so much that they gave them the vilest language, and sometimes came to blows with them (10). However, it doth not appear that this hatred had displayed itself so soon as our Saviour's time; on the contrary, we find by the book of Acts that the *Hellenists* had a good number of synagogues, where they per-

formed their service in *Greek*, and made use of the *Septuagint* version. Neither doth *Josephus*, or even *Philo*, who was a *Hellenist Jew*, mention any thing of their being then looked upon by the rest as a different sect from them, much less abased and persecuted for it; tho' their high regard for the original *Hebrew* did really inspire them with a contempt for those who could only read it in a foreign heathenish language.

(X) Even *Lightfoot* is obliged to acknowledge thus much, he pretends that they were deposited there merely to confute

(10) Vid. Scal. Not. in E uscb.

BUT that which caused it to be afterwards so much cried Septuagint down by the *Jews*, was the use which *Justin*, and other gints, *why* primitive Christians, made of it against them, in which they ^{cried} ran into the opposite extreme, and condemned it as dangerous and pernicious, and this produced a fourfold effect.

1st, It rendered the *Hellenists*, who stood up for it, odious to the rest, who were from that time look'd upon as sectaries and schismatics. 2dly, It gave rise to the new versions ^{New ones} of *Aquila*, *Theodotion*, and *Symmachus*, formerly mentioned ^{made}: a farther account of which may be seen in the margin (Y). 3dly, The *Gemarrists*, not being able to abolish the use of the *Greek* version, confined it to the *Pentateuch*; because it had fewer of those prophecies which were urged by the Christians against them. And, 4thly, It put the *Hellenists* upon invent-

† See Ancient Hist. vol. x. p. 243, & seq. & (N).

the objections which that heathen raised against the *Jewish* religion out of those books. But that is said without either proof or probability; and *Simon* the son of *Gamaliel*, who lived in *Titus's* time, makes no scruple to declare that the law might be wrote and read in *Greek*; and another rabbi affirms, that he who reads it in any language he understands, is doing his duty.

(Y) The chief design of them was to deprive the Christians of those advantages which the *Septuagint* afforded them; and became in great vogue among all the dispersed *Jews*. *Aquila's* was the first, and was used by the greatest part of the *Hellenists*; tho' the *Talmudists* failed not to find some great faults in it, in order to bring the people back to the original *Hebrew*; and some Christians condemn'd it as done with an ill design; tho' they, and even *St. Jerome*, did afterwards

make use of it, as more exact than the old one.

Theodotion, a heathen converted to Christianity, undertook a second; but, being afterwards brought over to *Judaism*, rather chose to copy the *Septuagint* than to attempt a new one from the *Hebrew*; and hath followed it so cloise, that *Origen* made use of it to fill up the chasms which were found in his copy of the *Septuagint*; and the *Ebionites* and *Nazarites* among the Christians preferred it to the others.

Symmachus made a third, which was esteemed more clear and useful than any other; that author having a greater regard to the sense than to the literal signification. But, as these three were calculated against the Christians, and had suppressed some pregnant prophecies, particularly that of *Isaiah*, *A virgin shall conceive*, &c. (11), the *Septuagint*, where it is still found, was preferred above them †.

(11) *Isai*, vii. 14.

† See Ancient Hist. vol. x. p. 243, & seq.

ing several miracles to raise the credit of their own (Z), whilst the *Jews*, to render it the more odious, trumped up a double fast, kept up in memory of it; of which, however, the *Talmud* makes no mention. This sect, therefore, as it is called by the latter, took its rise soon after the time of *Justin Martyr*, and not before. And thus much for the first and second century.

Jews faithful to Severus; WE read nothing worth notice concerning them till the revolt of *Pescennius Niger*, who, being proclaimed Emperor in *Syria*, in the beginning of *Severus's* reign †, and having tried in vain to bring them over to his interest, proved a bitter enemy to them during his short-liv'd reign. Their firmness to the Emperor did not however meet with a suitable return from him; for we are told that he made war against them and the *Samaritans*, at his return from the *Parthian* war ‡; and that the senate, confounding what the father had done in *Syria*, and the son in *Judea*, order'd him a triumph over

† See Ancient Hist. vol. xv. p. 299, & seq.
Chron. sub an. 198.

‡ EUSEB.

(Z) Thus we are told by *Philo*, who was one of them, (*in Vit. Mos.*) that the 70 elders, who were employed in this version had been confined all the time, each in a separate apartment, and, that when the work was finished, and brought to the king seated on his throne, and examined before him, there was found such exact conformity between each other, as well as with the original, even to a letter, or point, that both he and the assembly were convinced that the Holy Ghost must have inspired them; and some ancient fathers have been so fully persuaded of it, particularly *St. Austin*, *Hilary*, and others, that where it differs, as it doth often, from the *Hebrew*,

they have rather chosen to think both divinely inspired, and both in the right; tho' there be no visible way of reconciling them (12).

On the other hand, the *Hebraizing Jews* affirm (13), that the day on which that version was made, proved more fatal to their nation than that on which *Jeroboam* set up the golden calves of *Dan* and *Bethel*; and that the sky was covered with darkness three whole days, in memory of which they appointed a fast-day on the 8th of the month *Thebet*, answering to our *December*, to shew their abhorrence against those who had presumed to translate the sacred oracles into a strange and impure language,

(12) *De his, vid. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. l. i. Jus. Mart. exhort. ad Gent. & Dial. cont. Tryph. Iren. Epiphani. Chrysost. Homil. iv. August. de Doctr. Christ. l. ii. c. 15. & alib. Hil. in Psal. cxxx. not. 24. & al. (13) Vid. Sipter. Taanith in Menf. Thebet & Sealtig. Nat. in Chron. Euseb. jub an. 133. See also vol. x. p. 240, & seq. sub npt.*

the latter ^h (A). He likewise kept up the laws against their making profelytes and going to *Jerusalem*, tho' he allowed them the liberty of circumcising their children during the first years of his reign ⁱ; but, at length, he grew more mild towards them, when he was apprised of their fidelity to him; or, which perhaps was a more prevailing motive, as he was beyond measure covetous, when he came to know that they had many rich and considerable persons among them who would be glad to buy his favour and protection upon his own terms. Accordingly we find them not only protected by him, but several of them raised to some high posts; tho' he did not fail making them pay dear for the preference he shewed to them above the Christians, whom he grievously persecuted, by the heavy imposts he laid on them ^k. There was one clause however very much in their favour, in that Emperor's decree, *viz.* the liberty of refusing such places and offices as were rather burthensome than honourable, tho' they enjoyed by it all the privileges of *Roman* citizens; and this so puffed them up with pride and insolence, especially against the persecuted Christians, that *Tertullian*, who was then writing his *Apologetic*, loudly complains of it ^l (B).

^h SPARTIAN in Sever.

ⁱ Vid. TERTUL. Apologet. cap. 21.

* ULPIAN. in Sever.

^l Apolog. ad Scapula.

(A) We are indeed told by *Abulpharag*, that on the very first year of *Severus*'s reign, the *Jews* waged a grievous war against the *Samaritans*, in which great numbers of both were slain (14). But, as no other author hath mentioned it, it is more likely that he only mistook some skirmishes, which *Claudius*, a captain of *Jewish* banditti had had with those *Samaritans*; for he was grown so bold as to surprise the emperor, and to salute him at the head of his own free booters, as if he had been one of the tribunes of his army; and then fled away with them so far that

he could not be found. And this might be, very likely, what gave occasion to that triumph, seeing they had stood so firm for him against his competitor.

(B) He mentions, among other things, a *Jew* going along the streets of *Carthage*, and carrying the picture of a man in a long robe with ass's ears, and a book in his hand with this inscription, the *God of the Christians*; which we chiefly mention, because it shews that the *Jews* had by that time spread themselves from *Egypt* into those farther parts of *Africa*, and how insolent they were grown under the favour of that emperor.

under Ca-
racalla.

Apocry-
phal books
wrote
about this
time.

Jochanan
compiles
the Thal-
mud.

It is very probable that they enjoyed the same privileges under his son *Caracalla*; at least we do not find any thing to the contrary; and as that Emperor, bad as he proved afterwards, had been brought up with one of them, for whom he expressed an uncommon affection (C), it is reasonable to suppose that he still retained so much kindness for them, as to leave them in possession of those franchises which his father had granted to them; and, that they made use of that quiet interval, in making their collection of traditions both *Jewish* and *Hellenist*, which were by this time grown very numerous, and the teachers and writers of both not a few. Among the latter were the *Pseudo-Esdras*, the author of the additions to the book of *Daniel*; those of the histories of *Tobith* and *Judith*, of the book of *Enoch*, the assumption of *Moses*, and some others of the same apocryphal kind, concerning which, and the most probable time of their being wrote, the reader may consult the authors mentioned in the margin ^m.

In this century flourished the famed *R. Jochanan*, the great disciple of *Judah Hakkadish*, chief of the *Amoraim*, or commentators on the *Mishnah*, and compiler of the *Jerusalem Thalmud*. The time is variously conjectured by the learned; the most probable supposition is, that he was born about the latter end of the 2d century, or *A. C.* 184, or 185. Some writers pretend that he was chosen chief of the academy of *Tiberias* in the 15th year of his age ⁿ; which is improbable, and contrary to the practice of the *Jews*; because his master was still alive, and *R. Chanina*, whom he appointed his successor, is affirmed by the *Jewish* chronologists to have enjoyed that dignity about ten years more: so that the soonest that he can be supposed to have mounted the chair, is about *an.* 225, and about the 40th of his age; by which time he had space and opportunity sufficient to finish his studies under those two masters, in order to

^m FABRIC. Apocr. V. Test. BARTOLOC. DODWEL. de Cycl. Dissert. ix. PRID. CALMET. BASNAG. & al. ⁿ Vid. BARTOLOC. ub. sup.

(C) This *Jewish* boy, who had been brought up at court, and was *Caracalla's* play-fellow, who was then about seven years of age, having been ordered by the emperor to be whipt for some misdemeanor, that young prince, we are told, not only shed tears over him, but was so concerned for him that he could not see his father for several days (15).

fit himself for his great work; in which he was assisted by two other learned rabbies, viz. *R. Samuel*, and *Rab* or *Rau*, who had likewise been disciples of his two masters, *Judah the Saint*, and *R. Chanina*. This famed piece, commonly known by the name of the *Hierosolymitan Thalmud*, together with the occasion of its being written, and other particulars relating to it, the reader will find an account of in the margin (D).

R. 70.

(D) The word *Thalmud*, signifies *Doctrine*, and is emphatically given to this work, as being a compleat system or body of it, or of the religion and morals of the *Jews*. They have two of that name and import, viz. this of *Jerusalem*, which is the shortest and more obscure of the two; as likewise the more ancient by near one century; and that of *Babylon*, of which we shall speak in its proper place. It is properly a comment upon the *Mishnah* of *Judah Hakkadosh*; and the occasion of its writing was as follows:

Judah had scarce finished his own work, before he had the mortification to see a collection of traditions quite different from his, published under his nose by one Rabbi *Chua*, with the *Chaldee* title of *Bara-Zizethoth*, or *Extravagants*, which was afterwards inserted in the *Mishnah*, in order to make that piece more compleat. It had, indeed, two considerable defects, viz. 1st, It only collected the various traditions and sentiments of the *Jewish* doctors, without enquiring which of them was most to be preferred; which confirm the conjecture, that *Judah* had only collected what he found ready

written to his hand. And, 2^{dly}, It was so concise as to be in some measure useless, because it reached but to few doubtful cases, in comparison of the many questions that began by this time to be in vogue among the *Jews*. To remedy these defects it was that those three great men wrote this comment upon it, which being compiled in *Judea*, and for the *Jews* that lived in those parts, as well as in the *Hebrew* then in use, was stiled the *Gemarah*, or *Perfection*; and this and the *Mishnah* together made that which is called the *Thalmud* of *Jerusalem*.

Neither *Jews* nor *Christians* are agreed about the time of its being finished; some placing it about 150, others about 200, and *Buxtorf* 230 years after the destruction of *Jerusalem* (16); that is, about the 300th year of *Christ*. Its mentioning the emperor *Dioclesian*, shews that it must have been compiled in or after the reign of that emperor; but *Morinus* is of opinion, from several barbarous terms he has observed in it, which are of *Vandalic* or *Gothic* extract, that it did not appear till the 5th century (17). Thus much for the *Jerusalem*

(16) *Recensio Op. Thalmud.* p. 200. cit. 6.

(17) *Exercit. Bibl. l. ii. Exercit.*

R. R. Ase, *R. JOCHANAN* is said by the *Jewish* writers to have and Ase, lived 95 years, and left two famed disciples, viz. *R. Ase*, disciples of mentioned in the last note, and the compiler of the *Babylonish Thalmud*, and *R. Ase*, who boasted to have written A.C. 279. 400 books;

Thalmud; which, being still found not only too succinct, on account of the small number of cases and quotations from the *Jewish* doctors, as well as too obscure, by reason of the barbarous terms it had borrowed from other nations, gave birth to the *Babylonish* one, of which we are now going to speak.

This last was compiled by Rabbi *Ase*, a very learned disciple of the great *Jochanan*, but who left the academy of *Tiberias*, and went to preside at that of *Sora*, near *Babylon*, where he continued in that dignity about 40 years, during which he compiled his *Gemarrab*, or comment upon the *Mishnah* of *Judah* the saint; and from the place where he wrote it, it came to be stiled the *Babylonish Thalmud*, or, more probably perhaps, because it was done for the use of the *Babylonish*, or the *Jews* on the other side of the *Euphrates*. *Ase* did not live to finish it; but this was done by his sons; and some of his disciples gave the concluding hand to it; so that it became a vast body or collection of traditions, concerning the canon laws of the *Jews*, and of all the questions relating to the *Jewish* law, wherein the *Mishnah* is the text, and the *Gemarrab* the comment upon it.

The *Jews* in general prefer this *Babylonish Thalmud*, on account of its clearness and fullness, much above that of *Jerusalem*; and tho' it is stuffed with ridiculous fables and stories, yet they will not suffer any one to call it in question without the censure of heresy. In-somuch that they even give this book the preference to the sacred ones; for these they compare to water, the *Mishnah* to wine, and the *Gemarrab* to the choicest wine †. They own all three to be equally of divine authority; but the last to be preferable in point of clearness, and without the help of which the former is but as a dead letter. We shall dispense with giving a farther account of that voluminous work, and only observe that the learned *Maimonides* hath given us an excellent abridgement of it, in which he hath thrown out all that was puerile and ridiculous, and confined himself to the collection of the most material cases and decisions that are contained in it. This epitome, which he stiles *Yad Khazachab*, or *Strong-hand*, is therefore much preferable to the *Thalmud* itself, as being one of the most compleat bodies of the *Jewish* laws that ever was wrote; not so much on account of the dignity and importance of the subject, as of the clearness.

† See *Ancient Hist.* vol. iii. p. 5. sub not.

400 books; by which is not meant that he either was the author,

the style, and the beautiful order in which he hath ranged them. As to the *Babylonish Talmud*, there is as much difference of opinions about the time in which it was finished, as about that of *Jerusalem*. The *Jews* have greatly antedated it, as they do most of their own books; and the Christians were so little acquainted with it before St. *Jerom's* time, that we can come at no certainty from either. *Morinus* hath given it the latest date of any writer, and offered several very probable reasons for his opinion, that it was not finished till the year 700 (18). But as it would be, doubtless, out of our province, as well as swell this note too great a bulk, were we to enter into a farther detail of this matter, we shall content ourselves with referring such of our readers as are curious about that point, to the authors quoted in the margin for a farther account of it (19).

No less is the difference of opinions concerning the book itself. We have seen what esteem the *Jews* have for it; some Christians come very little short of them, who, not content to look upon it as an inexhaustible mine of divine treasures, (from the search of which, nothing but the most carnal indolence, or too world-

ly pride and self-sufficiency, deters the learned) go even so far as to insinuate, that there is nothing grand or sublime in the sayings of Christ or his apostles but what they fetched from that divine fountain; inso-much that they will even affirm, that not only the finest parables and allegories of the gospel, but even the Lord's prayer, are taken from the *Talmud*. If you ask them how they could have these from a book published so long after their time? they will answer, that they were conveyed by tradition from one doctor to another, and taught in their schools many years before, tho' not committed to writing till then †.

On the other hand, one meets with a quite different sort of men, who, running into the opposite extreme, condemn the book as detestable and dangerous, fit only to be flung into the flames. But those pass the more equitable judgment, who, without exaggerating its authority, can yet make use of it in order to explain the sacred writings, and the ancient rites and religious ceremonies of the *Jews*: and this is what we have endeavoured to do in several parts of this work, as far as we could find it of any service; and, as we have reason to hope, to very

(18) *Exercit. Bibl. ub. sup. cap. 2, & seq. Serrav. de Rabbin. l. i. c. 9. Bartoloc. ub. sup. tom. i. p. 448. iii. 339. Trigland. Dissert. de Carastil. p. 17 & 35. Hornbeck cont. Jud. lib. i. Basnag. ub. sup. l. iii. c. 6. Calmet sub. voc. Prid. Connest. part. ii. lib. viii.*
 (19) *Vid. int. al. Lightfoot in Matth. xx. Reland Annal. Rabbin. ultra Traject. an. 1702. Serlingham Pref. in Cod. j'ma Talmud. Beza. in Matth. v. c. 9, & seq. Morin. Prid. Calmet. & al. sup. citat. † Vid. es'd. ibid.*

author, or even transcriber, of so many volumes; but only that

good purpose, and to the satisfaction of such of our readers who have not suffered themselves to be carried away into either extreme †. However, as we have taken upon us to observe, that it is fraught with many absurd and puerile notions we shall now close this note with a few instances of it to serve our readers as a specimen of the rest.

Nothing can be more absurd, and even impious, than what they tell us of the Deity's passing his time away before the creation, in making and annihilating of a number of worlds, by way of essay, till he had found out the way of making one to his mind, which is that we live in: his creating of the two monsters of *Henoc* and *Leviathan* on the fifth day, the former of whom was sent to range on the earth, and hath the grafts of a thousand mountains to supply him with food; and the other confined to the sea till the day of Judgment, when it is to be killed, to make a feast for all the elect: his creating the male and female *Behemoth*, and killing and salting the latter for the same banquet: *Adam* having being created an hermaphrodite, and trying in vain to assuage his lust with all the other animals, and fixing at length upon *Eve*. These, and many more of the like nature, which a modest *Jew* one would think must be ashamed of, are yet swallowed down by the vulgar; whilst

some of the more sensible of them pretend that those stories are allegorical, and contain such sublime mysteries as none but their greatest saints can be able or fit to attain.

What can be more childish, as well as prophane, than the story of the fly rabbi, who is there reported to have cheated God and the devil, by praying to the latter to carry him up to the gate of heaven, when, having once beheld the glory of the place, and happiness of the saints, he might die more easy and quiet; and having obtained his request, and found it luckily opened, gave himself a spring, and jumped into it, and swore by its great God, that he would never come out of it; where by God was obliged to let him stay there rather than make him forswear himself.

Many of the rabbinic decisions are also found there no less ludicrous and absurd; as when it introduces two women disputing in the synagogues, about the use which a husband may lawfully make of them; and the rabbies answer positively that he may safely use them as he pleases; and for this reason, that as a man that buys a fish may eat either the fore or hind part, as he likes best, so, &c. They are sometimes contradictory to each other; as when, instead of endeavouring to reconcile or remove the manifest opposition, they make a voice from heaven do it, by pronouncing both decisions

† *Vid. int. al. vol. iii. p. 12 & 13. sub. not.*

that he copied some sentences out of each: for we are told, that even the transcribing of a sentence out of *Deuteronomy*, v. 9. doth entitle one to the title of having wrote that book ^o. Both those disciples received the imposition of hands from their master, and both were chiefs of the academy of *Tiberias*, to the great mortification of one of their school-fellows, named *Sceman Bar-Abba*, who almost broke his heart for not being raised to that dignity.

^o BARToloc. tom. iii. p. 673.

right. We shall pass by some of those which are chiefly levelled against Christians, which not only oblige the *Jews* to curse them in their prayers, morning and night, but encourage the greatest inhumanities against them. It is indeed to be hoped that those who are living under the protection of our mild government, will look upon themselves as less bound to such uncharitable precepts, and we may say, in some measure, so contrary to the *Mosaic* law; but how much the authority of the *Thalmud* is to be preferred to that, may appear from the following story taken out of it, and with which we shall close this note. It is as follows:

A certain heathenish king, named *Pirgandicus*, having invited eleven of the most celebrated *Jewish* doctors to sup with him, and received them with a suitable magnificence, put it to their choice whether they would feed upon some swine's flesh, or have carnal conversation with pagan women, or to drink wine that had been offered to idols; after mature deliberation, they chose the last, as being only forbid-

den by their doctors; whereas the two former were so by the law. Accordingly the king obliged them with some excellent wine, consecrated to the gods, of which they drank very freely. The table, which stood upon a hinge, being turned about, and covered with swine's flesh, they fell to it without further enquiry; and, after a full meal, being also well heated with wine, they were conducted to bed, where they found such handsome women as they were not proof against; and it was not till after a sound sleep that they became sensible of their gradual violation of the law, in that threefold manner. As a punishment for it they died all within the year, and of a sudden death, for having transgressed the precepts of their doctors; thinking that they might more safely do it than break the written law. And accordingly the *Mishnah* pronounces them more guilty who transgress the words of their wise men, than those who transgress the words of the written law (20). And *R. Elazar*, being questioned by his disciples upon his death bed about the surest way to life, answered,

(20) *Tract. Sinechdr. c. x. n. 3. tom. iv. p. 25.*

Jews in danger un- HITHERTO the *Jews* had lived in peace and happiness, but were like to have suffered a most dreadful persecution in the reign of *Heliogabalus*. That whimsical prince, it *der Helio-* seems, caused himself to be circumcised, and abstained from swines flesh, out of devotion to his gods; and this he had probably learned from some *Jews*, in whose neighbourhood he had been brought up, and with whom his family, particularly his aunt *Mammea*, was very intimate. All this, however, could not have saved them from his fury, had he not been assassinated by his soldiers, before he could bring his mad project about, of making his god *Heliogabalus*, as *Lampridius* tells us he designed to have done, the only object of men's worship all over his Empire; for the *Jews* would have suffered the severest persecutions rather than have joined in it. But this danger was soon over, and they began again to feel the effects of peace under the empire of his successor.

In high fa- THE mild disposition of *Alexander Severus*, joined to the *vour with* prejudices he had imbibed in his youth, in favour of that *Alexan-* nation and of their religion (E), made him shew so much *der Seve-* favour towards them, that the then wits used to give him *rus.* the title of *Archisynagogue* of *Syria*. He was no less an admirer of the Christians, and imitated the method of both, of

Turn away your children from the study of the written law, and let them listen to the words of the wise men; that is, to the *Talmud*. The reason they give is no less singular; for, say they, the prophets and inspired writers were obliged to prove their doctrine by miracles; whereas the wise men have no need of such proofs, God having enjoined his people (*Deut. xvii. v. 10. et seq.*) to do according to that which they shall shew them, and to act according to all they shall injoin them, &c. and for this reason it is another maxim of the *Talmud*, that there can be no peace of conscience for those who forsake the study of it, for that of the sacred writings. And thus much shall suffice to give our *English* readers a notion of the nature of

the two *Talmuds*, and of their authority among the *Jews*.

(E) That prince had received such a strong tincture of *Judaism* from his mother *Mammea*, that tho' he never forsook the worship of the heathen gods, yet he had adopted into their number *Abraham*, the father of the faithful and patriarch of the *Jews*, and would have done the same by *Jesus Christ*. This, indeed, was a strange medley of religion, and seems to have been a kind of refinement on *Heliogabalus's* wild project, only with this difference, that *Severus* forbore all kind of violence, and strove to promote it by mild and gentle means. As to the title of *Syrian Archi-synagogue*, it was given him as being a native of that province, and on account of his singular favour to the *Jews* *.

* See *Ancient Hist.* vol. xv. p. 358, & (N).

proclaiming,

proclaiming the names of those officers whom he set over his provinces, as those did by their chiefs and bishops, to the end that those under them might have it in their power to accuse them, when their behaviour deserved it. He was no less fond of the negative maxim common to Christians and *Jews*, which he often repeated, of not doing that to others which we would not have done to ourselves: but he seems to have been ignorant of that positive and more excellent one, peculiar to Christ and his disciples, *Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also unto them*, or else it is not to be doubted but he would have given it the preference. •

His successors suffered the *Jews* to live in peace and full liberty, particularly *Philip*, who, being born in *Arabia*, had been conversant with, and was a great favourer of them, as well as of the Christians, and, in whose time the famed *St. Cyprian* wrote his treatise of Testimonies, in which he mentions a vast number of prophecies which were fulfilled in *Jesus Christ*. Among the *Jews* flourished the famed *R. Scesciah*, who, tho' blind, became famed for his learning, and held several disputes against the Christians, and particularly opposed their praying towards the East. They attribute two works to him; one a cabalistical exposition of the *Sephiroth*, the manuscript of which was kept in the library of *Heidelberg*; and the other a *Targum*, or paraphrase on the sacred books P. As *Decius* raised a persecution against the Christians, out of spleen to *Philip* who had protected them, some have thought that the *Jews* bore a share in it; but, as the difference between the Christians and the *Jews* was better known by this time than it had been formerly, it is more likely these escaped it. That which raged afterwards in *Valerian's* reign against the Christians, hath been thought by some to have been in a great measure owing to the *Jews*; and *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* tells us, that that prince was stirred up to it by the archisynagogue of *Egypt*. But it is probable that our author hath given that title to the chief of the magicians, out of hatred to the *Jews*; for it was really an *Egyptian* magician that induced him to it, and it doth not appear that the *Jews* had any hand in it.

We have now gone thro' the history of the western *Jews* during the three first centuries, it is now time to pass over Jews, the *Euphrates*, and give some account of the eastern ones; of their princes or chiefs; of their captivity; their aca-

Chiefs of
the capti-
vity.

demies, and most celebrated doctors in them; and such other transactions relating to them as we think worth our reader's notice. And this place is so much the more proper to begin their history in, because it is in the third century, and not before, that these chiefs and doctors began to make a figure, and to found their most celebrated academies; we therefore think, for the reasons hinted in the margin (F), that this new dignity did not introduce itself in

(F) We have already shewn shewn how fond the Jewish writers are of giving the preference to these Babylonish chiefs, above the patriarchs of Tiberias, on account of their being of the royal blood of David, and the persons to whom the title to the Jewish scepter belonged. In consequence of which, their lesser chronicle, or *Seder Holam Zeathu*, hath given us a list, or series of them from king *Jecaniah*, who was carried away captive into Babylon by *Nabuchadnezzar* †, and was afterwards released out of his prison by *Evil Merodach* his son, in the first year of his reign, and set above the rest of the captive kings (21). To him that chronicle gives nine successors, viz. 1. *Salathiel* his son, under *Bel Shazar*. 2. *Zorobabel* his son, who brought back that captivity under *Cyrus* *. 3. *Mesullam* his son, under whom prophecy ceased, and who died in the time of *Alexander the Great*. 4. *Hananiab*, under the reign of *Salmon*, *Alascan*, and *Maparis*, kings of the Greeks (so they call *Ptolemy*, the son of *Lagus*, *Seleucus*, and *Cassander*). He died, according to them, an. 140 of the æra of the *Seleucidæ*. 5. His son *Burachiah*,

under that *Ptolemy*, who caused the scriptures to be translated into Greek, who died 170 of the same æra. 6. His son *Hafudia*, an. 175, when *Nicanor* was defeated by the Jews. 7. *Isaiab* his son. 8. *Abdiab* his son, who died in *Herod's* reign; and *Shamaja* his son, who makes up the 10th generation of the royal line since *David*. From this they give us a regular series of 31 more, beginning at *Shechaniab* his son, who died an. 160, after the destruction of Temple, or 236 of Christ, down to *Azariab*, the brother of *Jacob Phineas*, the 41st and last of those chiefs, who made up accordingly to that chronologist, the 89th generation. We shall not trouble our readers with a list of them, which is palpably faulty in many respects, and hath little else, except their bare names, and here and there some synchronism; of which we shall give an account in the sequel; and now and then one of those new chiefs who chose to be buried in Judea.

But were this list ever so authentic, with relation to the regular succession of those families, yet, with respect to their power, dignity, or figure, the Jews don't pretend to it, know-

† See *Anc. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 185, & seq. (21) = *King. s. ult. v. 27, & seq.*

* See *Anc. Hist.* vol. x. p. 178, & seq. & *ncr.* (C).

in *Babylon* till the time of *Huna*, the son of *Nathan*, there mentioned,

ing well enough that many of those to whom they gave the pompous titles of *Nassi*, *Prince*, *Rosh*, *Chief*, and others of the like nature, lived in the utmost indigence; especially during their slavish subjection to the *Parthians*, *Romans*, &c. and bore those titles more on account of their merit, either for learning and sanctity, than on that of their figure or authority.

But what farther confirms that this dignity did not begin till the epoch which we mentioned, is, that *Josephus*, who wrote under the emperor *Trajan*, hath never once spoken of it; and that *Justin Martyr*, who is still later, objects against his antagonist *Trypho*, that his nation had neither king nor chief. Is it probable the latter would have let him triumph over him thus if the case had been otherwise? and would he not have retorted to him this succession of chiefs, if he had known of any such being still preserved? We may add, that those chiefs above-mentioned are only known by their names, except *R. Nathan*, who is there said to have come from *Babylon* into *Judea* in the patriarchate of *Simon*, the father of *Judab* the saint, and became celebrated there, not only on account of his being chosen *Ab-Beth-Din*, at *Tiberias* (22), but likewise for some works he published there. But is it probable that he would have exchanged his dignity of chief, or prince

of the captivity at *Babylon*, if he had been in possession of any such, for that of second in the *Jewish Sanhedrin*; and at a time when *Palestine* was ruin'd by the wars that had raged in it, and by the avarice of *Domitian*? Had his dignity and authority been so high at *Babylon*, is it likely he would have come so far to be chosen to one so inferior to it at *Tiberias*. But, by what appears, his father was chiefly distinguished in the former, for the immense riches and credit, which he had acquired at the court of the *Parthian* kings; on which account the *Jews*, according to their constant custom, had given him some pompous title. *Nathan*, therefore, seems rather to have come to *Tiberias* in search of learning, and some honourable employment, which he had not before, to add new merit to his wealth; and, having stayed there a considerable time, upon his return to *Babylon*, he resolved to set up some dignity there also, answerable to the patriarchate of *Judea*. What confirms it is, that he lived very long, seeing he is numbered among the *Ishmudists*, or commentators on the *Mishnah*; which shews that he cannot be well supposed to have come to *Tiberias* till after the conclusion of the war, lately mentioned under the emperor *Adrian*, or about the reign of *Antoninus Pius*. However, after his return home, the wars between the *Romans* and the *Parthians*, under the

(22) *De hoc. vid. Anc. Hist. vol. x. p. 245, & seq. (T). Vid. Basnag. ub. sup. l. viii. c. 3.*

mentioned, who was cotemporary with *Judah* the saint, and flourished about the year 220, or, at the earliest, under his father, about the beginning of the third century; and then their authority could be but small, considering the slavery under which the *Jews* groaned from the *Parthians*, *Romans*, and other tyrants, whatever titles they might bestow on them to raise the credit of their nation.

When first WE need not repeat what hath been said in other parts
began. of this history concerning these wars, and the triumph of *Severus* over *Artaxerxes*, the famed restorer of the *Persian* monarchy †. This last died about *an.* 244, and was succeeded by his son *Sapor*, from whom that new succession

Favoured took their name *. Both of them became great favourers
by the of the *Jews*, and shewed an extraordinary esteem for their
Persians. rabbies; and it is under them that we find the celebrated

Learned *Samuel Jarchi*, or the Lunatic (G), not only honoured with
men there. the title of *Nassi* or Prince, but likewise with the names of those two monarchs, being first surnamed *Ariochus*, or *Artaxerxes*, and, after his death, *Sapor*, the name of his son, to shew the high degree of authority they had gained at that new court. This great man, as we formerly hinted, came from *Judea* hither; and, among his other dignities, had that of Counsellor of *Huna*, the chief of the Captivity P. He is said to have died *an.* 250, and to have been succeeded by *R. Ada*, who perfected the reformation which he had left defective. The other doctors that flourished in this

† See *Anc. Hist.* vol. xi. p. 363, & seq. * *Ibid.* p. 403, & seq. vol. xv. p. 70, & seq. P *GANTZ TZEMACH*, p. 113. *BARTOLOC.* ub. sup. tom. iv. p. 388. *Vid.* *BASNAG.* ub. sup.

emperors *M. Aurelius* and *Severus*, having reduced that country to the greatest extremity, towards the cloſe of the second century, it is not likely that this new dignity could be introduced there till matters had taken a more favourable turn, that is, under *Hunab* his son, who is therefore supposed the first chief of the captivity (23).

(G) So called from his great skill in astronomy; some tables

of which he is said to have calculated, which are still preserved in the *Vatican* library (†). He was moreover well versed in the *Jewish* laws, and was president of the famed academy of *Nabardea*, where he became famous for his astronomical and other lectures; and particularly, as we have lately hinted, for the improvements he made of *Hillel's* reformation of the calendar.

(23) *Vid.* *Bartoloc.* *Basnag.*

(†) *Id.* *ibid.* lib. viii. c. 3.

century, and raised the fame of that univerfity under *Huna*, the reader may fee in the margin (H).

BUT their felicity foon proved the prelude of a violent perfecution under *Sapor*, the fecond *Perfian* monarch of this race. That prince, who loved to converfe and often difpute with them, having one day queftioned them about their cuftom of burying the dead, and infifted upon their producing fome exprefs and decifive text in their law for it, received fuch an illufory anfwer, that, from a favourer, he

(H) *Rabbi Jehudah*, the fon of *Eliczer*, raifed himfelf by his great learning; infomuch that we find feveral of his decifions in the *Babylonifh Talmud*; tho', in moft of them, he betrays his averfion to the heathen and ftrangers. Some have mifplaced him in the univerfity of *Pundebita*, which was as yet unfounded. He had a fucceffor named *Nachman*, who filled the chair with no lefs reputation; and, in general, the profefiors of *Nabardea* are faid to have excelled thofe of *Sora*, its rival; only thefe latter were more in favour with the prince of the captivity.

Among thefe we may, however, put in the firft rank the famed *R. Abba Aricka*, who was emphatically ftiled **רב** *Rab*, or *Rau*, or *the Great*, and is chiefly known and quoted by that title. Both he and *Samuel Jarchi* had fpent fome time in *Judea*, and ftudied under *Judab* the faint; but, after the death of their mafter, they both returned and fettled, the former at *Sora*, and the latter at *Nabardea*. *Rab* was fo well beloved by one of the *Babylonifh* princes, named *Adarchan*, that he ufed to affift at his lectures, and at length caufed himfelf to be circumcised about *A. C.* 243. He wrote, they fay, a comment on

the book of *Ruth*, and fome other pieces, and was of opinion that the *Romans* would be mafters of the whole world nine months before the coming of the *Meffiah*.

He was fucceeded in the chair of *Sora* by *Huna*, a relation of the prince of that name, and was fo proud of his affinity to him, that he is the firft who took upon him the title of *Prince of the Academy*, or ראש ישיבה *Rosh Yeshubab*. He had 160 volumes of the law;

one of which was found פסול *passul*, or *illegal*, merely becaufe it was as broad as long; which we chiefly mention to give our readers a tafte of the doctors, and learning of thofe times.

We fhall only add one more learned, viz. *R. Cobanah*, of the prieftly order, as his name imports, and of the family of *Eli*, the high-prieft; tho' that is by fome called in queftion. He had likewife ftudied at *Tiberias* under *R. Jochanan* and the patriarch *Samuel*; and indeed it was then a common cuftom fo to do; infomuch that a man was not efteemed learned, unlefs he had ftudied fome time in that academy. All this is a proof that the *Jews* not only lived peaceably, but were in high favour with the then *Perfian* monarch.

Ab A. C.
260, ad
an 272.

became a furious persecutor of them (I). But how far the evidence on which this fact is founded is to be relied on, the reader may judge from what we have said in the last note. However, it is plain from the famed inscription ingraven on *Gordian's* tomb, which *Capitolinus* tells us was written in the *Persic* and *Hebrew* characters, that it might be read by all the world ⁹, that there were still great numbers of the *Jews* in *Persia*, and considerable enough to be thought worthy of reading that Emperor's praises in their own language. *Sapor* is said to have reigned from A. C. 241 to 272 : and how unsuccessful he was in his wars, not only against the *Romans*, but especially against the great *Odenatus*, and his celebrated queen *Zenobia*, hath been seen in a former part^r; and it was under that glorious princeſs that the *Jews*

⁹ In *GORDIAN*. p. 165, & seq. ^r See *Anc. Hiſt.* vol. xi. p. 71, & ſ. c. Vol. xv. p. 441, & seq.

(I) They tell us that one of the doctors not being able to produce a command for it, another more subtle than he pleaded custom and example; to which *Sapor* retorted that of *Moses*, who was not buried: to this they replied, that the *Israelites* mourned for him (24), which did not satisfy him. But, if we may believe a certain chronicle, said to have been transmitted from *Persia* into *Spain* (25), he was forced to this violence by his subjects, who could not brook the esteem he shewed to the *Jews*, and were ready to mutiny against him. So that he was obliged to imprison three of their principals, whom he tried in vain, by dint of scourging, to force into an abjuration of their religion. Provoked at their constancy, he caused all the princes of that nation to be imprisoned, and so ill treated and macerated, that they had nothing left but skin and bones. From that time the *Persians* be-

came so unfortunate in all their wars, especially with the *Arabs*, who subdued and led them away captive, that they acknowledged at length that their cruelty to the *Jews* brought all these evils upon them as a just punishment; on which account they granted them full liberty of conscience, whilst the *Arabian* princes, who looked upon that persecution as cruel and unjust, had courted great numbers of them into their dominions, where they were protected and caressed.

The chronicle above-named, which alone mentions all these particulars, is much called in question by the learned; tho', if by the *Arabians* there mentioned, we understand their neighbours the *Palmyrenians* and the *Saracens*, under the famed *Odenatus*, it is plain that they reduced the *Persians* to great extremities, at the same time that they highly favoured the *Jews*.

(24) *Deut.* c. ult. v. 2. (25) *Ex Gomar. tract. Sanbedr. Solom. Ben. virg. & fil.*

made the most considerable figure all the time of her reign, and in every part of her dominions, which, as we there observed, were of very great extent.

SHE had been brought up in their religion, and was a zealous professor of it. Both she and her husband were become so successful and powerful over those eastern tracts, they carried all before them; so that there is no room to doubt of the *Jews* making the most of the favour and protection of two such powerful friends. She, in particular, is recorded to have built them a great number of stately synagogues, and to have raised them to the highest dignities. Her sad fate, however, soon put an end to all her glory and their happiness, unless we will suppose, that her son *Vaballat*, who succeeded her in some part of her old dominions, was of the same religion with her, and shewed the same favour and encouragement to them; tho' even in this case, which is not altogether certain, all he could do for them must come vastly short of what his mother had done. After the fall of that great heroine, the *Jews* retired from her conquered dominions into several cities of *Persia*, where they were likely to live more quietly, and where there still flourished several of their learned men, some of them chiefly famed for the most puerile actions; such as that of the celebrated *Chija*, who flung himself into a smoking oven or furnace to subdue his lust, after he had tried in vain variety of other means. The noble academy of *Nahardea* having undergone the same fate with that city, that of *Sora* became the most populous and famed for its great men (K).

IT was during the time of prosperity and glory abovementioned, that we find the *Jewish* doctors began to take variety of pompous titles; such as those of *Abba* Father, *Baal* Lord, *Rom* High, *Rab* Master, *Mor* Teacher, *Rosh* Chief or Head, and the like. Among them was a famed doctor named *Jeremiah*, who stiled himself *the Master of Questions*; and, to

(K) Among them was the learned *R. Zira*, surnamed *Katana* (both which signify *little*), who had gone to study at that of *Tiberias*, but had been invited to *Sora* by *Hyna*, the then chief of the captivity, who raised him to the professorship,

which he enjoyed til *an.* 300; when, having conceived a desire of being interr'd in *Judea*, he chose to go thither in his life-time, rather than have his body transported thither after his death (26).

(26) *Gantz. ub. f.p.*

Bm. virgæ, & al. ub. sup.

mortify the *Babylonish* doctors, made his wife hold frequent disputes against them *. They flourished about the year 290; but the most famed among them was *Manes*, a person of great learning, but who could by no means be reconciled to the religion, or even God, of the *Jews*; nor to what the sacred historians record, of his ordering that nation to destroy and exterminate such great number of kingdoms and people, and preferred that of the Christians, who commended nothing so much as universal love and benignity. He is said to have held frequent conferences with the *Jewish* doctors of *Persia*, in order to inspire them, as he pretended, with more worthy ideas of the Godhead. Our modern rabbies do not acknowledge any such conferences between their ancestors and him, whom they have noted in their calendar as the head of that new sect, which still bears his name, and which they absurdly place towards the close of *Constantine's* reign, tho' he lived about the end of this third century. The persecution which was raised against the Christians about the same time, under *Dioclesian*, did not much affect the *Jewish* nation either in the east or west; at least, neither *Jewish* or any other author's mention any thing of it: only the former pretend, that he designed to have made them feel the severest marks of his resentment for some scandalous reflexions which the disciples of *Judah* the saint had cast on him; but that they found means to appease him and prevent it (L). But it is now time to pass on to the 4th century, and see how they fared under the Christian emperors.

Jews in
the 4th
century,

WE have had occasion already to mention some severe laws which *Constantine* was forced to enact, to suppress the influence of the *Jews* against the Christians; and to forbid them making of proselytes, and abusing those who embraced Christianity. But some historians have gone farther, and made that prince a very severe persecutor of them; insomuch that one of the *Greek* fathers tells us, that, being shocked at their assem-

* BARTOLOC. ub. sup. tom. iii.

(L) They upbraided him, it seems, with having been a swineherd, but appeased his resentment with telling him, that tho' they despised the swineherd, they revered the emperor. This story seems founded on the prediction which had been made to that prince, that he should ascend the throne when he had killed *Aper* (the boar); meaning *Aper* the *Pre-fectus Prætorii*, whose death opened to him the way to the empire, as hath been shewn in that part of the *Roman* history (†).

(†) See *Ant. Hist.* vol. xv. p. 484, & seq.

bling

bling themselves in order to rebuild the city of *Jerusalem*, he condemned them to have their ears cut off, and to be dispersed like vile slaves through all the parts of the empire ^{whether}. And another writer adds, that he obliged them to be baptised, and to eat swine's flesh on *Easter-day* ^{persecuted}. All this how-
ever is wholly rejected by the generality of the moderns, and ^{by Con-}
stantine. not without good reasons; which the reader may see in the margin (M). His design was neither to persecute them, nor to force them to turn Christians, but to prevent that liberty which was granted to them from being abused, to the detriment or disgrace of Christianity. In consequence of which, he enacted a law six months before his death, declaring all those slaves free which had by any means been circumcised by their *Jewish* masters (N). He farther ordered, that they ^{Laws a-}
should be obliged to serve all public offices like all the other ^{gainst}
subjects of the empire; which was but right they should; ^{them.}
but yet exempted their patriarchs, priests, and others, that officiated at their synagogues, schools, &c. from them, that

¹ CHRYSOST. Orat. in Jud. iii. ² EUTYCH. An. tom i. p. 466.

(M) The *Jews* themselves all own, that it was *Adrian*, and not *Constantine*, who ordered their ears to be cut off; and this is also confirmed by the *Arabic* historian (27). Besides, we have elsewhere seen, that *Jerusalem* was already rebuilt in *Constantine's* time; insomuch, that the bishop of it had assisted at the *Nicene* councils; and *Constantine* had adorned that city with such magnificent edifices, that *Eusebius* compliments him on it as the builder of the *New Jerusalem* foretold by the prophets (28). How then could the *Jews* assemble themselves in a riotous manner to rebuild that city, which was already done in so stately a manner? We may add further, that, among all the edicts of that prince against the *Jews*, as are preserved in

the *Theodosian* code, there is not a word about their being condemned to have their ears cut off, to eat swine's flesh, &c. Though some of them accuse the *Jews* of stoning and burning those of their nation, whom they found inclined to embrace Christianity, and of having forced their Christian and heathen slaves to be circumcised, which was the reason of his resentment against them.

(N) *Eusebius*, who could not but be well acquainted with that law, says, it extended even to a prohibition of their having any Christian slaves, and gives this reason for it, that it was unjust that those, who were redeemed by the blood of Christ, should be in subjection to his murderers (29).

(27) *Abulphel. dynast. v. p. 77.* (28) *In vit. Const. l. b. iii. c. 33.* (29) *Ibid. lib. iv. c. 27.*

Decree of
the Elvi-
ran coun-
cil.

they might not be thereby diverted from those necessary employments ^w. But the council of *Elvira* in *Spain*, which is commonly placed under this reign, made two decrees which were more severe against them; by the first of which, they were excluded from eating with Christians, as they had commonly done till then; and, though the penalty fell only on the Christians, who were excommunicated by it for eating with a *Jew*, yet it put the latter to very great inconveniences, and made them liable to insults and contempt. By the other, all possessors of lands were forbidden, under the same penalty, to suffer the fruits of the earth to be blessed by *Jews*, because their blessing rendered that of the Christians abortive. This custom of blessing the fruits of the earth at certain seasons was common to Pagans and *Jews*, as well as Christians; but who would have imagined, that the latter should have made use of either of the former, if this decree had not informed us of it. However, both this and the other decree plainly shew, that the *Jews* had lived very peaceably in *Spain*, and in good harmony with the Christians, till then, whatever they may have done since.

Famous
rabbies of
the east.

THEY enjoyed no less a benign sunshine in the east; and their academies went on in a flourishing manner, if we except the persecution which was raised against one of their greatest doctors, the famed *Ravenna* or *Rabba Nachmanides*, chief of the academy of *Sora*, and a person in such esteem, that he had no less than twelve thousand disciples under him * (O).

(^w) Cod. THEODOS. lib. xvi. tom. viii. cap. ii. * GANTZ TZEMACH, et al. ub. sup. Lib. Cabal. p. 61. b.

(O) There were two famed rabbies of that name; the one distinguished by the title of *Hakkadmon*, or the Elder, who flourished about, A. C. 322, and the *Acharon*, or Younger, who lived about, an. 474. We are now speaking of the elder, who was a man of such profound learning, and so dexterous at removing the greatest difficulties, that they gave him the title of עוקר הרים, *Haker Harim*, the remover of mountains. His chief work is the *Bereishith Rabbah*, which is a learned com-

ment on *Genesis*, giving an account of the creation, and a description of the *Holy Land*, together with the literal and mystical sense of that sacred book (30), and hath been often quoted in this work, especially in the *Jewish* history. There is another treatise of the same name, which must not therefore be confounded with it, and which is a comment on the *Mishna*, written by R. *Hosiangbia*, a disciple of *Jusab Hakkodesh*, but less esteemed than the former.

(30) Vid. Bartoloc. ub. sup. Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. sub Rab. Ben. Nachman. & Rabbat. uid. & Lib. Cabbal. p. 61. b.

This person, after having taught a considerable time at that city, was at length accused of some very high crime to the king of *Persia*; for which he thought fit, to avoid farther prosecution, to abscond; and either died in his retreat, as some affirm, or was banished by that monarch, according to others, and died in exile (P). What this crime was we are not told; but it was not attended with any ill consequence towards the nation, nor even to his family, since we find him succeeded in the same academy by his own nephew of the same name, whom he had adopted into it (Q). This last had made such progress under him, that he was chosen chief of the academy of *Purdebita*, so early as *an.* 324; and had continued in it till *an.* 329, when he married, and had a son known by the name of *Rab-bibi*. The university of *Sora* had another famed professor, namely, *Joseph*, surnamed *the Blind*, *Joseph* for so he was; yet he had so great a share of inward light, that the *Blind* he was styled, *Saghi Nahor*, or *Great Light*. They gave *his works*. him likewise that of *Sinai*, because he was a perfect master of all the traditions given to *Moses* on that holy mountain. He is commonly supposed to be the author of the *Chaldee* paraphrases upon some of the *Hagiographa*, such as the *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Ruth*, and *Esther*, which are held in great esteem among the *Jews* and *Christians*; at least one would think so by the number of editions which that book has had, though too much fraught with fables and subtleties.

THE last thing worth mentioning, relating to the *Jews*, *Jews raise* under the reign of *Constantine* (R), is the bloody persecution a persecu-
they tion a-

(P) Some tell us, that *Sapor* had actually condemned him to death, but that his mother got him reprieved, by sending him the same message which *Pilate's* wife had formerly done to that judge; viz. *Have nothing to do with that righteous man, for I have suffered many things in a dream by reason of him* (31). Whether the *Thalmudists* have stolen this story from the gospel, or have invented it out of their own heads, we will not determine (32). But if there be any truth in it, the message of the

empress dowager had a different effect on the *Persian* king, who contented himself with banishing him for life.

(Q) And therefore tell us, that he gave him the name of *יְהוֹנָתָן*, *Abji*; First, Because he had taken him as an orphan out of charity into his house. And, 2dly, Because he should not be confounded hereafter with him, that is, the disciple with his master.

(R) It may not be perhaps altogether impertinent to this history of the *Jews* under this

(31) *Matt.* xxvii. 19.

(32) *Vid. Lightfoot, Hor. thalmud. in Matt.* xxvii.

reign,

gainst the Christians in Persia. they raised in *Persia*, where their interest was very great at that court against the eastern Christians, to be revenged, as was pretended, for those which they had suffered in the *Roman* empire. Christianity had passed from *Armenia* into *Persia*, and other parts of the east, where a great number of churches and bishopricks had been erected without any molestation. But when the *Jews* found, that *Ustazades*, one of *Sapor's* chief eunuchs, was going to be converted to it, they lost all patience; and, by the help of the *Magi*, persuaded that prince to persecute them with the utmost severity. *Simeon*, the worthy bishop of *Cteziphon*, whom they had accused of holding a treasonable correspondence with *Constantine*, was one of their first martyrs, and *Ustazades* another. The persecution was long and bloody; all the churches were demolished, and the traces of Christianity almost obliterated.

Circa A. C. 341. THEY went not long unpunished for it; and *Constans*. who succeeded *Constantine*, observing to what height of intolerance they were grown in divers parts of the empire, especially in *Egypt*, where they committed the vilest insults against the Christians (S), found himself obliged to use them with greater severity

reign, to mention the discovery of the holy cross, which is, by one of the oldest writers on that subject, attributed to a *Jew* named *Judas*, who became soon after a convert to Christianity, and took the name of *Cyriacus* (33). The generality of writers of the church of *Rome* give the honour of it to the empress *Helen*, the mother of *Constantine*, on the authority of *Sulpitius Severus*, who hath added a great number of miracles to this transaction (34); and a letter of *Cyril*, bishop of *Jerusalem*, the authenticity of which is justly called in question. It is out of our province to enter into that controversy (*); we shall only observe, that *Eusebius's* silence on so remarkable a discovery seems quite to discountenance the pre-

tences of the latter; for who can imagine, that such a man as he should have omitted it, if the discovery had been really made by that empress, and been confirmed by so many miracles, at a place so near his bishopric, and usual residence. But the wonder will cease if it was made by an obscure *Jew*, and without any miracle or extraordinary thing attending it.

(S) They not only plundered their churches, burnt their sacred books, and other church utensils, but defiled their fonts, or baptisteries, in such a filthy manner, as *St. Athanasius* was ashamed to mention (35); they carried their insolence so far, as to force young virgins to abjure Christianity, after having stripped and abused them (36); in

(33) *Greg. Turon. lib. i. c. 36.* (34) *Lib. ii. c. 48.* (*) See *Anc. Hist. vol. xv. p. 589.* (35) *Epist. ad orthodox.* (36) *Idem ibid. vide & Sozom. lib. ii. c. 9, & alib.*

severity than his father. But what incensed him most against them was the treachery of the *Jews* of *Diocæsarea* in *Palestine* (T), who took the advantage of *Magnentius's* revolt in *Hungary*, and of that prince's absence whilst he was gone to quell that rebel, to raise an insurrection in *Judea*, whilst the *Persians* were attacking the empire on their side, and were laying siege to *Nisibis*. He was therefore obliged to send *Gallus* against them, whom he had created *Cæsar*; and who took *Judea* in his way to *Persia*, defeated the rebellious *Jews*, and rased *Diocæsarea*. After this, *Constans*, who, besides his just resentment against them, was a very zealous Christian, not only revived all the old laws of *Adrian* and *Constantine*, but made some more severe ones against them; among which, one condemned any *Jew* to death that married a Christian, circumcised a slave, or kept any that were Christians. They were moreover forbid to enter into *Jerusalem*; and those who were desirous to see it at a distance, must buy that liberty at a vast price. He likewise loaded them with very heavy taxes; and was projecting some fresh ones against them to keep them still more under, but was prevented by death. It was under his reign, that young *Euphantius* was converted from *Judaism* to Christianity, without some miracles attending it, with which we shall not

Commit great outrages at Alexandria.

A.C. 353.

Laws renewed against them.

St. Euphantius converted.

† SOZOMEN, lib. ii. cap. 9. HILAR. in Ps. lviii. p. 731—734. Ps. cxxxi. & cxlvi. SOZOM. lib. iii. c. 17.

all which indignities, they were countenanced, if not privately set on work, by *Gregory*, the *Arian* bishop, who was then in high favour at court; so that they went on in them with the utmost boldness and impunity.

(T) This city was the ancient *Sephoris*, and was situate in *Palestina Secunda*. The *Jews*, who were retired thither, and at *Tiberias*, after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, had suffered much from the heathens, who had revolted against *Adrian*; but being at length freed from their insults by that emperor, both places expressed their gratitude to him; the latter, by erecting

a temple to him, which they called *Adrianon*; and the former, by changing its name of *Sephoris* into that of *Diocæsarea Adriana*, to distinguish it from three others of that name; one in *Phrygia*, the second in *Cappadocia*, and the third in *Isauria*, whose bishop assisted at the council of *Chalcedon* (37). St. *Jerom* places that of *Palestine* within a mile and half of *Gath*; and, though it underwent so severe a fate as being the seat of the *Jewish* revolt, it was not long before it raised itself out of its ruins, and became again an habitation of the *Jews*.

trouble our readers with, since they were hardly powerful enough to keep him from running into the wild notions of the *Gnosticks*, whom he met with in *Egypt* ².

Julian's
great fa-
vours to
the Jews.

WE come now to the reign of *Julian* the apostate, to whom the *Jews* made some of their first addresses, with a complaint, that they were unjustly debarred from entering into *Jerusalem*, which had been the glorious residence of their ancestors for so long a series of ages. They not only met with a kind reception, and the most sensible marks of his favour, such as the exemption from those heavy taxes with which his predecessors had loaded them, and the free exercise of their religion, but he likewise permitted them to rebuild their temple, and to revive their ancient worship in it; and even furnished them with money and materials for the work. He condescended so far as to write a letter to them, in which, the more to mortify the Christians, he gives their patriarch the title of brother (U). All these signal favours could not fail of raising that nation to the highest pitch of insolence against the Christians, which they could not but see was the most effectual means of ingratiating themselves with him. Accordingly they assembled themselves in several cities of *Judea* and *Syria*, where they began to demolish the churches, and committed other outrages, especially at *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, *Berythus*, and *Damascus*, whilst those of *Egypt* did the same at *Alexandria*, and other places; and a third sort set themselves

² JOAN. in vit. Epiph. num. i. & seq. p. 33, & seq.

(U) It were absurd, considering the character of that emperor, to suppose, that he heaped all these favours on the *Jews* with any other view than to spite and weaken the Christians, by encouraging and increasing the number of their enemies, that his favourite Paganism might the more easily triumph over them. In other respects, the *Jews* must have been equally hateful to him with the Christians, since both equally condemned and abhorred the superstitions of the heathen. But what might still render the former more obnoxious to him, was the notion, which, *St. Jerome* tells us, was then rife

among them, that about 430 years after their dispersion, they were in their turn to become lords over the *Romans*, and sell them to the *Sabeans*; after which, not only *Jerusalem*, and all the cities of *Judea*, but even those of *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*, were to be rebuilt. So that, when *Julian* gave them an invitation to rebuild the temple, they all looked upon it as the forerunner of the completion of that pretended prophecy, or rather interpretation of the words of the Psalmist and other prophets, that *the Lord would revenge his people, and rebuild the cities of Judah*.

about.

about rebuilding the temple at *Jerusalem*. In the carrying on A.C. 363, of which work, we are told, men, women, and children, were zealous to put an helping hand; and some of them were so sanguine in it, that they made themselves tools of gold and silver to rear up this new edifice with; till the Divine Providence was pleased to put an effectual stop to it, by such a series of prodigies as quite deterred them from pursuing it, and made them sensible of the infallibility of Christ's predictions against that place (W). Soon after which, *Julian* himself, mortally wounded in a surprising manner at the *Persian* war, was forced, by his dying words, to acknowledge his superior power, as we have already shewn in the *Roman* history †.

JOVIAN, who succeeded him, would not have failed to have suppressed the insolence of the *Jews*, had not death prevented him before he had reigned full eight months: so that they quickly began to breathe again under his two next successors, *Valentinian* and *Valens*, who not only gave them full liberty of conscience, but restored their patriarchs to the enjoyment of their privileges. Only the latter deprived them of one of the most valuable ones, by annulling the edicts which exempted them from public offices. The tenor of

under *Valentinian*.
A.C. 387.

† See *Anc. Hist.* vol. xvi. p. 266, & seq.

(W) This wonderful event, which consisted in dreadful earthquakes, balls of fire breaking forth from the places where they were digging up the foundations, and other such prodigious phenomena, is variously related by the ecclesiastical writers (38); and by some adorned with many other circumstances equally miraculous, which however we shall not trouble our readers with, since they all agree in the main thing, that it caused a total suppression of the work, and the fact is acknowledged by unquestionable testimony; such as is that well-known one of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, a heathen writer, who relates it much after the same manner we have

done (†). But more especially, that of two famous *Jewish* chronologists, the first of whom (39) attributes the cessation of the work to the death of that emperor; and the other, who says, that the temple being actually built at a vast charge, fell down; and that, on the following day, a great fire which fell from Heaven melted all the iron-work of it, and killed a vast multitude of the *Jews* (40). Which last testimony is so much the more considerable, as those writers are the least liable to copy the books of the Christians, and much less so to confirm what they write against their own nation.

(38) *Confer. Socrat. lib. iii. c. 20. Sozom. lib. v. c. 22. Theodor. lib. iii. c. 20.* (†) *Lib. xxiv. c. 4.* (39) *Gantz Tzemach David.* (40) *Gedaltub Shatzbeletch Hakabala.*

Edict a-
gainst
them.

St. Am-
brose's un-
timely
zeal a-
gainst
them.

this last decree being somewhat remarkable, we shall give it to our reader in the margin (X). It continued in force against them under the reign of *Gratian Theodosius* and *Arcadius*. Though, in other respects, they lived peaceably under them: only we hear of one of their synagogues being burnt at *Rome*, which the rebel *Maximus*, who was desirous to have them in his interest, ordered to be rebuilt. He was soon after defeated, and beheaded at *Aquila*; and *St. Ambrose*, bishop of *Milan*, who was highly offended at him, looked upon his unfortunate end as a just judgment for his favouring the *Jews*^a; and prevailed on *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, who came soon after to that city, to revoke all the privileges which he had granted to them.

Theodo-
sius' laws
for and
against
them.

THAT father was indeed very inveterate against them, as one may see by some of his expressions in his letter to *Theodosius*; and strenuously opposed the rebuilding another synagogue, which the Christians had set on fire at *Calinichus*, and which that emperor had ordered to be rebuilt at their charge. But as to what *Zonaras*, a *Greek* monk, and some other writers of later date, say of his preaching before him, and taking him to task in an unhandsome manner for suffering the *Jews* to enjoy the privilege of their synagogues in his capital, whose prayers were so many curses and execrations before God, it is all false and absurd. He did not preach but write to him; and, as his letter is still preserved, it is a more faithful witness than the writings of the *Greek* monk; and the most that can be said is, that he carried his censures too far against them, in telling that emperor, that they were so far from thinking themselves obliged to observe the *Roman* laws, that they thought it a crime to submit to them^b. The contrary to this appears by all that we have said hitherto of the edicts made for and against them, and much more by

^a AMBR. Epist. xxix.

^b Ibid. lib. v. c. 29.

(X) "The edict by which the *Jews* flatter themselves of an exemption from public offices, &c. is by these presents revoked and disannulled. For the clergy are not permitted to consecrate themselves to the service of God, till they have previously paid that which they owe to their

country; and whosoever designs to give himself wholly to God, ought to furnish a proper person to supply his place in all public offices (41)." This plainly shews, that the privileges of the clergy in those days were not quite so large as some are apt to imagine.

(41) *Valens, ad Hypan.*

the new one, which that prince published in the last year of his life, against *the untimely zeal of some Christians, who, under pretence of Religion, plundered and demolished their synagogues contrary to the laws, which allowed them liberty of conscience, and for punishing such offenders for the future* *. He even granted them a particular jurisdiction on account of the frequent law-suits which they had either among themselves, or with Christians (Y); by which they were not only free from the trouble and charge of seeking for justice from strange tribunals, but were likely to obtain it more easily from judges that were maintained by themselves. All which privileges would

* Cod. THEODOS. tom. viii. lib. 16.

(Y) Whether it was *Theodosius* that obliged them to live out of his capital, and assigned them a quarter in the *Stanor*, or space between that and the sea, we cannot be sure; but there they built themselves a kind of city, which still subsisted in the time of the *Crusade*, and was both rich and populous; and is so even to this day. That emperor further ordered, that they should not be summoned before any judge but the pretor of the *Stanor*; which privilege they enjoyed till the reign of *Emanuel Comnenus* (42).

There is another law made by *Arcadius*, an. 393, which confirms their obedience to the *Roman* laws; it is to the following effect, that the *Jews*, who lived according to the *Roman* and common right, should be obliged to bring their law-suits before the common judges, in all cases that did not regard their superstition, and to such proper courts as are appointed for them. This decree is intitled, *De foro Judæorum*, and concludes with a remarkable clause; viz. that,

if the contending parties shall compromise the matter before the patriarch, such compromise shall be valid, and deemed of as full force as a sentence from a judge (43). And as religious affairs are there excepted, they had (besides the pretor of their quarter, mentioned above, who was appointed by the emperor), their own magistrates and officers chosen from among themselves; who, *St. Chrysostom* tells us, were chosen in *September*, and presided over ecclesiastical matters, and religious disputes; and could inflict punishments, or even excommunicate, according to the nature of the offence. It is therefore likely, that *St. Ambrose's* zeal might transport him too far; soured perhaps by the too great liberty they enjoyed, and the ill use they made of it, they being at all times very apt to grow bold and insolent against the Christians upon the least encouragement, though, in other respects, they might conform to the laws, and pay all due obedience to civil authority.

(42) *Balsam. in Nom. canon. tit. de fd. c. 11.* (43) *Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tom. viii. p. 227.* *Vid. Basnage, ubi sup. l. viii. c. 5. §. 22, & seq.*

have hardly been granted to them, if, as St. *Ambrose* pretends, they had looked upon it as a crime to submit to the laws of the empire.

St. Jerom's esteem for them. HOWEVER that be, St. *Jerom* was so far from imitating his zeal against them, that he associated himself to some of their most learned rabbies, and, with extraordinary pains and application, learned the *Hebrew* tongue from them; made use of their assistance in his versions of the Old Testament; and doth not scruple giving those doctors the greatest encomiums, whom he had procured from some of their most celebrated academies, such as *Tiberias*, *Lydda*, &c.; among them was the famed *Rabbi Barrabamus*, who, to avoid giving offence to his brethren, was wont to come to him in the

A.C. 390, & seq. night (Z). The credit which that father gained by his learning and useful works caused him to be looked upon as a prodigy. And indeed, if we consider with what difficulty the knowledge of those eastern tongues was acquired, at a time when there were neither grammars, lexicons, concordances, nor any of those helps we have since enjoyed, we shall not need to wonder at the great esteem which he gained in the Church, nor indeed at that high opinion he seems to have of himself on that account; especially considering that he was the first that had attempted it, and the only one at that time who had made any progress in it, whilst most of the bishops and clergy hardly knew more than their own mother tongue; since even the great St. *Austin*, who was no lover of him, could not forbear looking upon him as a prodigy of learning.

Assisted by th. m. A.C. 401. & seq. His credit in the church. We are now insensibly got into the fifth century, in which we shall find the *Jews* grown to such a height of insolence by the long series of peace and liberty allowed them, and particularly under *Theodosius II.* as to oblige that mild, generous,

Theodosius supposed their insolence. WE are now insensibly got into the fifth century, in which we shall find the *Jews* grown to such a height of insolence by the long series of peace and liberty allowed them, and particularly under *Theodosius II.* as to oblige that mild, generous,

(Z) The great encomiums which that father took pleasure to bestow on his masters, and more particularly on this, made *Rufinus*, who thought that the septuagint version ought to be preferred to that of an unknown rabbi, expose them both, by punning upon his name, and calling him *Barrabas*. I see, said he, on one side, Jesus Christ, and, on the other, Bar-

rabas. You may cry as loud as you will for the latter, whilst I do the same for the former. Eusebius made much the same complaint at one time, that they still preferred *Barrabas* to Christ, because they joined with the Infidels against the Christians, and yet he was glad to make use of their help in compiling his comment on *Isaiab* (44).

and equitable prince to suppress it by the punishment of the guilty, but without using any severity to those who behaved peaceably and submissively to the laws. The first just occasion of complaint which they gave, was on one of their festivals in which they celebrated what they call the feast of *Haman* (A); and on which, instead of hanging that enemy of theirs on a high gibbet, as had been their constant custom on that solemnity, they presumed on this year to fasten him to a cross, which failed not to be interpreted by the Christians, and not without reason, as an indignity offered to Christ. This did not hinder them from taking both down, and burning them with the usual execrations; which however was attended with no other consequence (except some blows exchanged on both sides) than with an edict, forbidding for the future the erecting and burning such gibbets, under the penalty of forfeiting all their privileges. The *Jews* obeyed in most parts of the empire; nevertheless those of *Macedon*, *Dacia*, and some other parts, still continued affronting the Christians with such kinds of insults; and were as often retaliated by having their synagogues and houses burned, and some of their leaders even put to death by the magistrates. This produced a new edict from that good prince, expressly forbidding the Christians to prosecute them on account of their religion, and these to offer any contemptuous insults to the established church. This suspended their insolence for two or three years; but, at length, those of *Imestiar*, a city in *Chalcis*, being heated with the wine and zeal usual at that feast, took it into their heads to tie a young Christian to one of those gibbets, and to whip him so severely that he lost his life by it; which so exasperated the Christians that they took up arms against them. The *Jews* being very numerous there, a bloody fight ensued, in which many were killed on both sides. At length, the go-

A.C. 408,
a new
edict.

A.C. 412,
insults to
the Ch. ijs-
ants & ijs-
ed.

(A) This festival, which was kept in memory of the victory which the *Jewish* nation got over *Haman* (45), was usually kept with great alacrity and good cheer; and even, during the reading of the book of *Esther* in their synagogues or houses, men, women, and children, made a most horrid noise with their feet, hands, and even with stones and maillets against

the walls and benches, as often as the name of *Haman* was repeated. Their devotions were no sooner ended than they gave themselves up to feasting; which they indulged to such a height, that it frequently hurried them into a kind of zealous phrensy, in which they were very liberal of their insults against the Christians, and as often occasioned blows on both sides.

(45) *Vid. Esther, pass. & c. ult.*

vernor of the province having informed the emperor of it, was ordered to punish the guilty ; by which means an effectual end was put to the tumult ^d (B).

*Christian
refusals
against
them.*

*A.C. 423,
both for-
bidden.*

A.C. 425.

THIS did not prevent the one from frequently renewing of their hostilities, nor the other from burning and plundering their synagogues, particularly at *Antioch*, where the *Jews* were very numerous and rich, the plunder being commonly given to the church. These skirmishes became so common and scandalous, that complaints were made of them to the emperor, and backed by the præfectus prætorio ; so that the clergy were condemned by a new edict, which obliged them to restore the plunder, and to assign the *Jews* a place where they might erect a new synagogue. He was however obliged not only to repeal it, at the instigation of the famed saint (and martyr in the air, as he is stiled) *Simon*, surnamed *Stylites* (C), who had taken upon him to condemn it, and even to turn the præfect out of his office for having obtained it in favour of the *Jews*. It was not long however before he was forced to publish a fresh explication of his former edicts, in order to suppress the excesses which the revocation of his late one had encouraged the hot-headed zealots to commit against the *Jews*, not only at *Antioch*, but in many provinces of the empire ; and to forbid the burning of their synagogues, or persecuting them on account of their religion.

^d Cod. THEODOS. lib. xvi. xviii. & xxi.

(B) The celebrated lawyer *Godfroy* pretends, that it was on account of the murder of that young Christian that the emperor published those two edicts (46) ; whereas there is a manifest difference of time, place, and occasion : the first of them being published, *an.* 408, and extended over the whole eastern empire ; and as such was directed to *Anthemius*, the then præfect over it ; and the other not till four years after, and extending only to *Eastern Illyricum, Dacia, and Macedon*, and was therefore directed to *Philip*, the then governor of those provinces.

(C) So called from living on the top of a pillar. This fanatic devotion was then in such esteem with all the clergy, that the emperor was obliged, to avoid his and their censure, to recall his orders about making restitution to the *Jews*. Mr. *Valois* even pretends that he wrote a civil letter to him, wherein he stiles him, The most holy martyr in the air. But whether those were the words of the emperor, or of *Evagrius*, who was a great admirer of that airy monk, is hardly worth enquiring ; that title carrying, to all appearance, more pleasantry than veneration.

(46) In Cod. Theodof. lib. xvi, xviii, an. 408, & xxi. an. 412. Vid. & Secr. lib. vii.

A STRANGE accident which happened in the isle of *Candia*, where the *Jews* were very rich and numerous, occasioned great numbers of them to embrace Christianity, not only there, but in other provinces of the empire; and the shame of having been seduced by a false messiah (D), and having placed such strong and surprising confidence in him, opened their eyes to find out the real and only one in the church. Another event, related by the same ecclesiastical historian*, brought a fresh number of proselytes into it, to the no small mortification of the rest, on whom the miraculous cure performed on an old paralytic, could not make the same salutary impression (E). As we are writing the history of the *Jews*, and not that of the church, we shall pass over a number of those

* See the following note.

(D) This impostor, who had taken upon him the name and office of their great lawgiver and deliverer, had so far infatuated them, as to make them expect as great a deliverance under him, as they had under the former, *viz.* of opening to them a miraculous way through the sea into their own land. We are even told, that he himself was so persuaded of it, that he had in one year run through every town and village of that island, and persuaded the *Jews* in it to follow him (47), and to be ready for him on the day and place appointed by him.

Their delusion proved so strong and universal, that they neglected their lands, houses, and all other concerns, and took only so much with them as they could conveniently carry; and, on the day appointed, the *Pseudo Moses*, having led them to the top of a rock, men, women, and children, threw themselves headlong down into the sea, without the least hesitation or reluctance; till so great a number of them were drowned,

and some others saved by fishermen, as opened the eyes of the rest, and made them sensible of the cheat. They then began to look out for their pretended leader, but found he had disappeared; inasmuch that they began to think themselves misled by a devil instead of a man; upon which the far greater part renounced *Judaism*, and were baptized.

(E) This was an old *Constantinopolitan Jew*, who had been afflicted with the dead palsy, and had in vain exhausted the physicians art, and, in a great measure, his own substance. He was at length prepossessed with the hopes that baptism would obtain him a cure; and, having received it of *Atticus*, the then patriarch of that metropolis, recovered the use of his limbs immediately upon his having received that sacrament. This miraculous cure made so great an impression upon the *Jews* and heathens, that great numbers became converts, though the far greater part of the former still continued in their unbelief (48).

(47) *Socrat. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. vii. c. 38.* (48) *Id. ibid. lib. iv. p. 341, c. 37. p. 354.*

Several
cheats a
mong them.

miraculous conversions with which this century abounded, and only observe, that the Christians having then accustomed themselves to make some considerable presents to those new converts, induced many cheats, not only to become Christians with that view alone, but even to run privately from one sect into another of them, and be baptized in them all, for the sake of gaining fresh tokens of their liberality.

A REMARKABLE instance of this our author gives us of a Jew, who went through all the sects then at *Constantinople*, but was at length discovered in a miraculous manner by the *Novatian* bishop there, and owned, that he had been baptized by every one but that. These cheats could not but render the Jews obnoxious to the Christians; but there was still another thing that made them more so, viz. the several arch-heretics, such as the *Novatians*, *Nestorians*, &c. who, by borrowing some of the Jewish tenets, were stiled *Judaizers* and *Jews*. But it is time to see how they behaved and fared in other countries.

Jews raise
a tumult at
Alexan-
dria.

THOSE of *Alexandria*, who are computed to have amounted to about 100,000 at the time that they raised a bloody uproar against the Christians, had had many skirmishes against them before, which seldom ended without bloodshed (1').

† Cod. THEODOS. l. xxi. c. v. p. 342.

(F) The Jews, it seems, were by this time grown not only so bold, but dissolute, that, instead of assisting at the duties of their synagogues on the sabbath, they chose rather to be present at the public diversions and shews, which were commonly exhibited on that day; which seldom failed of producing those bloody skirmishes we mentioned above, and which the magistrates were seldom able to suppress. This put the prefect upon making some wholesome regulations against those disorders. But, whilst he was one day at one of them, and was giving some orders for the more peaceably exhibiting those shews, he found himself surrounded with a croud of the pa-

triarch's creatures, who are supposed to have been sent for no other end, but to exasperate him against the Jews; one in particular, named *Hierax*, an admirer and great favourite of *Cyril*, behaved on that occasion in such a manner against them, that they loudly complained of him to the prefect; who thereupon, without any other ceremony, ordered him to be publicly whipt upon the stage. This was a sensible affront to the patriarch, who failed not to resent it as such: so that, instead of uniting their authority in promoting the public tranquillity of the city, they only strove to thwart each other's measures to the manifest disturbance of it (49).

(49) *Socrat. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. vii. c. 13, & seq.*

Cyril,

Cyrl, then bishop of it, and since fainted, was thought as much too zealous against them, as *Orestes*, the then prefect, was partial to them; and, at length, carried it so far as to infringe upon his office, and to threaten them with ecclesiastical execution. This however they despised, knowing the governor to be on their side; and grew to such an height of insolence as to resolve to fall foul upon them in the middle of the night. To this end, they hired some of their own people *Bisep Cy-* to run about the street of the city, crying out, that the great *ril arms* church was all in flames; which immediately brought all the *against* Christians out unarmed, to go and save that noble building; whilst the *Jews*, who had taken care to distinguish themselves by some peculiar mark, fell upon, and killed great numbers of them. *Cyrl*, as soon as he was apprised of it, staid not to be righted by the civil power, but, putting himself at the head of a sufficient number of Christians, entered their synagogues, and seized on them to the use of the church. He then abandoned their houses to be plundered, and obliged them to march out of the city almost naked. This failed not to exasperate the prefect, who could not brook such an infringement on his authority, and the city to be stript of so vast a number of its inhabitants, without making the severest complaints against the bishop, who, on his part, sent several bitter accusations to court against him. Here the people, having declared for the prefect against the patriarch, would have obliged the latter to submit to the former, but he absolutely refused to do it.

INSTEAD of that, he went to him with the Gospel in his *Odd beha-* hand, and threatening in his words and looks, tried to frighten him into a reconciliation. But, finding him inflexible, *the pref. &c.* he ordered a regiment of his monks, to the number of fifteen hundred, to come down from the mountains, and to assault *Assaults* him in his chariot with volleys of stones, which wounded him *& wounds him.* in the head, and covered him with blood; so that he must have been killed inevitably (his guards having been forced to abandon him) had not the people come to his assistance, and rescued him out of their hands. The tumult being appeased, *Orestes* caused one of the ringleaders of those monks, named *Ammonius*, to be executed, and sent an account of the whole affair to court. The patriarch did the same; and not only justified the proceedings of his monks, but, in his next sermon, declared *Ammonius* a martyr. This behaviour produced a new tumult soon after; in which, among many others *murdered* that lost their lives, was the deservedly celebrated *Hypatia*, *at a new* a young heathen lady, of great sense, learning, and virtue, *tum* who was hurried by the bishop's mob before one of their

churches, and there cruelly butchered. The untimely zeal and presumption of the *Alexandrian* patriarch, which is so visible in all these transactions, hath been justly blamed by all impartial persons; even *Socrates* himself observes ‡, that the death of the amiable *Hypatia* reflected no small dishonour on him and his clergy. And it is plain, that the *Alexandrians* were highly offended at his proceedings, since they all along sided with the prefect against him. Though it must be owned, that he betrayed such a spirit of opposition against him, and such a partiality for the *Jews*, as was as inconsistent with the character of a Christian prefect, as his was with that of a Christian bishop.

Jewish patriarchs suppressed.
A.C. 429.

THE *Jewish* nation received a more universal blow in this century, in the total suppression of their patriarchs. We have formerly shewn, that they lived upon certain levies, which they made on those of their nation, and which used to be collected by their officers, or, as they affected to call them, apostles. These became at length to grow so exorbitant, that the people, weary of them, applied to the civil power, from which however they received no other redress than the mortification of seeing that tribute converted to the emperor's use, and their patriarch deprived of it. *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* were the two monarchs who appropriated that income to their own treasury, by which means the patriarchal dignity was more effectually suppressed, than any edict could have done it; and, for want of a proper income to support it, was forced to dwindle away. *Photius* pretends, that the primates which succeeded the patriarchs, were charged with it, and answerable for it, and obliged to see it conveyed into the emperor's coffers (G).

Western Jews, under Honorius.
A.C. 412.

LET us now pass over to those of the west, where we shall find them enjoying indeed the full exercise of their religion, under *Honorius*, who had enacted a law, much to his honour, importing, that the glory of a prince consists in allowing all his subjects the full and peaceable enjoyment of all their privi-

‡ *SOCRATES*, ub. sup. lib. vii. c. 13, & seq.

(G) Some will have it indeed, that *Theodosius* did expressly abolish it; and others think, that the people, weary of paying it, and maintaining so high an office at so vast an expence, let it drop of their own accord. The last how-

ever is not quite so credible, seeing that high dignity, expensive as it was, did not a little contribute to the ease and credit of the *Jewish* nation, as it kept up, as it were, a center of unity among them through the whole *Roman* empire.

leges,

leges, even when their religion is not such as he can approve ^h. Pursuant to which, he expressly forbade the pulling down, or appropriation of their synagogues, or even to oblige them to violate their Sabbath, on account of the public service, for which, he said, the other six days are sufficient. On the other hand, to prevent their abusing their liberty, he forbade them to build new synagogues, and making proselytes, and stripped them of some posts and offices which they had enjoyed before (H); particularly that of furnishing the army with provisions. He caused also a severe edict to be published against an upstart sect in *Afric*, called *Cælicolæ*, or worshippers of Heaven; at the end of which is a clause forbidding the *Jews* to make proselytes; upon which account the *Cælicolæ* have been thought by many to have been a *Jewish* sect, tho' without *Cælicolæ* any foundation, as the reader may see by what we have sub-joined in the margin (I).

^h Cod THEODOS. tom. xvi. lib. xx.

(H) These chiefly related to the militia and agency. These agents had a threefold employment; viz. 1st. Levying of imposts in the provinces; 2dly, the providing and transporting of corn and other provisions for the use of the army; and 3dly, the serving as couriers and spies in all the provinces of the empire, and to send a faithful account of all that passed. And on this last account they had the care of the public carriages (50).

(I) The famed lawyer *Godfredus* had long ago distinguished between that part of the edict which related to the *Cælicolæ*, and that which related to the *Jews*, notwithstanding they have been absurdly confounded, and the former supposed to have taken that specious name, to conceal that of

Jews, which was more odious (1): some have taken it to have meant the *Samaritans*, who had a temple at *Naplouse*, opened on the top like an amphitheatre; others, the *Essenians*, a very strict and contemplative sect among the *Jews*, spoken of in a former volume †, and long since abolished: both which suppositions are absurd, seeing those two sects were of very old date, and sufficiently known, and could not therefore be called, as in the edict above-mentioned, a new and upstart sect. And the clause which obliges them to return into the bosom of the Church, plainly shews that they must have been a sect of Christians, or, as is commonly believed, a spawn of the Donatists, whose tenets tallied with theirs (2).

(50) *De his vid. Salmasius in Spartian. p. 21, & seq. (1) Juvenal satyr xiv. vers. 97, Petron in Cataleſt. † Anc. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 434. vol. x. p. 478. & ſeq. (2) Vid. int. al. Petit war. leſt. lib. ii. c. 12. Cuvæus Rep. Hebr. l. i. c. 6. Buſman Helmſtad. Hiſt. Cælicol. Baſnag. lib. viii. c. 7. §. 4, & ſeq.*

Minorcan IN this century happened likewise the much celebrated, tho' **Jews con-** no less questioned, miraculous conversion of the *Minorcan*
verted, *Jews*. That island had then two considerable towns, the
A.C. 428. one the episcopal residence, and interdicted to the *Jews*, who were commonly punished with some sudden and miraculous death, if they ventured to set foot into it. The other, called *Porto Mahone*, was chiefly inhabited by *Jews*, who there enjoyed very considerable titles and posses, tho' subject to *Honorius*; insomuch that *Theodosius*, the chief of their synagogue, and a doctor of the law, was the chief man in the whole island. *Srverus* being become bishop of it, was easily persuaded by *Orosius*, (lately returned from *Jerusalem*, loaded with miraculous relics, which he was carrying into *Spain*) to undertake the conversion of the *Jews*. They began with private conferences, and proceeded to public ones; the last of which was held in their synagogue, where finding that some *Jewish* women had armed themselves with stones to pelt them, they provided for their own defence. The consequence was, that the synagogue was pulled down, and nothing saved out of it but the books and plate: but the bishop plied them with such numbers of miracles, that their greatest men began to relent, and in about eight days time, the greatest part of them were converted, and the synagogue turned into a church. Many, however, who remained obdurate, went and hid themselves in caverns, till hunger forced them out; and others leaving all they had behind them, went and sought an asylum in foreign countries; all which shews that there was some violence used against them by the bishop and his clergy; and *Baronius* seems to own as much, and adds, that his example would have been followed in many other places, had not the crowned heads put a stop to it.

under the UPON the irruption of the *Vandals* into the empire, one
Vandals. would have thought that the *Jews* would have met with the worst of treatment from that fierce nation; but yet we do not read that they fared worse than the rest, or were deprived of any of their privileges under them. They only shared in the common misfortunes, which are the usual concomitants of such great revolutions; but, in other respects, were still allowed the free exercise both of religion and commerce, only they were obliged to pay a tribute for it, and were moreover denied the enjoyment of titular dignities, and high posts, either civil or military; which is no more than what they were under the *Roman* emperors. *Theodoric* in particular protected

ⁱ Vid. *Akertat. Eccles. & Synagog. ap. AUGUST. in Apr. n. ad tom. viii.*

them against the zealots among the Christians, and would not suffer any violent means to be used for converting them; and sharply reprov'd the senate, for having suffered one of their synagogues to be burnt at *Rome*; and the clergy of *Milan*, for going to seize upon another. The same he did at *Genoa*, where the citizens were going to deprive them of their privileges, which they had a long time enjoyed among them. They had recourse to that prince, who permitted them to rebuild their synagogues, and restored them to the free use of their religion and rights, upon condition they should not build them larger than they had been, and allowed adorning of them. Thus ended the 5th century with them in the *Roman* empire *. A.C. 500.

LET US now take a view of those in *Persia*, during that interval, where we find their academies in a flourishing condition, under their famed chief *R. Ase*, the compiler of the *Babylonish* thalmud, lately mention'd. *Sora* was the place of his birth, and the most celebrated academy of all the east, of which he was chosen chief in the 14th year of his age, and continued in that dignity sixty years, that is, till the year 427, in which he died (K): It was during that time that he pub-

Jews in
Persia un-
der R. Ase.

* De hoc vid. TESOR del Regn. D'Ital. sub THEODORIC.

(K) The *Jews* tell us, that it was on account of his extraordinary merit and learning that he was rais'd so early to that dignity; and add, that in him met the law, devotion, humility, and magnificence; four things which no man but he was ever master of.

His method of teaching was entirely new and peculiar: for instead of keeping his disciples, which amounted to two thousand four hundred, continually with him, he only taught them two months in the year; viz. in *February* and *August*: during which he gave them proper subjects to study and exercise themselves in during the other five months, after which they were sent to their own homes. At their return they were examined by, and held disputations before

him, and he explain'd their difficulties and doubts, by the decisions of those doctors which had preceded him. Whilst these exercises were performing, twelve persons sat over against him, seven of which were styled the princes of the crowns, whose chief business was to recapitulate and explain what he had said to them, and to give proper encomiums, rewards, &c. to those that had deserved them. The president was oblig'd to collect all the matters that had been debated and decided; and it was from this collection that the *Babylonish* thalmud was compiled: and when the month was near expired, he dictated to them the subjects which they were to study during the next five months (3).

(3) *Sepher Tachafin*, p. 124. vid. *Gantz Tzemach David*, sub *A. M.* 4113. c. 353. *R. Abn. Berachor* in lib. *Cabbal.* p. 684. *Bartoloc. ub. sup. tom. i. p.* 486. *Waj Eib. Heb* וַיְבַרְכֵם in thalmud.

lished a collection of his decisions, which he divided into four parts, the first of which contained the rules and maxims of the *Mishnah*, with the doubts and solutions relating to them. The second was chiefly about various questions of their doctors, with the sentiments of the *Thanaim* and *Gemarists*. The third contained the decisions and maxims published since *Judah* the faint; and the last contained the texts of scripture relating to law-suits, together with the comments of their learned upon them. This was the first division of the *Babylonish* thalmud; but as *Asce* did not live to complete it, his disciples, who put the finishing hand to it afterwards, altered his method, and made several additions, which have rendered the work rather more obscure^k.

R. Thobiomi. He was succeeded, according to some, by *R. Marimor*, or *Aminor*; but soon after, according to others, by his own son
A.C. 455. *Huna*, whose feet hastened to the chair, and he by his son *Thobiomi*, an. 455, who reigned, according to the pompous *Jewish* style, thirteen years, and in whose reign the *Jewish* nation enjoyed such profound tranquility, that they gave him the title of The doctor of daily prosperity. We have had occasion to take notice of the small extent of their power and income, notwithstanding their using the words reign, throne, &c. as if they had been in full possession of the regal authority. And so obscure were they, during this 5th century, that tho' we find a succession of the presidents of *Sora* and *Pumbedita*, or at least their names, and here and there a remarkable action of some of them, yet we have hardly any thing said of those chiefs or princes, except of *R. Asce* above-mentioned; tho' one would have imagined their dignity to have received some additional splendor by the suppression of the patriarchate in the west.

ASCE had left, besides his son *Huna* above-mentioned, two
A violent famed disciples, viz. *Aminor* and *Mor*, who were to have put
persecu- the finishing hand to the *Babylonish* thalmud; but they were
tion. diverted from it by a violent persecution, which was raised against the *Jewish* nation, which, they tell us, lasted 73 years; during which the synagogues were shut up, the observation of the Sabbath suppressed, and their schools and chapels given to the *Magi*. *Huna*, the then chief, and his two disciples above-named, were imprisoned, and soon after suffered death, with surprising constancy; but the *Jewish* youth, more addicted to the pleasures of life, were soon determined to forsake their
A.C. 474.

* Vid. GANTZ TZEMACH DAVID, sub. A. M. 4113. SEPPER JUCHASIN, p. 124. A. BENDDIOR Cabbala, p. 68. BARTOLOC. tom. i p. 486. WOLF Bibl. Hebr. p. 224.

religion, which was followed by a general defection in *Israel* towards the end of this century¹. Notwithstanding which, some of their learned resumed the work of the thalmud soon after; or, if you will believe the *Jewish* writers, even before the persecution ceased, (which it did not but with the *Persian* monarchy, which the *Saracens* made themselves masters of) and finished it, according to them, about the close of this century, or the beginning of the next, after which it was dispersed throughout all the east, and it was universally agreed that nothing should be added to or taken from it (L).

THE only thing more, worth taking notice of, under this epocha, was the rise of the sect called *Sebureans*, or *Scepticks*, at the head of which was *R. Josi*. These doctors pretended to doubt of every thing, and seem to have started up to oppose the infallibility which the Talmudists attributed to their Talmud; but whether by openly questioning its authority, or the sense of its decisions, we cannot affirm. However, their pyrrhonism become so odious to the rest of the *Jews*, that it proved but of short duration, it having begun to appear only about the close of this 5th century, and being driven out of the

*The sect of
Sebureans,
A.C. 476.*

¹ R. GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 121.

(L) We have formerly taken notice of the impossibility of reconciling the anachronisms and contradictions of the *Jewish* chronologers; and in the part we are now upon, the author, tho' one of the best of them, not only contradicts other historians, but himself also. For if rabbi *Asce*, the first compiler of the work, died, as he affirms, A. C. 427, and his son *Huna* was chosen president of the academy of *Sora*, an. 455, and reigned 13 years, during which the *Jews* lived in great tranquillity, and highly favoured by the king, till the time of the persecution above-mentioned, and if that could not begin till the year 474, lasted 73 years, and the thalmud was not finished till some time after that had ceased; then it is plain it could

not be so till the year 547, even by his own account, and yet he affirms that work to have been completed by the close of the 5th century (4).

It would be still more difficult to reconcile him to other historians, even to those of his nation. The latter all agree that the persecution which was raised by *Isdegerd*, the last king of *Persia*, lasted seventy-three years, that is, till the *Saracens* put an end to it by the conquest of that monarchy; they must therefore be mistaken, either in the time of *Asce's* death, or else in the time of the completing the thalmud, and have antedated this last by near 50 years. But these are small oversights among them, and such as every one must overlook, that is conversant with their historians.

(4) *Gantz Tzemach*, *ub. sup.*

succeeded
by the
Gaons.

world, before the middle of the next, by the *Gaonim*, or *Gaons*, a new set of doctors, who took that pompous title upon them, which signifies sublime or excellent, and became the idols of the academies, and of the people, as we shall see under the next century, unto which it is now time to hasten (M).

Jews per-
secuted in
Persia, un-
der Cava-
des.

THE 6th century began with a persecution of the *Jews* of the dispersion, as well as of the ten tribes in the east, under *Cavadés*, a prince of a fierce and proud disposition, who wanted to force all his subjects, Christians as well as *Jews* and others, to embrace the *Persian* religion. A strange cause of this persecution is, by some authors, assigned, which the reader may see in the margin (N), and which proved so violent, that

(M) Some critics (5) have looked upon the *Nephthalites*, by whom, *Agathias* tells us (6), *Perozes* was defeated in the war which he waged against them, to have been the descendants of the tribe of *Nephthali*, carried away captive by *Tiglath Pilsér* (7), to the frontiers of *Persia*, where they are affirmed to have been settled many ages before the war (8). But as *Procopius*, in the place above-quoted, calls them *Ephalites*, and says nothing of their being descended from that tribe, but from that of the *White Huns*, who lived on the frontiers of *Persia*, near the river *Oxus*, and *Agathias* himself, who hath misnamed them *Naphthalites*, acknowledges them to be of that, and not of *Jewish* extract, we shall say no more of them. As for the farther account of that war, and of *Perozes's* treachery and punishment, the reader may see an account in a former volume †.

(N) We are told by two Christian writers (9), that *Ca-*

vades, having besieged a castle, in which was a vast treasure deposited, and kept by demons, he had found all his military efforts against it abortive; and being very eager to make himself master of it, sent for his magi, for the *Manichees*, *Jews* and Christians, to drive away those demons, and that those last were the only ones that could do it; upon which he stripped the former of their privileges, and gave them to the Christians. But this account is contradicted by other historians, who affirm that he persecuted the Christians as well as the *Jews*.

The *Jews* tell us of a fatal quarrel which happened between the prince of the captivity and the chief of the academy, under the reign of *Cavadés*, in which the former used the latter with so much insolence and barbarity, that his tears and prayers brought such a pestilence upon the prince's family, that they all died of it, except a child then in his mother's womb. *Ghanina* (that was the

(5) *Vid. Skicard Tauric. p. 130. Et aucl. ab eo citat.* (6) *Lih. iv. c. 11. 17) 2 Kings. xv. 29. xvi. pass.* (8) *Vid. Procop. bell. Pers. l. i. c. 4. Et seq. Menass. Ben. Israel. Esperanza de Israel. c. 25.* (9) *Theodor. lect. l. ii. p. 564. Cedren. annal. p. 277.*

that we read of no less than four of their princes of the captivity, who succeeded each other within the space of nine years; but whether they were deposed or put to death by that monarch, doth not appear. These were *Huna*, to whom they give but two years reign; *Acha*, who reigned three; *Tettana*, who reigned four; and *Zeutra*, who having been miraculously preserved, as we observed in the last note, reigned twenty years. In his time arose the famed *Meir*, a learned rabbi, and great miracle-monger, who having declared war against the *Persian* king, with only 400 men, was very successful against him, during seven years; after which his men having polluted themselves with strange flesh (O), he was defeated, taken and put to death by the *Persians*. These went thence into the city, where *Zeutra* resided, and plundered it, after which they took that prince, and the president of the council, and hanged them on a bridge. His family were forced to betake themselves to flight, and his son and heir, *Zeutra II.* retired into *Judæa*, where he became prince of the senate or *Sanhedrin*. This, the *Jewish* historians tell us, was the source of that series of misfortunes which attended them in *Persia*; infomuch, that their great master *Habonai*, never dared shew

The chief of the captivity
hanged,
A.C. 522.

academic chief being reproved in a dream, for having destroyed the princely race, began to repent of it; and upon consulting with some of the other *Jewish* doctors, whether there might not be some sprout left of that family, was told that the prince's daughter was pregnant, and not far from her time; upon which he went immediately to her house, and never left her day nor night, hail or shine, hot or cold, till she was delivered; and then took upon him to bring up the child, which proved a son, and was called *Zeutra*. In the mean time, the princely dignity being vacant, *Papbra*, who was allied to that house, bought it of the king, and enjoyed it, till *Zeutra*, the right heir, was fifteen years old, at which time he obtained it of that monarch, and *Papbra* was not only stripped of it, but pu-

nished with sudden death, for having obtained that dignity by money.

(O) The *Jews* do not tell us the occasion of this war; nor is it easy to guess whether it gave rise to the persecution we are now speaking of, or whether it was undertaken to suppress it. And as they are persons that prefer dealing in miracles and prodigies, rather than in exact or regular history, they tell us that this *Meir* had obtained the same miraculous fiery pillar that had formerly guided the *Israelites* in the wilderness, gained frequent victories over the *Persians*, and raised vast contributions, till his men suffered themselves to be debauched by the *Persian* women to commit several sins against their law, after which they came to the untimely end we have mentioned above.

his face, during the space of thirty years, that is, during the whole time of *Cavader's* reign ^m.

**Jews per-
secuted
under
Chofroes;** THEY fared still worse under his successor *Chofroes* the great; whose favour they had endeavoured to gain, by persuading him to break off his negotiations about a peace with the emperor *Justinian*, which was then in great forwardness; by promising to him, that if he would go on with the war, they would furnish him with fifty thousand men, by whose help he might make himself master of *Jerusalem*, one of the richest cities in the world. The king had so far given into that treacherous project, that he had broke off all the negotiations with the emperor, and made several preparations towards putting it in execution, when word was brought to him, that those persons who had been employed in it had been seized and put to death, after having made a full discovery of the design. He pursued his war however, and with success his frequent inroads into *Syria* and *Palestine* †: but that did not hinder him from making the *Jews* share in the common calamities of the war with the rest; nor from shutting up all their academies in the east, which quite extinguished their love of learning, whilst their present prince, being forced to go into *Judea*, and to exercise a function yaitly beneath him, the eastern *Jews* were quite destitute of chiefs ⁿ.

**restored
by Hor-
misdas,
A.C. 589.** THEY did, however, recover their liberty before the year was at an end, under *Hornisdas* III. (and the academy of *Pun-debita* was again opened under the famed *R. Chanan Mehifcha*, who became chief both of that and of the new set of doctors called *Gaons*, or excellent) and enjoyed it during the 12 years of his reign; when that prince was murdered by his son *Chofroes* II. as we have seen elsewhere *. This last did not, however, quietly enjoy the fruits of his parricide; his son *Varames* declared himself against him, as he had before done against his father, and soon after defeated, drove him out of *Persia*, and obliged him to seek for succour from the emperor *Mauricius*, who lent him some forces and generals. These had many a bloody contest with *Varames*, who had got a strong party in the kingdom, and the *Jews* likewise in his interest. These last, whom the *Greek* historian styles ^o, *a faithless, unquiet, imperious, turbulent, and implacable nation, being then powerful enough in Persia to stir up the subjects against their princes, and virulent enough to strengthen the*

**Persecuted
by Chof-
roes II.
A.C. 615.**

^m Seder Olam Zuta cum. not. Meieri, vid. & IMBON. Bibliot. Rabin. tom. v. p. 46. BASNAG. ub. sup. l. viii. c. 9. † See Anc. Hist. vol. xi. p. 122. ⁿ THEOPHAN Chronogr. p. 152. * See Anc. Hist. ibid. p. 124, & seq. ^o THEOPHYL. SIMOCAT. in Maur. lib. v. c. 7. Vid. BASNAG. ub. sup. § 7.

rebels against them. At length *Chosroes* having the upper hand over *Varames*, made them pay dear for their perfidy. Those of *Antioch* were the first that felt the dire effects of his resentment, when that city (P) was taken by *Mebodes* the Roman general, who immediately put vast numbers of them to the sword, and many more to the most cruel deaths, reducing the rest to the most deplorable slavery ^{P.}

CHOSROES, however, was no sooner seated on the *Reconciled* Persian throne, but he was reconciled to them, and received to Chos- some signal services from them; especially in the war which he waged against *Phocas*, the murderer of *Mauricius*, wherein he made a most dreadful havock of them both in *Syria* and *Palestine*, and took the city of *Jerusalem* †. They seem even to have acted in concert with him, seeing he was no sooner master of that metropolis, than he delivered up all the Christians prisoners into their hands, though he could not but know that they only bought them with a design of satiating their implacable hatred against them, as they accordingly did, inso- much, that no less than ninety thousand of them were un- mercifully butchered by them ^{90,000 Christians butchered by them.}

THIS is farther confirmed by what *Elmakin*, and other Arabian authors add of the *Jews* attempt upon *Tyre*, at the time when *Chosroes* was besieging *Constantinople*, and all the forces of *Syria* and *Judea* were drawn out to succour that capital. They, taking the advantage of that juncture, had combined to murder all the *Tyrians*, on *Easter-day*, and to seize upon that important place, and were actually come to the walls of it, but were stoutly repulsed by the inhabitants, who had had timely notice of their design. Upon this disappointment, the *Jews* dispersed themselves about the country, fell foul on the churches of the Christians, and burnt a vast number of them; but were at length cut off by the *Tyrians*, who sallied out against, and made a terrible slaughter of them †. This shews that they were doing the *Persian* king's work, if they were not really hired by him to it. We have seen his sad catastrophe in a former chapter ^{the city of Tyre frustrated.}

WE are now come to the 7th century, the beginning of *Jews* un- which was signalized not only by the transactions above-men- der Mo-

† Id. *ibid.* † See *Anc. Hist.* vol. xi. p. 138, & seq. ⁹ *THEOPHAN.* ub. sup. p. 252. [†] *ELMAK.* p. 271. *PATRICEDES.* p. 236. *HOTTING.* *Hist. Orient. lib.* i. c. 3. ⁹ See *Anc. Hist.* *ibid.* p. 139, & seq.

(P) Not the metropolis of *Syria*, but a new city of that name; and so exactly built after its model, by *Chosroes* I. that the inhabitants brought away from the old one could hardly believe but it was the same.

hammered ed, but much more by the appearance of *Mohammed* on the stage of the world. We have given the life and actions of that grand impostor in a preceding volume *, and shall only examine here, what share the *Jews* are said to have had in it; who, *Theophanes* tells us, seeing him appear in so splendid a manner, began to look upon him as the Messiah; inasmuch, that many of them exchanged their religion for his; tho' they were soon after much offended at his eating of camels flesh, which is forbid by the *Mosaic* law † (Q). However, the fear of appearing inconstant, or rather their hopes of receiving some considerable advantages from him, and of having it more in their power to injure the Christians, made them overlook that nicety, and continue in his interest, as we observed in the last note. What assistance they gave him in the forming of his new religion, we have already shewn in the volume

Turn to
and assist
him.

* Vol i. pass p. 30, & seq. † Vid. Levitic. xi. 4. Deut. xiv. 7. See before, vol. iii. p. 155, & seq. & (D).

(Q) It seems somewhat surprising, that they, who scrupled not to abandon their old law for this new one, should be so squeamish at *Mohammed's* transgressing in so inconsiderable a point; tho' it is no strange thing to meet with such contrasts in mankind, especially among the *Jews*. But, as the same author tells us, that they dared not renounce this new religion, it is likely that their conversion to it was rather political than real; for in sticking still close to him, they not only sided with the strongest and most prosperous, but had thereby an opportunity to sour and exasperate that impostor against the Christians, and bring fresh persecutions against them: accordingly our author adds, that they kept close to him till he was murdered (10).

This last expression hath indeed shocked most readers; since it is well known that *Mohammed* did not die a violent

death. Some have therefore suspected it to be some error crept into the text of the historian; and if so, it must be of old date, since *Cedrenus* hath said the very same thing after him. But whatever the mistake is, most people think it to be means of his slight, and not of his death. For it is not improbable, that they who had promised themselves such great advantages under him, might, when they saw him so reduced by the opposite faction, as to be forced to fly, be induced to abandon him. And accordingly, the *Arabian* authors boast that they did, on his first appearing, send him twelve of their doctors, to assist him in the compiling his *Alcoran* (11); which if true, doth plainly shew that they were far enough from believing him to be the Messiah, whatever they might outwardly pretend, and whatever helps they might afford him in the carrying on his design.

(10) *Temphyl. sub. Ann. C. 622*

(11) *Arab. Imperat. Bibl. Rab. ab. sup.*

above quoted : and shall only observe here, that it appears from his *Koran*, that he had read their books, and was not unversed in their religion and customs ; and as they were then very numerous and powerful in several parts of *Arabia* (R), and had there many strong castles and fortresses, and maintained armies under their princes, when he began to lay the foundation of his new religion, it is more than probable that he took all proper means to engage them in his interest, whilst they, always intent on their worldly advantage, were as easily induced by his caresses and promises to assist him in all his views. But whatever cause they might afterwards give him to dislike them, ~~this~~ is plain, from the tenor of his writings, that he hated and despised them ; he calls them betrayers and murderers of the prophets, and a people justly cursed of God, for their violation of his sabbaths and laws, and for their obstinate unbelief both of the ancient prophets, and of himself ; for which he hath cursed them in many places of his *Koran*, and did at length declare open war against them.

Hated by
him.

THIS war was at first began by one of the principal *Jews*, *Makes* named *Cajab*, who opposed all his measures, for which reason *war a-* *Mohammed* had given orders to some of his men to lay wait *gainst* for, and kill him ; upon which he appeared at t' head of his *them*. *Mohammed* began with besieging them in the fortresses they held in *Hegiasa* ; and having obliged them to surrender at discretion, banished them, and gave their wealth to his *Moslems*. After this *Cajab* attacked him near *Kaibar*, a place about four days journey from *Medina*, in the third year after the *Hegra*, and was totally routed by him, and with great difficulty saved his life by flight, whilst his troops were unmercifully butchered by the *Moslems*. This did not hinder them from trying their fortune more than once against him ; but they still met with the same ill success : so that they were forced at length to submit to his superior force, and to become tributary to him, in order to enjoy what they had. This yoke, however, proved so grating to the *Jewish* nation, that one of their women resolved to rid them of it, by poisoning him with a joint of mutton ; but the prophet smelt the poison out, and escaped the snare. Many other hostilities, the

(R) Particularly in that which was known by the name of *Hegiasa* ; which word signifies separation, because it was situated between *Arabia Deserta* and *Arabia Felix*, without belonging

to either. The *Greek* geographers, who have joined it to the latter, had neither rightly considered its situation nor barrenness ; and it is to that canton the city of *Mecca* belongs.

Arabian authors mention, between the *Jews* and *Moslems* ^u, not worth mentioning; and the former, being convinced to their cost of the great success of that false prophet, as well as of the severity of his yoke, they have applied to him the vision of *Daniel's* statue ^w, whose feet were partly iron, and partly clay; whence they inferred that the Messiah was not to appear till after the foundation of that empire, since he is there prefigured by the stone cut out without hands, which was to destroy and put an end to it ^x. All which shews that there could be no such combination between the *Jews* and *Mohammed* and his disciples, as they have been charged with. Let us now see how they fared under his successors, during the rest of this 7th century.

Jews under the Caliji,

AFTER the conquest of *Persia* by *Omar II.* Khalif after *Mohammed*, the *Jews* under that monarchy not only became subject to the *Saracens*, but very often changed their masters, both by the swift succession of those monarchs, and the rapidity of their conquests in the east, and yet we do not find that their condition was at all altered for the worse, except that they shared in the common misfortunes which those conquerors brought into every province they subdued. We even find them making great rejoicings upon *Omar's* having overthrown *Isdegeret*, and seized upon his dominions (S), as well as at every success which either he or his successors had against the Christians; especially as they found these new conquerors more mild and friendly towards their nation, so that they soon began to enjoy the full liberty not only of

^u Set VATTIER. Hist. Mahometan. lib. i. p. 6, & seq. De Generat. Machumet lat. edit. ab HERMAN DALMATA. Suffrata. 49. p. 265. HOTTING. Hist. Orient. lib. ii. c. 2. ^w Daniel ii. 31, & seq. ^x Ibid. vers. 34.

(S) And well they might, if that prince, the last of the *Persian* kings, had, as they pretend (12), either began or carried on such a bloody persecution against them, and had caused all their academies to be shut up, as we have lately hinted. But this was not the only occasion of their joy; the vast success of those princes, great enemies of the Christians,

and the demolishing of their Churches, could not but flatter their hopes of seeing them in time reduced. They have been moreover accused of having infligated the *Moslems* against them (13), by which they so far ingratiated themselves to those new conquerors, as to recover all the privileges they had lost under the *Persians*.

(12) *Vid. Solomon Ben. Virg* p. 5. (13) *Paul Discon. Hist. lib. xvii. p. 312. Beda in Luc. 23.*

" their

their religion, but of opening their academies, and restoring them to their flourishing condition. They mention indeed some sharp disputes which they had with the Khalif *Ali*, about the many factions into which his sect, tho' of so short standing, was already divided, which that Khalif retorted, by reminding them of their several idolatries, immediately after their miraculous passing of the *Red Sea*. However, this did not hinder that prince from protecting them, as they had taken care to secure his favour by the homage they paid to him (T). We are indeed told that the *Jews*, who pretended then to deal in astrology and magic, had promised *Yezid*, the son of *Hasan*, then on the throne, and a wicked prince, a forty years reign, if he would destroy all the images within his dominions; but that his accepting the condition raised such a powerful party of saints in heaven, that they obtained a sentence of death against him. Upon which his son was going to revenge the cheat, and his father's death, upon them, but that they retired betimes into the *Roman* territories, and so escaped his resentment ^⁷. But there is a manifest anachronism in that story, to say nothing worse of it, since *Yezid* died A. C. 683; whereas, according to the author last-named, the edict against images did not come out till *thirce* years after, that is, A. C. 686. Besides, it is so far from probable that the *Jewish* nation suffered under *Yezid*, or any of his immediate successors, that, on the contrary, they lived in such liberty and quiet under them, that their prince, or chief of the captivity, enjoyed as great an authority as if he had been their real king (U): and the

*enjoy their
old free-
dom of re-
ligion, &c.*

^⁷ BARTOLOC. ub. sup. tom. iv. p. 464. MAIMBOURG. Hist. Ionoclast. lib. i.

(T) They tell us that *R. Isaac*, *Persian*; unless we will suppose one of their most famed *Gaons*, that our author hath named the who went to pay his homage to him on his defeat of the *Persian* king, was not only well received, but raised by him to some high dignity (14), and that the Khalif bestowed one of the princesses of *Persia*, his captives, on *Boshtenar*, the then chief of the captivity. But there seems to be a gross mistake in this; viz. that it was *Omar*, and not his successor *Ali*, that defeated the

Persian; unless we will suppose that our author hath named the one for the other; for *Omar* was no less a favourer of the *Jews* than *Ali*, even by their own account, tho' he afterwards obliged those that remained in *Arabia* to pay him a tribute (15), and upon their refusal expelled them out of it.

(U) We took notice lately of their academies being again opened and flourishing; and we are farther told, that the con-

(14) *Gantz Tzemach*, p. 123. (15) *Vatt or Hift Malom*, lib. i.

and like- the same may be said of those that dwelt in *Egypt* and *Syria* ^{and *thyseria*}, which was then under the *Ommiades*, whose family was of *Egypt*: no less friendly to the *Jewish* nation.

Justini-
an's edict
against
them.

BUT it is now time to turn our eyes to those in the west, under the *Roman* emperors, at *Constantinople*, *Africa*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, &c. during the 6th and 7th centuries, which we chuse to join together, to avoid breaking off the thread of their history. The first cause of complaint which the emperor *Justinian*, who affected to judge of most affairs relating to religion, gave them, was his edict which forbade them to celebrate their passover according to their own calculation, and enjoined them to keep it at the same time with the Christians ^a. This was no more than we are told he did to the latter, whom he obliged to follow his new calculation, which caused no less confusion amongst them ^b; but only the *Jews*, always tenacious of their old way, resented it at a higher rate (W).

They

^a Vid. BASNAG. ub. sup. lib. viii. c. 10. § 13. ^a PROCOR. Hist. Arc. c. 28. ^b THEOPHAN. ad Just. an. 19.

course to them was such, that for want of masters, they had been obliged to raise a weaver, who had applied himself to the study of the law, to the dignity of professor at *Sora*; soon after which the *Gaons* began to restore learning to its ancient lustre. Several of them became famed for their skill in physic, as well as divinity; and *R. Aaron*, a priest of *Alexandria*, did then publish his *Pandects*, or *Treasure of Remedies*, which was soon after translated into *Arabic* by *Masergiusse*, another *Jewish* physician, in great repute at the *Khalif's* court.

Some make this last to have flourished in the reign of *Heraclius*, and the *khalifate* of *Mervan I*; but absurdly; seeing those two princes were not contemporary, and the latter reigned not till the 68th year of the *Hijra*, or flight of *Mohammed*, which answers to the year of *Christ* 684. However, what

hath been said is sufficient to shew that the *Jews* were in a flourishing condition under the first *Khalifs*.

(W) A late critic, often quoted in this work, rightly observes some great mistake in the year and occasion of this edict, as mentioned by *Theophanes* and *Nicephoras*; and thinks that the emperor lengthened the *Lent* fast by one week, because *Easter* on that year fell on the same day with the Christians and *Jews*: so that according to him, he made that change in the former only, to prevent its coinciding with that of the latter: but as his conjecture not only contradicts the two authors above-mentioned, but likewise by *Procopius's* account, we shall leave them as we find them.

There is still another difficulty in the account of that edict, the last-named author, and his annotator, viz. that it forbade the *Jews* eating of the paschal lamb

They had soon after a more severe edict against them, by which that emperor deprived them of several privileges; as first, of being admitted by the magistrates as evidence against the Christians. Secondly, of making wills, and bequeathing legacies: to which some add, that of bringing up their children in their religion, who were, instead of that, to be catechised, and brought up Christians; tho' this last is much to be questioned. He likewise deprived those of *Afric* of the exercise of their religion, at the request of the council of *Carthage*; and sent orders to his *prefectus pretoris* there to turn all their synagogues into churches, and to restrain them from performing any religious duties in caverns (X).

In Afric suppressid, A.C. 530.

THESE

* PROCOPIUS de Ædific. lib. v. c. 2. p. 110, & seq.

lamb on that solemnity, under great penalties; for the *Jews* did never eat it out of *Jerusalem* *. So that it seems to relate only to those who lived in the neighbourhood of that city, or perhaps rather to the *Samaritans* seated about *Mount Garizim*, either of which might think they might privately eat it.

(X) This was more particularly put in execution in the city of *Borium*, seated at the foot of a ridge of mountains, which make the boundary of *Pentapolis* on the west. Its situation was strong by nature, because the access to it was inclosed by the mountains above-mentioned, which had only a narrow passage to it. It was filled with *Jews*, who had now made it their retreat, and lived in it unmolested and tax-free. They had there a stately structure which they styled a temple, and pretended to be as old as *Solomon*, which shews that they must have been settled there a considerable time, and were very po-

pulous and wealthy, notwithstanding their vicinity to the *Moors*. However, *Justinian's* orders were so punctually executed, that the *Jews* were mostly converted, and their synagogue turned into a church; after which the emperor caused the city to be fortified with stout walls (16).

This century is very fertile in miracles, which were wrought for the conversion of *Jews* and Heathens; some of which are of too puerile a nature to deserve a place in a work like this, such as those wrought by one *Simon*, an idiot of the city of *Emessa*; which yet failed not to work their effect on those unbelievers, if we may credit the authors that have recorded them (17). But we shall mention a very remarkable one which happened at *Constantinople*, because it will give a light to some part of the history of those times.

It was, it seems, the custom then, after the communion was over at church, to call in the

* De hoc vid. vol. iii. p. 20, & seq. 382, & seq. & notes. (16) Procop. ubi sup. (17) Evagr. lib. iv. c. 36. ad un. Chr. 552.

*A false
messiah in
Palestine.*
A.C. 530.

THESE edicts, which were by the *Jews* looked upon as a kind of persecution, failed not, as usual, to produce a more than ordinary discontent; which by degrees ripened into revolts, as soon as a proper opportunity offered. The first of them was raised accordingly by one *Julian*, who set up for the Messiah, and drew after him many of the *Jews* of *Palestine*, who were in great hopes of him, from the title of conqueror which he took, and the great appearance he made; and who having armed all his followers, led them against the Christians. These, being fearless of any hostilities from the oppressed *Jews* at that time, were slaughtered by them in great numbers, till at length the emperor sent his forces against, and suppressed them; they fighting rather like wild desperadoes than like regular troops. Their leader being taken, was immediately put to death, which soon ended the revolt (Y) ^d.

MUCH

PAUL DIACON. PROCOPI. MALALA, &c. ub. sup.

children to eat what remained of the consecrated bread. A *Jewish* boy being one day among them, went in and took part with them; and being questioned by his father, about his not coming so soon as usual, and having owned the true cause of it, that unnatural parent threw him into a burning oven, where he kept him three days shut up. At length the mournful mother, who had sought for him far and near, happening to name his name, in a kind of lamenting tone, near the oven's mouth, the boy answered to it; and being taken out, told her that a fine lady, clothed in purple, had saved him both from being burned and starved. The emperor being informed of it, sent for the mother and child, who were both baptised. The boy was brought up and became a clergyman, and the mother a deaconess; whilst the obdurate

father, refusing to follow their example, was crucified in one of the suburbs of that metropolis. ^d lies far our author (8), after whom *Beda* tells much the same story, only he removes the scene from *Constantinople* to *Rome*, as well as the time from *Justinian* to that of *Theodosius* the younger (19).

(Y) This story is differently related by another chronologer (20), who tells us that the *Samaritans* having had some skirmishes with the Christians at *Naplouse* their capital, in which they had burnt some of their houses, and *Justinian* having caused their governor to be put to death, for not having timely suppressed them, they grew so desperate, as to chuse one *Julian*, a captain of banditti, to be their king, and fell foul upon the Christians, overthrew their churches in several parts of the province, massacred *Amo-*

(18) *Id* *ibid.* p. 412, *§ 3* seq. (19) *Collect. ad Fin.* (20) *Malala Chron. Hist. Chronol. tom. xi. p. 181, apud Basing Hist. des Juifs, l. ii. c. 3. § 1. l. viii. c. 12. § 9 & 10.*

MUCH such another happened at *Cæsarea*, about twenty-five years after ; in which the *Samaritans* and *Jews*, though mortal enemies to each other, as we have had frequent occasions to shew, did yet join forces against the Christians, demolished their churches, massacred great numbers of them, and particularly the governor in his own palace*. His lady, having happily escaped their fury, sent word to *Justinian* of all that happened ; who immediately sent *Adamantius* thither to take full information of the facts ; which being conveyed to court, with all their aggravations, the richer *Jews* had their goods confiscated, great numbers of those who had had a hand in the revolt were beheaded or banished, and their execution performed with such severity as made the rest of the *Jewish* nation tremble, and prevented for a time their taking up arms against the Christians (Z).

THEY did however join with the *Goths* in *Italy* against *Helptod-Justinian*, and his general *Belisarius* ; especially at the city of *send Naples*, which the latter was then besieging (A), and in which ples, they

* Id. *ibid.* P. VANFRED. Hist. in Bibliot. Max. patr. tom. xiii. p. 376. CEDREN. Annal. p. 316.

nas, bishop of *Naplouse*, cut his clergy into mince-meat, and fried it with their relics, and committed many other disorders of the like kind, where-ever they came ; infomuch that people were afraid to travel, till the revolt was quelled by the emperor's troops.

Among the other exploits which *Julian* did at that capital, having entered it when they were performing their races and games, he set himself up as judge of the prizes, and *Nicias* having gained one, and applying to him for it, he asked him what his religion was, and finding that he was a Christian, immediately cut off his head, as unworthy of the crown ; but being soon after defeated and taken his head was likewise taken off, and sent to the emperor, together with the crown he had on. Twenty thousand of his troops

were slain upon the spot ; the rest retired to *Mounts Garizzim*, *Arparizim*, and other mountainous parts of *Trachonitis* ; and about 20,000 of the young prisoners were sold for slaves, and sent into *Persia* and *India*.

(Z) Some modern historians make this second revolt against *Justinian* to have been soon after followed by a third ; but as neither the *Greek* authors, who would hardly have omitted it, nor *Paul* the deacon, from whom they pretend to quote it, mention any thing of it ; it is more likely that they had smarted too much in the second, to have been so quickly drawn into a third.

(A) *That general having quitted the *Vandals* in *Afric*, and recovered the sacred *Jewish* vessels, which *Titus* had carried from *Jerusalem* to *Rome*, and *Genzerich* had seized on at the sacking of

they fought most desperately against him, as being fully convinced that they must expect no mercy from him; for whilst the citizens were deliberating about a surrender, and had dressed up the articles of capitulation, the friends of the *Goths* came to dissuade them from it; and, to do it the more effectually, had brought with them a number of *Jewish* merchants, to assure them, that if they held out, they should want neither provisions nor ammunition of any kind: by which means the siege being prolonged, and that general being forced to lose a great number of his men, was the more exasperated against them. Other particulars of this siege being foreign to our present point, have been seen in a former part*. What farther relates to the *Jews*, is, that they defended that part of the town which is towards the sea, even after the other part was surrendered to the besiegers. They were however forced to do the same; and tho' we are told that *Belisarius* tried all proper means to inspire his soldiers with sentiments of clemency, yet whether they did not believe him in earnest, or were too much exasperated to listen to him, a horrid slaughter was made of the besieged, in which the *Jews* were treated with greater cruelty than any of the rest†, and were horribly butchered, without distinction of age, sex, or quality. This dreadful severity quelled them for a time, and we hear of neither revolt nor persecution during the two subsequent reigns. Perhaps also they bought their peace by dint of money, especially from *Mauritius*, who was then engaged in a troublesome war against the *Avari*. But under the traitor *Phocas* they made a most bloody insurrection at *Antioch*, where they were very populous and wealthy; in which the Christians, who proved too weak to withstand them, suffered.

* See *Anc. Hist.* vol. xix. p. 564, & (H). † *PROCOR. BELL. Goth. lib. i. c. 8, & seq. p. 329, & seq.*

of that metropolis, *Justinian* had ordered them to be conveyed to *Constantinople*, to adorn his general's triumph. The sight of them, which could not but remind the *Jews* of that capital of the sad catastrophe of their city and temple, made so lively an impression on one of them, that he could not forbear crying out, as if he had been seized with a sudden enthusiasm, that those vessels ought

not to be laid up in any other place but that, for the use of which *Solomon* had consecrated them; and added, that it was on their account that *Rome* had been taken by *Genseric*, and *Genseric* had been vanquished by the *Romans*. This speech was soon brought to the emperor, who looking on the *Jew* as divinely inspired, immediately ordered them to be conveyed to *Jerusalem* (21).

(21) *Procop. Bel. Vandal. lib. ii. c. 9. p. 255.*

ferred

fered the most horrid cruelties; great numbers were burnt in their own houses; others, where-ever they met them, were thrown into the flames; and the bishop *Anastafius*, not the first, as *Nicephoras* hath mistaken him^g, but the second of that name, and his immediate successor, treated with the most barbarous indignities; for, not content to have him dragged along the streets, they cut off his privities, and clapt them in his mouth; and, after having made a dismal spectacle of him through the streets of the place, slung him into the fire. They were however, with great difficulty, suppressed by count *Bonofus*, whom *Phocas* sent with a sufficient force against them, and made to undergo a condign punishment^h. *Converted*
And those, that came off easiest, were banished, and sent in Cyprus, away mangled and maimed. By this time they were again A.C. 606.
grown very numerous in the island of *Cyprus*, notwithstanding *Adrian's* severe edict against their even setting foot in it, even as travellers. And it was about four years after the massacre at *Antioch*, that the good *Cyprian* bishop *Leontius*, fearing perhaps the same fate from them, resolved, if possible, to convert them to Christianity; and succeeded so well in it, if we may depend upon his apology to be genuine, that the far greater part of them were baptized by himⁱ.

WE find them very numerous and quiet in *Italy*, where *Their quiet*
pope *Gregory the Great*, who reigned about this time, ex-*state under*
horted his clergy and flock to use them with candour and *Gregory*
tenderness, seeing, as he himself believed and alledged, they the Great.
were all to be recalled, and become a considerable part of Christ's fold^k; for which reason, said he, they must be brought into the unity of the faith by gentle means, fair persuasions, and charitable advice, and not by force which is rather apt to disgust them. Accordingly, we read of several remarkable conversions wrought among them, and some of them attended with circumstances not much short of being miraculous, though we forbear repeating them here^l. That *Laws a-*
pontif not only blamed the untimely zeal of some bishops *gainst*
against them, but even of some of their new converts, par-*them.*
ticularly that of one of the latter, who went and planted a cross and the virgin's image in their synagogues; and which he ordered to be taken away, alledging, that, since the laws do not permit them to build new synagogues, they ought to

^g Hist. lib. xviii. c. 44. ^h See Anc. Hist. vol. xvii. p. 16, & seq. ZONAR. Annal. tom. iii. PAUL DIACON. hist. lib. xvii.

ⁱ LEONT. Episc. Neapol. Cypr. apol. cont. Jud. act. concil. Nic. ii. can. 4. ^k GREG. lib. iv. ind. 13. epist. 50. lib. vii. epist. 24. ^l Id. ibid. lib. i. epist. 34. dialog. lib. iii. c. 7.

be allowed the free use of their old ones (B). He not only revived the old edicts against their having Christian slaves, which had been long since shamefully neglected, but ordained, that all the *Jewish* domestics, that should take refuge in the churches, and be baptized, should, *ipso facto*, become free (C).

Change un-
der Hera-
clius,
A.C. 628

Reasons of
his perse-
cuting
them.

THEIR condition altered much for the worse soon after ; that is, as soon as the emperor *Heraclius* had concluded a peace with *Persia*, by which the cross of Christ, formerly taken by them, had been restored to him, and sent to *Jerusalem* ; of which we have spoken more fully in a former part *. It plainly appears, from his own words, that he hated the *Jewish* nation, because they were enemies of Christ and his religion. But what gave him the first handle against them, was his meeting with one at *Tiberias*, named *Benjamin*, so wealthy as to have alone furnished his army and court with provisions ; and so elated on that account, that he had plagued the Christians with troublesome law-suits and malicious prosecutions. *Benjamin*, fearing his resentment, found no better expedient to avoid it, than turning Christian ; but this did not lessen his aversion to the nation, whom he soon after caused to be banished out of *Jerusalem*, with a severe prohibition against any of them coming thenceforth within three miles of that city.

BUT what more effectually exasperated him against them, was an answer given him by some of his soothsayers, whom he had consulted about the fate of the empire, that he would be undone by a circumcised nation ; for when he came to consider how numerous and powerful they were in most parts

* Anc. Hist. vol. xi. p. 140. vol. xvii. p. 21, & seq.

(B) It appears by this, that the former edicts of the emperor *Theodosius* were still kept in force against them, notwithstanding that pontif's clemency towards them. He likewise enforced another, *viz.* against their having Christian slaves ; alledging, that it would be a dishonour to Christianity to be subject to *Judaism* ; and ordered, that those that had been sold for such, should be released without any farther ransom, such a traffic having been long since forbid by the imperial laws.

(C) Some of the prelates, particularly *Januarius*, then bishop of *Cagliari*, had, it seems, till then, followed a more laudable method and example, *viz.* either of sending such runaway slaves back to their master, as *St. Paul* had *Onesimus* to *Philemon*, or of buying their liberty with the church's money. But *Gregory* would not suffer the church's wealth to be employed to any such purpose, seeing their conversion made them free without any further consideration (22).

(22) *Greg. lib. iii. epist. 8.*

of

of the empire, what frequent efforts they had made to recover their liberty, and what bloody revolts they had raised against the Christians at divers times and places; he no longer doubted but they were the circumcised meant by the fourth-ayers; and, consequently, that the most effectual means of preventing its accomplishment, was to persecute and oblige them to abjure *Judaism*; little dreaming, that the *Saracens*, who are also circumcised, and not the *Jews*, were the people who were to overthrow the empire.

HE did not think it sufficient to persecute them in his do-^{Their sad}minions, but endeavoured to have the same done in *Gaul*, ^{case in}*Spain*, and other kingdoms; and made it one of the princi-^{Spain}pal conditions of the peace he made with *Sizibut*, king of *Spain*, that he should oblige them either to abjure *Judaism* and be baptized, or to abandon the kingdom; and that monarch made no difficulty to consent to it; and, without consulting any of his bishops, as *Marianna* words it, engaged in an action which was contrary to the Christian religion; and, in spite of all their remonstrances, caused the principal among them to be flung into prison, where, having languished a considerable time, one part of them turned Christians, to avoid the grievous punishments to which they had been condemn-^{and Gaul.}ed; and the rest retired into *Gaul*, where *Heraclius* made them undergo the same fate (D). His zeal however was highly discommended, not only by *Isidor*, bishop of *Sevil*, who was, in other respects, a great admirer of that prince^m,

^m ISIDOR. Hispal. Chron. Gothor. p. 402. Vid. & SOLOM. BEN. VIRG. SHEVETH JEHUDAH. p. 93, & seq.

(D) The *Jews*, who call that prince *Sisebac*, tell us, that they urged against him the example of *Josbua*, who did not constrain the *Canaanites* to be circumcised, but only to observe the precepts of *Noah* (23), of which we have formerly spoken (*). But were answered, that *Josbua* did as he then thought best; but that now the case was different; and, though men ought to be left at their liberty, whether or no they will accept of a temporal advantage, yet, with respect to those which are of a spiritual nature, they ought to be forced to embrace them, as a child is to learn his duty, &c. He accordingly used such violent means as obliged them, if not to be sincere converts, at least to pretend to be such. His successors followed his example, and a new law was made, that those, who did not turn Christians immediately after the publication of it, should be publicly whipped, and receive a hundred lashes, suffer confiscation of all their goods, and be banished the kingdom (24).

(23) *Solom. Ben. virgæ. Sheveth Jehudab, ub. sup.* (*) *See Arc. Hist. vol. iii. p. 115, & seq. and notes (G) (H).* (24) *Leges Visigoth. lib. vi. tit. 3 l. 3.*
but

A.C. 533, but likewise by the fourth council of *Toledo*, in which he pre-
Council of sided; which declared it unlawful and unchristian to force
Toledo's people to believe, seeing, *it is God alone who hardens and*
decree. *shows mercy to whom he will.* However, there was one clause

A.C. 638. or regulation in it very derogatory to so pious a declaration,
 seeing it obliged these forced converts to continue in the faith
 and communion of the church, in which they had been par-
 takers of the sacraments; and which they could not swerve
 from without manifest scandal to it ⁿ. There might indeed
 be but too much reason for such a clause, seeing it was now
 common with the *Jews* to play fast and loose, to become
 converts, and *judaize* again as soon as they had an opportu-
 nity. However, the next *Toledan* council, which sat about
 five years after, was so far from condemning the violence
 used against them, that they highly commended their mo-
 narch's (*Sciuntila*) zeal, and blessed God for inspiring him
 with it, ratified the laws he had made against the *Jews*, de-
 creed, that, from thenceforth, no king should mount the
 throne, till he had taken a solemn oath to observe them, and
 concluded, with an anathema against those that should violate
 them. This decree was so punctually executed by the suc-
 ceeding princes, and such severe laws made against the recu-
 sant *Jews*, that they chose to conform rather than incur the
 penalties. But as those forced conversions were nothing less
 than sincere, and great numbers were observed to *judaize*
 again, and a new council was convened by king *Receswinthus*
 to put a stop to that abuse, the *Jews*, on their part, resolved
 to avoid the ill consequences of it, by sending a letter to that
 monarch, in the name of all their brethren then in *Spain*,
 protesting, that, though they had till then dissembled, being
 neither altogether *Jews*, nor thoroughly converted, yet they
 were now fully resolved to become sincere professors, and
 wholly to conform to the laws of the Gospel (E). This so-

A new
 Council,
 A.C. 653.

ⁿ Añ. concil. Tolet. iv. sub an. 633. c. lviii. & seq. tom. v.
 p. 17.9.

(E) Among other plausible
 promises, they engaged to avoid
 all commerce and intermarri-
 ages with those that were un-
 baptized, to observe no longer
 the Sabbath, and the circumci-
 sing of their children; and, if
 they could not be brought to eat
 swine's flesh, as having con-
 tracted a natural reluctance to
 it, through custom and educa-

tion, they would not scruple to
 eat any meat that was dressed
 with it. Lastly, they engaged
 to stone or burn all those that
 acted contrary to this promise;
 or, if his majesty thought fit to
 grant them their lives, they con-
 sented that they should be
 doomed to perpetual slavery,
 with the confiscation of all their
 effects.

lemn protest became the more suspected as it promised so fair, and was looked upon, both by the king and council, as designed only to prevent the penalties being inflicted against those that had relapsed; for their behaviour was quite opposite to it, they still making open profession of *Judaism*, and publicly attacking Christianity (F); insomuch that *Ervigius* was obliged to order *Julian*, then archbishop of *Toledo*, to write against them; which he did accordingly, and with great strength and success, in a learned treatise, which he published a little before the close of the seventh century. *Julian's book against them*, A.C. 686.

EGICA soon after preferred a complaint to the same *Toletan* council against the *Jews*, who, he says, had combined with those of *Africk* against him. That prince added, that the infection had spread itself through all the provinces of the *Spanish* monarchy; and, that though it had not yet reached *France* and *Italy*, it was not therefore the less deserving of their serious attention. Whereupon it was there decreed, that all the *Jews* should be deprived of their privileges, and declared perpetual slaves; that their effects should be confiscated, and their children taken from them, and brought up by the Christians (G). This severe edict however, they did, in all probability, elude, as usual, by a timely baptism; for we do not read of any that suffered on its account. *Jews in Gaul*, A.C. 503.

THOSE

* *JUL. Tolet. cont. Jud. l. i. Bibl. Rabbin. p. 122, & seq. lib. iii. p. 139, & seq.*

(F) They objected, among other things, that Christ was not come in the sixth millenary, which had been pointed out for his appearance; to which the archbishop gave a most learned answer out of the writings of the prophets, and proved to them, that Christ was born at the time prefixed by them; and, upon his reminding them, that they were now expelled out of the promised land, without kings, priest, sacrifice, or altar, all which, he urged, were abolished according to their express prediction, they replied, as they had long before done, that they had still a king of the race of

David, who reigned in some corner of the east; but which they not being able to make out, was justly rejected as a forgery.

(G) This plainly confutes, what *Luke de Tudela* affirms, that the *Jews* did not get footing into *Spain* till the reign of *Vitiza*, who invited them thither, since this prince was the son of *Ervica* above-mentioned, who obtained that decree against them. It shews besides, that they had been settled there some ages before this time.

It likewise proves a more material error in another author (25), who makes *Vitiza* to

(25) *Jac. Schudt. compend. hist. Jud. lib. iii. c. 8.*

*Conspire a-
gainst the
Goths.*

THOSE of *Gaul*, if any were so early settled there, made so obscure a figure, that we should not have known of any there, but for some edicts of *Constantine the Great*, which mention them in *Belgic Gaul* ^P; and it is not till the sixth century that historians begin to speak of them; about which time mention is made of their having intended a false accusation against *Cæsarius*, bishop of *Arles*, for being in the interest of the *Franks*, then laying siege to it, and having engaged to deliver up that city to them; upon which the bishop was fetched from his palace in order to have been thrown into the *Rhofne*; but was miraculously preserved, and brought back privately to his palace. The *Jews*, believing him dead, applauded their perfidy against him; and one of them, under pretence of throwing a stone into the besiegers trenches, sent them an invitation to scale the walls on that side which was guarded by the *Jews*; and promising to deliver up the city to them, on condition they should be exempted from being plundered. The letter being found out by the next morning, discovered the treasonable design of the *Jews*, as well as the innocence of the bishop ^Q. This circumstance shews, that they were by this time in no small credit, seeing they were allowed, even during a siege, to take upon them the guard of one part of the city (H). *

As

^P De his vid. GREG. Turonens. tom. ii. ^Q Vid. Fragment. de morib. & gest. Francor. tom. i. p. 232. CYPRIAN. ap. Mabill. §. i. p. 602. BASNAG. ub. sup. c. xiii.

have reigned about *an. 520*, and *Sigibut* about five years sooner, seeing the latter reigned at the beginning, and the other about the end, of the seventh century. How could he then place them so near one another in the beginning of the sixth?

(H) We shall not trouble our readers with an enquiry, how far the perfidy of the *Jews* will clear the bishop from it: for though he was, in other respects, a man of great merit, yet, being a zealous orthodox, he might be more inclined to *Clovis*, king of the *Franks*, than to the *Gothish* king,

who was as strenuous for *Arianism*. And a late historian and critic hath been highly censured by the Roman Catholicks for having questioned his innocence (26). All that we need say about it, is, that if the *Jews* and the good bishop had been in the same interest, it is altogether improbable, that they would have turned his accusers, that they would have been so zealous to have him taken off, or so full of joy when they thought him drowned in the *Rhofne*. And this alone will go farther to clear that excellent

(26) *Basnag. Hist. ub. sup. lib. vii. cap. 13. §. 14, & seq.*

As soon as the *Romans* had been driven out of *Gaul*, and the *Edicts* *Visigoths* been suppressed in it, we find divers regulations made *against* by the councils there, relating to the *Jews* ever-since the *them,* reign of *Glovis*, the first king of the *Franks*; one in particular under *Childebert*, to whom that crown was fallen by lot, which forbid them to appear in the streets of *Paris*, from *Thursday* in the holy week to *Easter Sunday*; which shows, that they were by that time settled either in that city, or in some of its suburbs (I). The same was likewise done by the Council of *Orleans* in the very same year; from which one may conclude, they were dispersed in several other parts of *France*. They were still more numerous in *Languedoc*, whence *Berreol*, bishop of *Uzez*, was banished upon their account. His extreme desire of converting them had betrayed him into such a familiarity with them, as had rendered him suspected at court, where he was forced to go and justify himself to king *Childebert*; but being again restored after some years exile, he fell into the other extreme, and drove them all out of his bishopric ^{A.C. 540.} *Persecuted at Uzez;* *Expelled Languedoc,*

THEY brought a much greater mischief upon themselves *and Cler-* by their untimely zeal at *Clermont*, in the province of *Auvergne*, where *Avitus*, the bishop of it, was making some conversions among them. One of the new converts being entered the city in his white garment, the sight of it did so far provoke one of the same nation as to presume to fling a pot of stinking oil upon him; for which he would have been torn in pieces by the Christians, had not the bishop prevented it. However his charity did but delay their resentment till the next festival, which proved *Ascension-day*; on which the people, leaving the procession, went and pulled down the *Jewish* synagogue. The consequence was, that they must either turn Christians, or be banished. Many of them chose the former, and those that remained obstinate, returned to *Marseilles*, whence they were originally come. St. *German* was no less zealous for their conversion; and the historians of those times relate ^{A.C. 569,} *under king*

* LE COINTE. annat. sub A. C. 556. * GREGOR. TURON. hist. Franc. l. v. c. 11. VENAUT poeta ap. Bibliot. max. patr. tom. x. lib. 4. epist. 5.

prelate, than all that that author hath furnished against him; unless we could suppose, that their hatred to him, on account of his extraordinary virtue, learning, and piety, made them guilty of that complicated perfidy.

(I) The reason of these edicts seems to have been designed to prevent their causing some disturbances at that solemn season, when the streets and houses were empty, and the people at their devotions at church.

Chilperic some instances which were accompanied with miracles, for which we shall refer our readers to them¹. King *Chilperic*, who observed those of his kingdoms of *Soissons* and *Paris* to be rich and numerous, did likewise oblige them to be baptized, and punished those that refused it. But neither his converts nor martyrs did him much honour; tho', being a wicked prince², he doubted not but his zeal might make some atonement for his vices. The same befel them under king *Dagobert*, who, being then sole monarch in *France*, and no less wicked than *Chilperic*, endeavoured to ingratiate himself with his clergy and people by his hatred against the *Jewish* nation³; and obliging them either to be baptized or banished; by which those, who had fled hither from *Spain*, found themselves in as bad a plight here, as they had been there (K). Many of

¹ FORTUNAT. vit. St. Germ. c. 64. p. 580. Vid. & FREDEGAR. chron. hist. Francor. tom. i. ² GREG. TURON. & MAROILE's not. in eund. tom. i. p. 386. ³ Gesta DAGOBERT.

(K) About this seventh century began to flourish the famed academy of *Lunel*, one of the most celebrated in all the west, not only for its great doctors, and the great number of learned men, who had their education there, but much more for their extraordinary charity in maintaining their scholars at their own charges. This city is situate in *Languedoc*, between *Montpellier* and *Nismes*; and was still subsisting, in great splendor, in the twelfth century, when *Benjamin de Tudela* went thro' it. The famed *Solomon Jarchi*, one of the most learned *Jews* that *France* ever bred, had either his birth, or, at least, his education, in it; from which he took his surname of *Jarchi*, in allusion to the word *Jareach*, which signifies the moon; for *Bartolucci*, on the testimony of some *Jewish* rabbies, affirms, that he was born at *Troyes*, another city of *Gallia Narbonensis*, or *Languedoc*. He was a very expert man; and, though

his decisions are too much in the talmudic strain, and so not much admired by Christians, yet they are held in great esteem among those of the *Jews*; especially as he had travelled thro' most parts of the world, where there were any learned men of his nation, and had greatly improved himself by their conversation.

Lunel produced another great man; viz. *Zachariah Levita*, who was indisputably a native of it, though he be commonly stiled a *Spaniard*, because that city, as well as the rest of *Languedoc*, did then belong to *Spain*. He is said to have wrote a treatise, intituled, *The two great Lights*. Some other we might still name, who have been ornaments to this academy, but who all flourished in or since the twelfth century: even *Solomon Jarchi* was not born till 1105, though we have mentioned him on account of his denominating himself the Lunatic, from this city of *Lunel*.

them left that country, and took refuge where they could; but the greater part chose to dissemble, rather than follow them; and, by degrees, returned to their old way.

THIS became more visible during the latter end of *Clovis's* *Under Ba-* reign, and the regency of his widow *Bathilda*. For this last, *thilda*, during the minority of her sons, among many other regula- A.C. 655. tions, had abolished the capitation which had been in vogue time out of mind, and a great nuisance to the nation, because it restrained people from marrying, and obliged many to sell their children, to avoid paying of the tax. The *Jews* were become odious by the infamous traffic of those children, which they sold to barbarous nations; upon which account, that prince not only removed the cause of it by taking off the capitation, but obliged all those captives to be restored which they had in their hands: and forbade them the carrying on of that cruel commerce for the future; though we do not find, that she used any other severity against them. *Wamba*, *Banished* king of the *Goths* in *Languedoc*, designed to have done the by *Wam-* same by them in his dominions, but met with a surprising op- ba, A. C. position from the abbot *Raymirus* and the count of *Thoulouse*, 675. who combined to protect them, and oppose his edict against them. Count *Paul*, a favourite of *Wamba's*, was sent against them; but, instead of suppressing, joined himself to them, and had got himself crowned king at *Narbonne*; but, being afterwards defeated and condemned by *Wamba*, both he and his accomplices, but especially the *Jews*, felt the dire effects of his resentment: his edict was put in full force, and they banished out of his dominions.

THE eighth century, to which we are now come, is chiefly A.C. 740, celebrated for the conversion of *Chozar*, a heathen, to the *Chozar's* *Jewish religion*; for it is about this time, that this wonderful *conversion* transaction is pretended to have happened. *Chozar*, though to *Juda-* a heathen, was a serious thoughtful prince; and a dream, or, ism: as the fabulous account of it says, an angel, had made him so dissatisfied with his religion, that he resolved to seek after a better. He conversed with the philosophers, with Christians, *Mohammedans*, and *Jews*; and was at length, notwithstanding his innate contempt of that nation, convinced by a famed rabbi, named *Sangari*, that the *Jewish* was the only true religion; to which all others were at best but as a shadow to the substance, or the picture to the living original². Several other learned matters he explained to him, so

¹ CATEL's memoirs for the history of Languedoc, lib. iii, p. 308. ² Vid. lib. Cozri, part ii. p. 83, & seq.

the occasion and

much to his satisfaction (L), that the king, afraid of alarming his idolatrous subjects, communicated his design of turning

(L) For fear our readers should think them of so high a nature, as to regret the loss of them, we shall give them a specimen whereby to judge of the rest. He tells the king, that *Judea* was above all the other countries of the world; and that *Adam* had been there created, and was buried in the sepulchre which *Abraham* afterwards bought for himself; that the dispute between *Cain* and *Abel* was about the inheritance of that holy land, to which each laid a strenuous claim; and that the former, being driven from the presence of God, meant no more than his being banished out of *Judea* (27); all which sufficiently shew how unskilled he was in the situation of paradise (*). The rest being much of the same nature, we shall go no farther with it.

The misfortune is, that this kingdom of *Chozar* is nowhere to be found, notwithstanding all the pains which some of the most zealous *Jesuits* have taken to be informed about it; and even the famed *Jewish* traveller of the twelfth century, *Benjamin de Tudela*, who is not sparing of every thing, though ever so improbable, that makes for the credit of his nation, owns, that he could not find it out. Neither have any since, either of that or any other nation, been more successful in its discovery. What authority this pretended conversion comes backed with,

will be seen in the sequel. In the mean time we shall only observe, that, though this kingdom hath been commonly thought hitherto to be only a fictitious one (inasmuch that the learned *John Buxtorf*, and others, rather believed *Chozar* to be the name of the king now in question, though quite contrary to the rules of the *Jewish* grammar, which shews it to be that of a country or a kingdom), yet we read of a city of that name in the province of *Transoxiana*, south east of the *Caspian Sea*, and south of *Samarcande*, the ancient capital of *Bactria*, which was still flourishing in the time of *Timur Beg*, vulgarly called *Tamerlane*, and is mentioned in the history of that great conqueror, written by his physician *Sheriffeddin Hali*, and translated into French by M. *Petit la Croix*, an. 1723, and published at *Deſſa* in four volumes 12^{mo}. To this we may add farther, that the geographical tables of *Nasir Eddin*, the *Persian*, and of *Uing Beigh*, the *Tartar*, published by *Gravins*, speak of the city of *Balanjar* as the chief residence of the king of *Chozar*.

But, though what we have quoted above doth prove in some measure against Mr. *Bafnage*, *Calmet*, and others, that there was once such a city or kingdom near the *Caspian Sea*, yet the main of the story about that monarch's conversion

(27) *Hierosoli*, part ii. p. 33, and 96. p. 109, 110, 112.

(*) De hoc vid. *Anc. Hist.* vol. i.

ing *Jew* to none but to his general, with whom he went, *manner of* with the utmost privacy, to some mountainous desert towards *it*. the sea, where, night having overtaken them, they retired into a cavern. Here they found, to their great joy, some *Jews* celebrating their Sabbath; and, having there abjured his old religion, and received the seal of circumcision, returned with the same privacy to his capital. He then prepared by degrees, and with great address, the minds of his subjects to receive the news of his conversion; which spread afterwards so far, that those *Jews* among them, which had till then dissembled their religion, not only made now open profession of it, but assisted him in converting the rest of his kingdom. He sent soon after for the most learned *Jews* from other countries, to instruct those new converts, which amounted to above 100,000, and vouchsafed himself to take one of the most famous among them to be his instructor. He betrayed at first a kind of inclination for the *Karaites*, a sect of which we have formerly spoken †, as being more scrupulously at-

† *Ant. Hist.* vol. x, p. 485, & seq.

is still questioned by all the learned, and even by some of the *Jews*; and the book itself called *Haccorzi*, and by the *Arabs*, *El Chozri*, supposed only a fable, or at best a fictitious dialogue, written by *Jebudab Halevi*, the pretended translator of it, in imitation of those of *Cicero*, *Plato*, *Gellius*, &c. in the twelfth century, that is above 300 years after its supposed epoch of 740; though the several editors of it, particularly *R. Jebudab*, *Ben. Tibon*, and *R. Muscato*, who both printed it at *Venice*, and, since then, *John Buxtorf* and *R. Aben Dona*, have strenuously defended both the book and the truth of the fact above related. But, upon the whole, whoever reads it with an impartial eye, will be apt to conclude it a mere romance, in which *Deus* and *Machina* are introduced to give a sanction to facts, which have not even the appearance of pro-

bability: such are, for instance, the apparition of the angel to make the king dissatisfied with his religion, without telling him where to look out for a better; the puerile arguments upon which he rejects that of the Christians; his extraordinary skill in philosophy, philology, and his surprising knowledge of the nicest subtleties of the cabalah; his building a *Mosaic* tabernacle instead of a temple, with the ark; though, as we have formerly observed, the *Jews* had none since the *Babylonish* captivity; the altar for sacrifices, though these were allowed to be offered no-where but at *Jerusalem*; and, in a word, his modelling his worship, government, &c. according to that established by *Moses*: all these are justly reckoned sufficient obstacles to the credibility of the book, was it better attested than it really is.

tached to the law; but *Sangari*, who was a thalmudist, brought him over to his side. From that time the original *Jews* grew in great esteem; and a tabernacle was erected exactly like that of *Moses* in the wilderness; to which both they and all the *Chozrean* converts repaired to the *Jewish* worship. The king became rich, happy, and successful, triumphed over his enemies, discovered new treasures hidden in the earth, and enlarged his dominions with new and considerable conquests ^a. Thus far the book, the credit of which we have given a full account of in the last note.

King Joseph's account of that kingdom, &c.

BUT as its authority had not weight enough to procure a general reception of its legend, a fresh one hath been trumped up by the *Jews* about 250 years after, which is no less liable to suspicion; viz. a letter procured with no small difficulty by rabbi *Chasdai*, a man in high esteem at the court of *Abd-al-Rahman* in *Spain*, from *Joseph*, king of *Chozar*, in which that prince, at his request, gives him an account of his religion, government, country, &c.; and which, if genuine, would prove, at least, that the *Jewish* religion was not only established in that kingdom under one of his predecessors, whom he names *Bula*; and in the manner related in the book *Flaccoræ*; and with the addition of several other particulars, which the reader may see under the next note (M); but likewise prove that it still continued to flourish in his dominions; though

^a Vid. lib. Cozri, part ii. p. 75, & seq.

(M) *Chasdai* was, we are told (28), treasurer-general of *Abd-al-Rahman*, and in high favour with him; and having often heard of this *Jewish* kingdom, particularly from some ambassadors sent from *Constantinople* to his master, who acquainted him, that they had often seen merchants from thence who chiefly trafficked in furs, and from whom they had been informed, that the then reigning monarch was called *Joseph*, resolved at any price to send a letter to him; and dispatched accordingly an express with the ambassadors, who conducted him to *Constantinople*, whence

he was forced to come back, being there informed, that the roads to *Chozar* were then impassable. He tried afterwards several other means not worth mentioning; the last of which brought him at length an answer from that prince, with a full account of all that he had desired him to inform him of.

This answer, among other trifling particulars we chuse to pass by, confirmed the account of king *Bula's* conversion by *Sangari*, in the manner above related; and added, that his son *Obadiab* had built sundry synagogues, and maintained a number of learned rabbies to ex-

though there be nothing in the description he gives of them, of their situation, limits, climate, cities, rivers, product, &c. that can direct a reader where to find them; so that it were in vain to dwell longer on that legend.

WE shall therefore now turn our eyes to the *Jewish* tribes dispersed in the east, during this eighth and the following *Jews* ^{un-} century; where, if we except the common calamities that ^{der the} must attend the civil wars that then reigned between the Kha- ^{Khalifs,} *lifs*, *Abassides*, *Omiades*, &c. of which a fuller account hath ^{A.C. 705,} been given in their history †; and in which *Jews* and *Chris-* ^{& seq.} tians must be supposed to have shared; in other respects, we do not find that any of those monarchs disturbed their quietness. The *Jews* in particular enjoyed full liberty of conscience, during the khalifat of *Abdelmelech*, about the beginning of the eighth century, and those of his successors, *Al-walid* and *Soliman* * his brother. Their academies flourished, and their doctors enjoyed all their ancient privileges (N); only the Christians

† See before, vol. i. and ii. p. 166. * Ibid. p. 175, & seq.

pound the sacred books and the thalmud, &c. The account he gave of his dominions was, that they were about thirty days journey in compass, and were situate near the *Gargan Sea*; and that several neighbouring nations were tributary to him. They had several cities and towns, one of the three principal of which was about fifty parasangs, or leagues, in circuit, and was the residence of his queen, and other wives, servants, and eunuchs, in which both Christians and *Turks* had liberty of their religion. The third in rank for bigness, was that of his own residence; and in which he only spent the winter with his council; after which they all removed into the country, where the inhabitants busied themselves with the care of their grounds, whilst he and his court took a progress round the country to keep all things under due regulation; insomuch that they had neither quarrels,

law-suits, nor tax-gatherers. He added, that it seldom rained there, but that they abounded with large rivers full of fish, with excellent vines and all kinds of fruit-trees. He concluded with some account of the Messiah's coming, which he said was very uncertain, because God had delayed it on account of their sins; and with a kind invitation to rabbi *Chaf-dai* to come and visit his dominions, and the promise of an honourable welcome. This is the substance of the letter and answer that passed between king *Josaph* and him. But whether the rabbi was imposed upon in the last, or was the forger of both, was hard to say; but, upon the whole, the account out of the *Chozri*, and this letter, are looked upon as a mere fiction.

(N) We are even told, that one of them asked this last his daughter in marriage; and being answered, that the differ-

Christians were obliged to fortify *Ramah* in *Palestine*, to suppress the inroads which the wild *Arabs* made into that province; and obstructed the concourse of pilgrims, of *Jews*, and other nations, into the holy land. They are supposed to have suffered some oppressions under the reign of his brother and successor *Zeyd*, though more from the rapaciousness of his ministers, than the cruelty of that monarch. But their greatest change for the better was under the reigns of the *Abbasides*, upon the dissolution of that of the *Omniades* under *Mervan*.

AB or *Abbas Saffa*, whom *Elmakin* calls *Abulkabas* †, having gained the khalifat, removed the royal residence from *Damascus* to *Cusab*, situate on the *Euphrates*, about four days journey from *Baghdad*. or *Babylon*; and became thereby nearer neighbours to the *Jews*, and better acquainted with their academies. *Almanzor*, who succeeded his brother, and 750, 760, was a learned prince, and fond of all that were so, without enquiring what nation or religion they were of, had invited a great variety of them to his court; and, among the rest, a good number of *Jews*, who took that opportunity to put their academies in a more flourishing condition than ever. *R. R. Joseph* and *Samuel* surnamed the *Gaon*, or Excellent, presided at that of *Pumbedita*, and were succeeded by *Deraus*, another *Gaon*, *Ananias*, and *Maicha*; that of *Sora* was governed by two learned professors, both named *Judah*; the one the son of *Nachman*, and the other of *Otrinaus* (O). *R. Acha* was

† De hoc vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 255, & seq.

ence of their religion did not permit it; replied, that though the different sects of *Mohammedans* did curse one another in their mosks, since *Mohammed* had given his daughter to *Ali*, who was the chief of a different sect, it shewed, that the diversity of opinions ought not to hinder such inter-marriages, much less countenance those curses which each publicly vented against the other.

This conference, which appears to have been concerted between that prince and the *Jew*, to put a stop, as it actually did, at least during his and some following reigns, to that

abominable trade of cursing (29); both however show, that the *Jewish* nation must have been in high credit at that time with the *Khalifs*, to be permitted to act such a part before a court, and the chief of the *Mohammedan* doctors.

(O) Some pretend, that the former of these two published a set of learned lectures; others, with more probability, attribute them to *R. Simon Keiara*, another famed doctor, who then flourished in these eastern parts, though not a *Gaon*. This book, which was stiled *Helcoth*, *Gedoloth*, or Great Lectures, was so highly admired, that *R.*

was no less famed for his high learning, and his large treatise on the precepts of the law under the title of *Shealtoth*, or Questions : but having unfortunately quarrelled with *Samuel*, the then chief or prince of the captivity, he had the double mortification to see himself excluded from the title of *Gaon* ; and soon after, upon the death of that chief, to see his own servant *Nithronius* raised to that dignity. *Acha*, unable to brook the affront, went and died in *Judea*, and left *Nithronius* to enjoy his principality ; which he did during the space of thirteen years ^b (P). About this time the Jews of *Per-* A.C. 760.
sia and *Araha* had also the mortification to see an edict published against them by the *Imam Jaaffar*, surnamed *Zadic*, edict a-
or the Just ; by which those, who turned *Moslems*, be- gainst the
came sole heirs of their whole family : and this induced great Jews.
numbers of *Jewish* and other children to apostatize, in order to get possession of such estates, as they could otherwise have no title to ^c.

ALMANZOR was succeeded by *Al Mohdi* †, in whose A.C. 770.
reign appeared the infamous *Hakem*, or, as the *Arabian* histo- Mohdi
rian calls him ^d, *Almakaneus*, an impious impostor, whom some *Khalif*.
have supposed to have been a *Jew*, but without any foundation ; for which reason we should hardly have mentioned him, but that he had, in spite of his impious tenets, some of them which seemed to be of *Jewish* extract, and found means

^b GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 124, & seq. ^c ABULFARAG. ubi sup. d'Herbelot. Bib. Orient. † See vol. ii. p. 305. ^d Ibid. p. 146.

Judab, the *Soran* professor, epitomized it ; and gave it the title of *Helcoth Pessucboth*, or Decided Lectures (30). However, *Kriara* had the surname of *Great Light*, as well as *R. Mari*, his cotemporary, that of *Meor Henaim*, the Light of the Eyes, on account of their having lost their sight.

(P) About this time flourished the famed *R. Ananus*, who was likewise excluded the title of *Gaon*, though a man of great learning, on account of some material error they suspected in his doctrine, and not without

good grounds ; since he became the reviver and chief of the *Saducean* sect, which was thought to have been long since buried under the ruins of *Jerusalem*. But it took, it seems, not only new life, but new vigour under that chief, and became formidable to that of the *Pharisees* (31). Those critics, who have styled *Ananus* the founder of the *Caraitic* sect, are certainly mistaken, since, as we have seen in both parts of the *Jewish* history, they were of much older date.

(30) *De his vid. Bartoloc, Bibliot. rabbin. & Wolf, Bibliot. Hebr.* (31) *Id. ibid. Gantz Tzemach David*, p. 125, & seq.

to draw a great number of disciples after him, by some seeming prodigies with which he amused them. But *Mohdi* sent some forces against him, which so closely besieged him in one of his fortresses, that he first poisoned all his disciples, and then flung himself into the fire, according to the last mentioned author; or, according to others, into a vessel of *Aqua fortis*, which consumed all but his hair. *Al Mohdi* was succeeded by his brother *Aaron*, surnamed the Just, and a great lover of learned men; and so considerable a prince, that *Charlemagne* sent him an embassy, consisting of the two counts, *Sigismund* and *Laufred*, and *Isaac*, a Jew, who was to be the chief manager of that commission. Authors vary about the purport and success of it*; which being foreign to our present purpose, we shall refer to the history of those two monarchs; and only observe, that *Isaac* was made choice of by that emperor, on account of the credit which the Jews were in at the Khalif's court. However, as he loved to encourage learned men, without any partial regard to their religion, and seldom travelled without having an hundred of them in his retinue, the Jews endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with him chiefly by that means, that is, by filling their academies with the most celebrated professors.

Amin HE was succeeded by his son *Amin Al Musa Al Hadi*, or, *Khalif*, as *Elmakin* calls him, *Abumusa*, about the beginning of the 9th century†; but this proved so weak a prince, and so addicted to his pleasures, that his brother *Mamun* soon found an opportunity to dethrone him; and being a great encourager of learning, caused all the best Jewish books to be translated into Arabic. This step was not at all relished by his subjects, who were ready to revolt upon it; but that never hindered him from distinguishing learned men of all nations; among whom was a celebrated Jewish astronomer, who had been in high repute ever since the Khalifat of *Almanzor*; but was now esteemed at this court as a phoenix of learning; and as such, highly beloved by *Mamun*; during whose reign the Jewish academies of *Sora* and *Pumbedita* swarmed with men of letters (Q).

It

* De hic vid. DU HAILLAC, hist. de France, lib. iv. AVENTIN. Annal. Bojor. l. iv. † SANGALENS. de gest. Carol. Magn. lib. ii. EGINARD, vit. Car. Magn. p. 7, & al. † See vol. ii. p. 390.

(Q) *Rabbi Gantz* hath given then flourished at those two academies (32); but, as it consists and other learned Jews, that chiefly of their names, it were

It was about this time also, that the famed impostor *Mosssa*, or *Moses*, the son of *Amran*, as he called himself, began to appear, and pretended to be that great lawgiver of the *Jews* newly risen from the dead.

MAMUN was succeeded by his brother *Al Motasem*, who, among other of his victories, defeated a famed impostor named *Babeck*, who cried down all other religions but his own, which chiefly consisted in pleasure and jollity; and was become so powerful, that he waged war against *Jews*, Christians, and *Moslems*; and was with difficulty overcome by the united forces of that Khalif. His successor, named *Al Wathek*, and, by some, *Wathek-Billah* *, became a bitter enemy to the *Jews* on two accounts: 1st, Because they had been guilty of some great frauds in the management of the finances, which had been committed to their care, in his predecessor's reign. And, 2d, Because they would not receive the *Koran*; for which they were heavily taxed, and forced to pay very large fines into his treasury. *Motavel*, or *Motawakel*, who succeeded him, proved still more severe against them; and not only obliged them to wear a leathern girdle by way of distinction, and, on the same account, forbade them to ride on any but asses or mules, and the use of iron stirrups, but he also stripped them of all their honours, titles, and places; which shews, that they had enjoyed some considerable ones in former reigns. And what was still worse, his edict spread itself not only through his empire, but into the neighbouring states; and this mark of infamy hath, more or less, subsisted ever since in those countries that are under the *Turks* (R); and we may add,

* De hoc vid. vol. ii. p. 412, & seq. & p. 424. ‡ D'HERBELLOT, Bibl. Orient. p. 640.

of little use to insert them. He tells us however, of a disaster that happened at that of *Sora*, about the beginning of the ninth century; viz, its being two whole years without a professor; which was not so much owing to the want of encouragement, as to the divisions and feuds that then reigned among those doctors, and thwarted their elections of proper persons to fill the chair. For that of *Pundebita* was filled by the famed *R. Abumer*. This last, at length, sent his son *Cohen-Zedek* thither, who

carried the election; so that this family filled both chairs for a considerable time, and with great credit. The father and the son, the uncle and the nephew, were chiefs of both academies. But, upon their demise, the great prosperity they enjoyed, soon made them fall into their old dissensions, as we shall see in the next note.

(R) They brought, at the same time, another misfortune upon themselves, by the revival of their old academic jars. *R. Menachem*, the son of *Joseph*, who

add, in several parts of *Europe*, and under Christian princes to this day. *Motawakel's* successors, whose reigns were short and violent, followed the same severe methods against the *Jews*; so that they bought those little remains of liberty at the expence of very heavy taxes; and it was in the reign of *Mohamed*, the last of them, who was a weak and effeminate prince, that *Ahmet*, then governor of *Egypt*, revolted, and founded a new dynasty there; by which that province was dismembered from the empire of the *Khalifs* about the end of the ninth century * (S).

Ahmet's
revolt,
A.C. 869.

We come now to the *Jews* in the west, that is in the empire, in *Spain*, *Italy*, *France*, and other parts of *Europe*, during the eighth and ninth centuries. We begin with the empire, which was at this time miserably torn by the civil

* See before vol. ii. p. 477, & 481.

who presided alone in that of *Pundebita*, and saw himself threatened with the concurrence of a colleague, which the *Jews* were going to force upon him, so strenuously opposed it, that the dispute ran to a great height. However, after much wrangling, and ill blood on both sides, he gained his point; and his rival, named *Mattathias*, was set aside. *Mcnabem* did not survive his disgrace above two years; and left the chair to him, who enjoyed it a much longer time. These feuds were the more unseasonable at these times, because the *Khalifs* were now no longer such encouragers of learning as their predecessors had been; so that both, joined together, occasioned a general decay of it in those two places, which was not soon nor easily recovered.

(S) A little while before that *Khalif's* death, which happened, A.C. 891, was discovered on a down in *Syria*, called the *Down of the man run mad for love*, a tomb, in which were seven bo-

dies; among which was that of a youth whose face and lips were still as lively as if he had been in health; and near it a stone, on which was an inscription engraved, which no-body could read. *Mohamed*, desirous to know the contents of it, tried in vain the skill of the most learned *Jews* and *Christians*; they all found it impossible to be deciphered (33).

In his reign arose likewise a famous *Jewish* astronomer in *Arabia*, named *Abulmanassar*, who pretended to foretel strange events by the course of the planets, not excepting those which chiefly related to religion (34). He pretended, that the *Jewish* law had its birth under the conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn*; and that the same configuration would usher in anti-christianism. He foretold likewise, that it would be fatal to Christianity, an. 1460; but the event hath proved him a false prophet, and his science an idle dream. He died, an. 885.

(33) *Chronie Abbaſſid. ad an. Hegira*, 275, b. 68, A.C. 879. *Vid. D'Heraclius. Biblioth. Orient.* p. 638. (34) *Vid. Bajnage, ubi ſup. lib. ix. c. 2. §. 11.*

diffentions between the *Iconoclasts*, and the image worshipers, and in which the *Jews* were accused to have had a considerable hand, if they were not the first movers of it. We have given an account of that, and of its bloody effects, in a former part of this history †, and shall examine here only what is laid to the charge of the *Jews*, with relation to their being the first promoters of it, and which appearing to us very doubtful and apocryphal, we shall remit to the margin, with some short but necessary remarks on the whole story (T).

† Anc. Hist. vol. xvii. p. 41, & seq.

(T) The *Jews*, we are told (35), having cheated *Jezyid* in the east, with the promise of a long reign, and being obliged to leave those parts, came from thence thro' *Cilicia* into *Isauria*, a province of *Asia-minor*, over against the island of *Cyprus*, where they set themselves down by a fountain, to refresh themselves from the fatigue and heat of the day. A youth of that country came soon after and sat among them, who used to travel about and sell trinkets to the towns and villages adjacent. The *Jews* having viewed him more intensely, foretold to him that he should become emperor; and only begged as a reward for their prediction, that when he was come to the crown, he would take from the Christians all their image, as contrary to the second commandment. And hence it came to pass, that when he came to mount the throne, under the title of *Leo Isaurus*, he waged such a violent war against the image worshipers

We might here with Mr *Bishop* observe several remarks on the improbability of this whole story; but as they are obvious to every thinking reader, it will be sufficient to remind him that *Leo* could not be in *Isauria*, tho'

that was his native place, at the time of the *Jews* coming thither, seeing *Justinian* had conveyed him and his family into *Thrace* before that time, and before he was of age sufficient to carry on the pretended peddling trade about his country. Neither was it the prediction of the *Jews*, but the orders of that emperor which got him into his service, seeing he had been enlisted amongst his guards, *Ann.* 705: and, lastly, what seems most effectual to destroy the probability of this story, especially of the *Jews* prediction to him, is the persecution he raised against them, upon his coming to the throne, as will be seen presently; for had there been any such thing, would they not have complained of his ingratitude and injustice? But all this story seems contrived to make one imagine that *Leo* could not conceive such a violent dislike to images, unless some such enemies to Christianity had inspired him with it; whereas the *Jews* were so far from wishing them abolished, that the more they were multiplied in the churches, the greater occasion of triumph it gave them over the Christians.

(35) *Theophan. ann. sub. A. C. 615. p. 336. Sigebert sub an. 724. p. 545. Zonar ann. tom. iii. Cedren ann. in Leon Isaur. Maimbourg Hist. Iconoclast. l. i.*

However,

Persecuted by Leo Isaurus. However that be, it is plain that the new emperor declared himself no less zealous against the *Jews* than against images; for both they and the *Manichees* were ordered by him to turn Christians, under the severest penalties; only the latter being more tenacious of their heresy, suffered themselves to be burnt for it, whilst the *Jews* took their old method of saving their lives by dissembling; which they found, however, proper means to disallow in private. But as the patrons for images gained their point, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the emperor and his followers, they obliged the *Jews*, whose sincerity they had no great reason to rely on, to subscribe to a formulary, by which they acknowledged themselves worshipers of the cross and holy images, and prayed to God to strike them with *Gehazi's* leprosy, and *Cain's* tremor, if they did not do it from their hearts ^h.

In Syria. THEY found themselves still more involved in those devastations which *Abdallah*, the son of *Ali*, was making at *Jerusalem* and *Syria*, and, among other hardships, were forced, as well as the Christians to be branded in the hand, to distinguish them from *Moslems*. The latter did indeed retire upon it to the *Roman* territories; but the *Jews* not only submitted to it, but chose to follow *Abdallah's* army, in order to enrich themselves with the plunder of the Christians. For that prince, we are told, had always a considerable number of them in his army, to whom he sold all the church plunder he took ⁱ.

Favoured by Nicephorus THEY fared much better under *Nicephorus*, who succeeded *Leo* about the beginning of the ninth century, and who likewise declared himself for the *Iconoclasts*; for which it probably came that the other side branded him with having forsaken God, to put himself under the care of the *Manichees* and *Attingans*, who were a kind of diviners or soothsayers; but according to the language of the *Anti-Iconoclasts*, were persons that dealt with the devil, and could by their art make kingdoms flourish, princes victorious, &c (U). However, the latter

^h THEOPHAN. ub. sup. sub. A. C. 759, & seq. ⁱ Apud Goar Euchol. in THEOPH. p. 149.

(U) It is not easy to say who either these *Manichees* or *Attingans* were. Some make them to be the same, under two different names, and to belong to the heretical sect of the *Manichees* (36), and to have used some kind of sacraments, &c. *Zonaras* (37) represents them as a kind of soothsayers, one of whom foretold *Michael's* succession to the throne, after *Nice-*

(36) *Paul Diacon. lib. xxiv. p. 552.* (37) *Ann. rom. iii. p. 100.*

ter of them were, against all probability, pretended to be of *Jewish* extract; and it was thought sufficient proof of their being so, that *Nicephorus* protected their nation, and suffered them to live quietly under him. They were still more in favour under his successor *Michael*, surnamed the *Stammerer*, and *Michael*, who is by some represented as half *Jew*, and by other branded with the odious appellative of the Sink of all religions, because he had imbibed something from each, during his younger days. However, tho' he tolerated them all, and seems to have shewn a particular regard to the *Jews*, yet, as he was professedly a Christian, and an orthodox, and never swerved from them, it is not unlikely that his being an *Iconoclast* hath been the main cause of all that slander (W). We are told by *Photius*, that about this time there was a law in force against the *Jews*, that made it capital for any of them to appropriate any of the church's goods^k, which is however denied by his commentator *Balsamon*, because no such one is to be found in *Theodosian* code. But might not such a one have been made since, on account of their buying so much of the church's plunder from the *Moslems*, as was hinted above? And might not the empress *Theodora*, who persecuted all the *Iconoclasts* with such severity, have made such a law against them, on purpose to punish them for being their professed enemies to the worship of images? *A law against them.* A.C. 820.

WE know but little of their condition either in *Italy* or *Deceived Spain*, during these two centuries; except that in the latter, a by a false *Jew*, named *Serenus*, taking advantage of the feuds which reigned between that and *France*, proclaimed himself the *Messiah*, and drew great numbers of his nation to follow him into *Judea*, where he was to fix his kingdom. How far that deceiver led them, we cannot find; except that *Ambisa*, the then governor in those parts, took the opportunity to

^k PHOT. NOMOCAN. tit. 9. p. 123, & seq.

phorus. But that prince having declared against images, the *Jews* were again accused as the authors of it, and the *Attingans* affirmed to be a set of conjurers belonging to that nation, merely to brand the *Iconoclasts*.

(W) As a proof of this we may remember, that upon his mounting the throne, tho' by murder and treason, yet so long as there were any hopes of his

declaring for the use of images, he was extolled to the skies as a *David* or *Josiah*, by no less a man than *Theodore Studites*, one of their miraculous saints; but as soon as they found themselves disappointed of their hopes, he hath been represented as a monster, and had among other opprobrious names, that of Sink of all religions, given him.

seize on all the estates and effects which those infatuated people had left behind them ; those that did not perish by the way, returned to their habitations, where they were at leisure to bewail their folly and loss ¹. Here also, in the reign of *Abd-al-Rahman* or *Abderama*, who had been acknowledged Khalif the west, and built a famed mosque at *Cordoua*, flourished

R. Judah, the famed *R. Judah*, a man of great learning, who published a philosophical treatise, to shew why the sea did not overflow the land, which was highly applauded by the learned. He likewise translated several books out of *Arabic* into *Hebrew*, and compiled a dictionary in the former : all which shews not only that the sciences flourished there among the *Jews*, but likewise that the first Khalifs favoured them more than they did the Christians, whom they obliged to build the stately mosque above-mentioned, with the materials they had taken from them ^m.

Invite the **L. I N G U E D O C** being at this time (as well as great Arabs in part of *Spain*) in the hands of the *Visigoth*, was much infested with the incursions of the *Arabs*, who are said to have been in league with, if not invited thither by, the *Jews*, and to have engaged themselves, by their help, to massacre all the Christians. They are likewise accused to have invited the *Saracens* out of *Spain*, to free them from the tyranny which they suffered under the bishop of *Tholosa*, who coming accordingly, took *Narbonne* and *Tholosa* in their way, and penetrated as far as *Lyons*, putting all to fire and sword, as they went, except the *Jews* who had assisted them in it. *Charlemagne* having afterwards defeated the *Saracens*, and retaken *Tholosa*, resolved to punish the treacherous *Jews* with the utmost severity, who had been the authors of so much bloodshed ; but being at length softened by their groans and cries, commuted their punishment, and only executed the heads of *Their punishment.* them, and condemned the rest of those that dwelt in that city, to receive a box on the ear, three times a year, at the gates of one of the churches, which should be named by the bishop, and to pay a perpetual fine of thirteen pounds weight of wax. The greatest part of this accusation, and of the facts alleged to support it, hath been refuted by a late historian ⁿ: and indeed the mild behaviour of the emperor towards the *Jews*, shews nothing less than his supposing them the betrayers of

¹ MARCA Hist. de Bearn. lib. ii. c. 2. ^m Id. ibid. p. 138, & seq. ⁿ BASNAG. ub. sup. l. ix. c. 3. § 8, & seq.

that city, or the authors of the *Saracens* incurſion (X) : but as the farther diſcuſſion of theſe points would not only carry us too far, but be a mere repetition of the hiſtory of thoſe monarchs, we ſhall refer our readers for a further account of it to the hiſtory of thoſe times, in the ſecond and third volumes, as well as to the author there quoted.

THEY were ſtill more favoured under *Lewis*, ſurnamed the *Their crea-*
Debonair, whoſe chief phyſician was a *Jew*, named *Sede-*
dit under
cias, whom ſome hiſtorians have repreſented as one of the *Lewis the*
 greateſt magicians in the world °, but who was in ſuch high *Debonair*,
 credit with that prince, that all the courtiers were glad to gain *A.C. 815.*
 his and his countrymen's friendſhip, with the nobleſt preſents.
 They had the liberty of building of new ſynagogues, and obtained ſuch ſingular privileges, as could not fail of inſpiring them with uncommon inſolence, as well as of raiſing jealousy in the Chriſtians, as it accordingly happened, more particularly in the dioceſe of *Lions* ¶; where *Agobard* biſhop of it, *Disturbed*
 did not content himſelf with forbidding them to buy any *by the bi-*
 Chriſtian ſlaves, and the keeping of their Sabbath, but forbade *shop of Li-*
 likewise, under ſome frivolous pretences, the Chriſtians to *ons,*
 buy any wine, or to deal with them during the time of Lent. The *Jews* made no difficulty to complain of the biſhop's edicts to the emperor, who ſent three commiſſaries to *Lions* to enquire into the truth of it, upon which they were immediately reſtored to their ancient privileges, to the no ſmall mortification of the biſhop, who, tho' otherwiſe a moderate man, and averſe to perſecution, could hardly be perſuaded of the reality of the emperor's orders, tho' ſigned with his own ſeal. This made him invent ſome new accuſations againſt them, and to ſend him freſh remonſtrances againſt them, ſigned by two other biſhops. *Eurard*, the chief commiſſary, remained firm to the *Jewiſh* intereſt, and all the allegations againſt them were rejected at court, as falſe and groundleſs, as indeed they deſerved, being moſtly ſuch; and ſome of them ſo ridicu-

° DANDEN de ſuſpect. de Hæreſi. TRITHEM Chron. Hirſaugiens.
 ¶ Vid. AGOBARD. de Inſolent. Judeor.

(X) The *Jews* in his reign boaſted that they had been ſuffered to buy ſome of the richeſt veſſels of the church, and other coſtly utenſils belonging to the churches, abbies, &c. which the luxury and avarice of the biſhops and abbots had induced them to ſell. *Charlemagne* be-

ing informed of it, forbade indeed, by a ſevere law, all ſuch abuſes for the future; but neither condemned the *Jews* to reſtore thoſe they had, nor reſtrained them from that ſhameful commerce, but levelled the penalty wholly againſt ſuch of his clergy as ſhould be guilty of it.

lous as to cast no small reflection on the blind zeal of those prelates. The reader may see them in the authors quoted in the margin^a.

His untimely zeal suppressed.

AGOBARD, seeing all his pious endeavours thus frustrated, resolved to take a journey to court, in order to solicit that prince more effectually against the *Jews*; but he failed of success, being only admitted to an audience of leave, wherein he was permitted to go back as he came, without any farther satisfaction, as he himself complains, so that he was even afraid of baptising the heathen slaves that belonged to the *Jews*, for fear of exasperating the court against him, tho' he offered to pay them the full price for them^r. But as he did not dare venture upon this last, without the emperor's leave, he sent to beg his consent to it. What answer he had we cannot learn; but if one may guess by the dreadful curses he pronounces against the *Jewish* nation, in his letter to the great and learned *Nebudius*, bishop of *Narbonne*, one may conclude that it was not such as he liked; and the spleen which he vents in that uncharitable epistle, was the less excusable, because it not only made the *Jews* the more flourishing and insolent, but was like to have caused a general defection; in so much that people not only professed openly that they were to be respected as the posterity of *Abraham* and the prophets, but began to conform to the *Jewish* rites in many instances (Y), that were quite scandalous, and a reproach to Christianity.

Under Charles the Bald,

THEIR case was not quite so agreeable to them under *Charles*; surnamed *the Bald*, when *Remisus* the bishop of that diocese caused some of his clergy to preach every *Saturday* in their synagogues; by which to great a number of their children were like to have been converted, that they were forced to send them away to *Vienne* in *Dauphine*, to *Macon* and *Arles* in *Provence*, and other places, where they were more numerous. Of this the bishop sent a complaint to court, and begged of that prince to send orders to the bishop of *Arles*, &c. to follow

^a AGOBARD. ub. sup. & Epist. BERNARD & EVERARD de Judaic. Superstition. AGOBARD Consult. ad proceres de Baptism. Judaic. vid. & BASNAG. ubi sup. § 14, & seq.

(Y) Thus we are told that some of them began to celebrate the Sabbath, instead of the Lord's-day; that many of them chose to go and hear the *Jewish* rabbis declaim in their synagogues, rather than to hear

the sermons preached in their own churches; and that a deacon named *Putbo*, or *Pando*, belonging to the court, had renounced the church, and gone over to the synagogue.

his

his method; and represented to him, that the conversion of those children was a greater act of charity, than the saving them out of the lion's mouth. It is likely he consented to his request, for numbers of *Jewish* children were baptized, all by their own free choice, and the emperor was soon after poisoned by *Sedecias*, his *Jewish* physician, lately mentioned, who is supposed to have been hired to that vile deed by those of his own nation^s. These are likewise accused to *accused of* have had a great hand in the troubles that happened under *assisting* this reign, by the incursion of the *Normans* into several provinces, particularly that of *Aquitain*, where they were very *the Normans*, numerous; and tho' it is likely the *French* authors have charged them with more crimes than they were guilty of, *and other* such as the betraying the cities of *Bordeaux*, *Perigues*, &c. *treasons*, which those barbarians plundered and burnt^t, whilst the *Jews* are said to have been exempted from the common calamity: yet there is no doubt to be made, that they resented the loss of so many of their children, tho' no violence was used in converting them (Z), and that they would willingly have joined with any other nation, by whom they hoped to be freed from such a sensible hardship. Especially if we add to it, that they were still liable to the ignominious sentence passed against them by *Charlemagne*, of being buffeted three times a year at the church door, which was not indeed executed on all the *Tholosan Jews*, but was in time confined to their syndic or head magistrate, who received that punishment in the name of the rest. To this we may add, that tho' their credit was ever so high at court, during the life of the treacherous *Sedecias*, yet they were liable to many insults

^s Flor. Collect. de Baptif. Hæbr. DACHERY Specileg. vet. Script. tom. xii. p. 52. ^t Du MOULIN Hist. Normand. p. 38. incert. Auct. de gest. Normand. ap. Du CHENE, p. 2.

(Z) *Florus*, a deacon of the church of *Lions* in this reign, tells us, that the bishop above-named contented himself with sending for these young *Jews*, and asking them whether any of them were willing to become Christians; upon which six of them begged on their knees to be baptized, whose example was followed by seven and forty more. And that prelate pro-

tests to the emperor, that he dismissed the rest of them *intactos*, untouched (38). But tho' there might be no violence used in their conversion, yet there might be other indirect means practised to induce them, such as caresses, promises, gifts, &c. equally capable of working upon them, and disagreeable to their parents.

and affronts from the populace in cities at a distance from it. Thus, for instance, those of *Beziers* in *Languedoc*, were yearly wont to be driven about with volleys of stones, from *Palm-Sunday* to the *Tuesday* in *Easter-week* ^u, which indignity they at length redeemed by a tribute which they paid to the bishop of the place.

*State of the
Jews dur-
ing the
10th and
11th cen-
turies.*

IT is now time to close the ninth century, and to pass on to the tenth and eleventh, which we shall be forced to join, to avoid breaking off the thread of the facts which happened in the middle interval between them. We begin, as usual, with those of the east, who were, during that time, if we may believe their historians, in a most flourishing condition; especially with respect to learning, which began now to revive among them, and the vast number of their doctors, that then flourished, whilst almost the rest of the world, especially the Christian countries, were buried in darkness and ignorance; insomuch that the *Jewish* academies, not being capable of containing the overgrown multitude of their scholars, they were obliged to build a new one (A). They even add, that they never had, in any age, before or since, so many and such excellent doctors as now. It proved, however, but a short-lived glory, partly thro' the broils that were bred between the chiefs of the captivity and their professors and doctors; but more especially by the zeal of the cruizaders, who made it an uncommon piece of merit to massacre all the *Jews*, before they went upon the conquest of the *Holy-land*; all which, joined together, caused the total downfall of their academies, and the utter expulsion of the nation from those eastern countries, and obliged them to take refuge in *Spain* and *France*, and other parts of *Europe*, of all which we shall now give an account in as few words as the subject will admit of.

*Learning
begins to
flourish.*

*Their acad-
emies*

DAVID, the then chief of the captivity, and a man of a haughty ambitious spirit, had raised the prerogative of that

^u CATEL Hist. Languedoc, lib. iii.

(A) The reader may recollect that we closed the ninth century with an account of the feuds that reigned between the heads of those academies, which had quite stopped the progress of learning amongst them. What caused the revival of it at the beginning of this, was the example of the *Arabs*, among whom it began to flourish about this time. And tho' it chiefly consisted in the study of physic, dialectics, astronomy, and astrology, yet it so far inspired the *Jews*, with such a fresh relish to them that they immediately applied themselves to the same study, and set their academies again in a flourishing condition.

dignity

dignity beyond all his predecessors (B), and reigned as absolute as any eastern monarch; which raised such dissensions between him and the chiefs of the academies, as quickly hastened their downfall. That of *Pundebita* had chosen *R. Mijhisber* for their chief, and *David* immediately appointed another, and the jealousy which reigned between those two arose to such a height, during the space of five years, that the only expedient they could think of to put an end to it, was to erect two schools in that place, tho' it had a contrary effect. That of *Sora* had scarcely raised itself up from the low degree it had formerly sunk into, when *David* sent likewise thither one *R. Jom Tob*, a man so ignorant and unfit, that the academy must have been soon abandoned, had not they sent for a proper person from *Egypt*, to preside over, and raise the character of it. This was *R. Saadiab*, a man of great learning and abilities, and who made it his first care to explode the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which had gone current for many ages, not only among the *Persians* and *Arabs*, but even among the *Jews*. He had already made some progress in it, when the prince of the captivity sent for him to subscribe to a new regulation which he thought was repugnant to the *Jewish* laws, and which he therefore stiffly refused to sign, and thereby made him so far his utter enemy, that he was forced to retire, and seek for shelter in some place out of his reach, where he continued till the breach between them was happily made up (C).

THE

* GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 130.

(B) The *Jews* complain that their chiefs till then used to pay tribute to the *Khalifs*, but that he found means to shake off that ignominious yoke; to which two things chiefly contributed, viz. his long reign of thirty years and upwards, and the weakness of the then *Khalif*, *Mochtader*, who had been deposed twice by his officers, and was wholly governed by them †.

(C) This refusal, we are told, so exasperated the *Jewish* chief, that he sent at first his son to him, with a threatening to have his head broke, if he did not obey, and other opprobrious

language, with which *Saadiab* having acquainted his scholars, they raised an uproar about him, in which they gave him some severe blows. The academy was soon divided into two parties, in which that of *Saadiab* so far prevailed, that *David* was deposed from his dignity, and his brother *Joseph* appointed in his room. It was not long however, before *David* got himself restored, and *Saadiab* was obliged to flee and seek out for a safe retreat, where he continued seven whole years.

It was during this recess that he composed the greatest part

† *De hoc vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 515, seq.*

Jews very
numerous.

Found a
new aca-
demy.

A. C.
1037.

THE *Jewish* nation was at this time so numerous and powerful, that they reckoned no less than nine hundred thousand of them in the city of *Pherutz-Shiboor*. (D). This number may probably have been greatly exaggerated by the *Jewish* writers. However, here it was that they had founded a new academy, at the head of which was the famed *R. Sherira*, under whom it flourished about thirty years. He was a man of great learning, but a mortal enemy to the Christians, especially to the monks; and was, on that account, highly respected by his scholars and the whole nation, and being at length worn out with age, left the chair to his son *Hay*, whom the *Jews* styled the most excellent of all the excellent. The rest of his character and writings the reader may see in the margin (E).
He

of those books which were since published after his death, and go under his name. He found means nevertheless, to be reconciled to his haughty prince, and was again restored to the chair; and having outlived him by several years, enjoyed it quietly, and with great success. However, the deposition of the chief shows that that dignity was neither absolute nor unalienable: besides, we find some of the chiefs of the academies chosen to be princes of the captivity, tho' this did not often happen. As for the choice of the academic chiefs, it was done by the plurality of votes; though the prince's authority did not a little influence it. Sometimes not only the doctors but the people joined in the election; and we have an instance of it, during this tenth century, when the academy of *Pundebita* wanting a professor, and two candidates having offered themselves, viz. one *Aaron*, a rich merchant, and *Nehemiah*, a learned rabbi, the former was chosen by the interest of the people, and the latter

succeeded him about seventeen years after, that is, in the year of *Christ* 959.

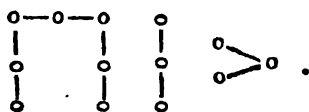
(D) This city, whose name signifies the breach of *Sapor*, stood about five miles distant from *Babylon*, and is by some supposed to have been built by *Sapor II.* king of *Persia*, a great conqueror, who built many cities in that kingdom. Others ascribe the honour of it to rabbi *Shiabour* or *Sapor XV.* though he only founded the academy of it (39).

(E) He is pretended to be lineally descended from king *David*, and as such bore the lion in his arms, as did all the kings of *Judah*, pursuant to *Jacob's* prophecy concerning that tribe (40). But what hath rendered him still more famous, was the number and variety of his writings, such as his treatise on buying or selling, pledges, wages, and on the interpretation of dreams, which last was printed at *Venice*, among some other pieces of *R. Solomon Jarchi*, on the same subject (41), an. 1623. At *Amsterdam*, an.

(39) *Vid. D. Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. sub. c.* (40) *Vid. G. n. xlix. 9. See also Anc. Hist. vol. vii. p. 450. & seq. (P).* (41) *Bartoloc. Bibl. Rabbim, vol. ii. p. 387.*

He is said to have been the last, as well as the greatest, of all the *Gaons*, or sublimes, and to have presided at that academy

1636, and 1642. And at *Wetmerdorff*, with the *Shahare Zion*, or *Gates of Sion*, an. 1690 (42). His book intitled *Misphete Shebugboth*, or judgments on oaths, in 20 sections, printed at *Venice*, an. 1602, in which those on buying and selling, above-mentioned, were likewise printed there. His poetic treatise, intitled *Mussar Hajbekel*, or on the forming of the understanding, printed at *Paris*, an. 1562, and at *Venice*, an. 1579. His *Pirush Shemoth* 42 and 72, or an exposition of the names of God, written with 42 and with 72 letters (43). And lastly his questions on the book called *Yezzirah*, or a treatise of the formation, is remarkable for shewing the manner in which the great name of God was anciently written at *Jerusalem*; which being somewhat curious and uncommon we have here subjoined (44).



We shall forbear inserting the conjectures which some learned Christians have drawn from the triplicate number of o's or circles, which they think to have been meant to signify so many lights, implying thereby the mystery of the three persons in the Godhead. *R. Hay* was a

great cabbalist, and hath not only explained the terms of that art, but his treatise of the voice of God, with power, is full of cabbalistical principles. His reputation was so great among those of his nation, that they flocked to him from all parts, to consult and hear him; and he was chosen chief of the academy of *Pundebita*, as well as of that of *Pherutz-shiaboor*, in which last he had succeeded his father, from the 29th year of his age. There is even some probability that he was chosen likewise chief of the captivity, during his father's life-time; but they both did, by some means, so exasperate those of their nation, that they fell into disgrace sometime after under the khali-phat of *Al-Kader*, who being come to the crown, † raised a kind of persecution against the *Jews*, for having taken too great advantage of the civil discords that then reigned, and had assumed greater privileges than they had a right to claim. Among them *Sherira*, and his son *Hai*, were accused of having raised their authority beyond its due bounds, and condemned to be stripped of all their wealth, dignities, and privileges. The former, who was then near 100 years of age, was apprehended and imprisoned, but the latter had the good luck to escape, and soon after to be restored to his academy, over which he presided till the year 1037 (45).

(42) *Vid. Wolf Bihl Hæbr.* p. 345.

(43) *Vid. Naflos Chochmah*, p. 195, & *Wolf*, ub. sup. (44) *De hoc aut. vid. plur. in Gantz Tzemach David ad An. M. 4757, seu Cbr. 997. Sepher Yuchasin*, p. 12c. *Shalheleth Hakkabalab*, p. 37.

† *De hoc vid. vol. iii. p. 120, & seq.*

(45) *Gantz*, ub. sup. & *al. sup. citat.*

about 40 years. He died in the year 1037, and in the 69th of his age^{*}.

Jews per-
secuted.

His successor *Hezechias*, chief of the captivity, was more unfortunate under that Khalif, as well as the *Jews* under him; he being put to death with all his family, except two of his sons, who fled into *Spain*, by the time he had enjoyed that dignity about two years: after which the academies were ordered to be shut up, and the learned doctors obliged to retire into the west; whither they were followed by the rest of that nation, to avoid further persecution. A year or two before, that is, about the beginning of *Hezechias's* reign, happened that famed schism between the sons of *Asfer* and *Naphthali*, which is looked upon to have given birth to the first *Massorites*. They are at least the first grammarians that took upon them to revise and correct the sacred books (F). However that may be, the persecution,

The rise of
a new
schism.

^{*} GANTZ *ibid.* sub. A. M. 4797. *Juchas*. p. 125. *Shalshel*. *Hakkabal*. p. 37. BARTOLOC. WOLF, HOTTINGER *Hist. Eccl.* N. T. § xi. p. 495.

(F) They were called *Moses* and *Aaron*; and as to their styling themselves the sons of *Asfer* and *Naphthali*, that was the name of their tribe, and not of their parents. *Aaron* hath been supposed by some critics (46) to have been a native of *Tiberias*, because that academy, over which he presided, took his part against *Moses*, and his eastern followers, who preferred the corrections of his antagonists. It were lost labour to enquire after his native country, but it is plain, from the *Jewish* historians, that he taught in the east, under *Hezechias*, from which, he might afterwards retire to *Tiberias*, on account of the persecution. And here it was that the doctors gave him the preference to *Moses*, as he had preferred that city and academy to all others, to take refuge in. However, the dispute

between him and his competitor, was not about the points, as *Cajellus* imagined, but about the terms of scripture.

A learned critic in those matters, who had examined the corrections of *Aaron*, both printed and in manuscript, makes very light of them (47), and thinks them posterior to the *Massorah*, and tho' new, yet too trifling, notwithstanding the noise which that division hath made, which is no more than common, most of the school disputes being of that nature. However, if he is right, it still shews the authority of the *Hebrew* to be the greater, and that the original text, had till then been so far preserved in its purity, as to stand in no great need of their correction.

That these two competitors flourished in the eleventh century, seems indisputable not

(46) *Capel. Arcan. Puzos.* (47) *Simon Hist. Crit. V. T.*

persecution, which was partly owing to the civil discords that then reigned among the Khalifs (of which we have spoke more fully in their history †) and partly to the jealousy which they conceived of the chief of the captivity †, and of their raising some revolt, proved so severe and violent, as to bring on not only the destruction of their family, the shutting up of all the academies, as we lately hinted, but likewise to oblige the rest *Expelled* of the *Jewish* nation to seek for refuge, some in the deserts *from the* of *Arabia*, and others in the provinces of the west. And *east*. here it is that most authors place the total extinction of the *Retire into* dignity of the princes of the captivity; tho' if we may believe Spain, the *Jewish* travellers, *Benjamin de Tudela*, and rabbi *Peta- &c.* *chiah*, who visited those parts in the 12th century, they still *End of* found one of those chiefs among the dispersed *Jews in Persia*, *their* who was called *Samuel*, and boasted himself lineally descend- *princes.* ed from the great prophet of that name; and for proof of it, produced a regular genealogy from the one quite down to the other; which, if true, proves, 1st. that those princes were not all of the lineage of *David*, as the *Jews* pretend: secondly, that they were not wholly abolished in the 11th century, tho' they must be supposed to have sunk much from their former splendor and authority, if they really enjoyed more than the bare name. And as for the academies, especially those of *Sora*, *Pundebita*, and *Pharutz-Shiboor*, it plainly appears that they were quite abolished from the year 1039; and if any schools were left in those parts that assumed the name of academies, they were too poor and obscure to deserve it (G). We have

† Vol. iii. p. 131, & seq. † SOLOMON, BEN VIRG. Sheveth Jehudah, p. 307.

only because they taught in the *Babylonish* academies, which were shut up soon after; but because the learned *Maimonides*, who flourished in *Egypt*, in the ensuing century, formed his own copies from that of *Ben Asher*, so that this last must have lived some years before him, seeing his corrections had been already approved in *Egypt*. And if those revisers are still more ancient, as is generally pretended, then are they the less to be charged with novelty (48).

(G) The Christians have

taken occasion from thence to triumph over the *Jews*, and to prove to them, from the prophecy of *Jacob* (49), that it is vain and absurd in them to expect the Messiah to come, seeing, by their own confession, the sceptre hath been so long departed from *Judah*, &c. And it is true indeed, that they have now no longer that pretence to invalidate the force of that noble prediction against them. But whoever considers it in its full extent and purport, as we have endeavoured to state it, in several parts of

(48) *Vid. Basnag. ubi. sup. l. ix. c. 4. § 11.*

(49) *Genes* 49, 10.

have now nothing more to mention of them in the east, except that short-lived persecution which they suffered in *Egypt*; under the reign of *Hakem*, who pretended to set up a new religion, opposite to all others, and which was that of the *Drusi*, little known to us, if it was not the same with that of the ancient *Druids*, but which he had blended with a vast number of the most extravagant and impious notions not worth repeating; which he affirmed to have had from the Deity. The vast number of disciples which he gained among the heathens, made him resolve to persecute the Christians and *Jews*, as the only ones that opposed his doctrine; the latter of whom he obliged to wear a mark of distinction, and ordered all their synagogues to be shut up, and them to be cudgelled into compliance: but as he was of an inconstant temper, he soon changed his mind, and restored them to their ancient liberty² before he died (H). But it is now high time to pass into the west.

Restored,
A. C.
1026.

Jews in
Spain in
the 10th
and 11th

WE begin with *Spain*, where the wars between the *Saracens* and the Christians, which reigned during the 10th century, gave them such time to breathe, that their schools were in a flourishing condition under the khalifats of *Abd-Allah* and

² See the *Kitab Almakid*, translated by M. DE LA CROIX, & D. HERBELOT *Bibl. Orient. sub voc.*

this work (50), will easily see that the good old patriarch could not mean by the words sceptre, and lawgiver, such princes as those chiefs of the captivity were, who, even in their most prosperous state, were at best mere tributary slaves to the princes under whom they lived, subject to their laws and capricious will, and liable to be deposed, imprisoned, or even put to death by them. And can we think that such an imaginary dignity, which was neither hereditary nor confined to the tribe of *Judah*, could be the sceptre and lawgiver there meant? But we have sufficiently proved, in the places last quoted out of this work, that they were long departed from them,

and shall dwell no longer upon it.

(H) *Hakim* was murdered by order of his sister, A. C. 1026, in the mountain of *Moccatam*, to which he was wont to repair every morning, under pretence of holding an intercourse with the deity. *Hamzab*, who had been his master, took the advantage of the privacy of the fact, to persuade his disciples, that he had only disappeared for a time, and would return again after a while; and the *Drusi*, his disciples, who are now masters of *Mount - Lebanon*, of *Berythus*, and some other cities in *Syria*, expect him as much as the *Jews* do their Messiah (1).

(50) See *Anc. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 217, & seq. (G) vol. x. p. 629. (1) D Herbelot *Bibl. Orient. p. 418. Kitab Almakid*, translated by Peter de la Croix.

Abd-Al-Ramah, the latter of which reigned above 50 years with *centuries*. great success, whilst the *Jews* grew numerous and wealthy, and abounded with learned doctors, both *Spaniards* and of other nations. Among the latter was the celebrated *Moses*, *Moses* surnamed *Clothed with sackcloth*, because, in his coming from Sack-the eastern countries, he had been taken by some corsairs, cloth and sold to the *Jews* of *Cordova*, who paid his ransom out of charity. *Moses* being still destitute of every thing, even of clothes to cover his nakedness, wrapped himself about with a sack, and in that despicable guise used daily to go and hide himself in some corner of the school, to hear their lectures. It was not long, however, before he gave them such pregnant proofs of his learning and merit, by his questions and answers, that the then professor yielded the chair to him of his own accord. He was soon after chosen chief of the nation with a considerable income: but his desire of returning to his native country was like to have deprived them of him, had not *Hakem*, the Khalif then reigning *, put a stop to his going, for some reasons of state, and retained him to explain the thalmud to the *Spanish Jews* (I), and to determine all their controversies. *Moses*, according to the *Jewish* style, A.C. 997. reigned with great credit and applause, till the year 997, and left the throne, or chair, to his son *Enoch*.

H A S H E R M, who succeeded his father *Hakem* at *Cor-Thalmud*
dowa, went still farther, and caused the thalmud to be trans-
lated into *Arabic*, whether out of curiosity to know what that *translated*
so much boasted book contained, or perhaps, rather to render *into Ara-*
it more common there, and so prevent the *Jews* frequently
going to *Bagdad* or *Jerusalem*. *R. Joseph*, one of *Moses*'s
disciples, was appointed to preside over the version, and suc-
ceeded so well in it, that it made him quite proud and ar-
rogant, so that he strenuously opposed the election of *Enoch* to
the chair. Nevertheless, *Enoch*'s party not only carried it

De hoc & preced. vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 339, & seq. & p. 483, & seq.

(I) That book was so little known at this time in *Spain*, it seems, that when any disputes arose among them, they used to send deputies to the *Babylonish* academies, to have them decided by their doctors. The very prayers which they used on the grand expiation-day, and other national fasts, had been composed by *R. Miffim*, one of the *Babylonish* chiefs. The Kha-

lif, who was an *Omniade*, and was apprehensive lest this frequent intercourse in the east, where the *Abassides*, his mortal enemies, reigned, should give rise to some dangerous change, put at once an end to it, by setting up this *Moses* for their oracle; by whom all disputes and controversies were decided without going farther.

against

R. Joseph against him, but caused him to be excommunicated; upon which he first applied to *Hasbeym*; but he refusing to meddle in the dispute, *Joseph* was forced to leave *Spain*, and took the road to *Bagdad*, in hopes to have been protected by the famed *R. Hay*, who was then chief there: but he also sent him word that he could not receive a man that had been excommunicated by the *Spanish* synagogue; so that he was obliged to retire to *Damascus*, where he died some years after, without being able to obtain a reversion of his sentence^a.

THE wars in *Spain* being still as violent during the 11th century, as they had been during the 10th, the *Jews* reaped no small benefit from it, during the first four years of it; in which *R. Samuel Levi*, being secretary and prime minister to the king of *Granada*, was by him created chief of the *Jewish* nation, and used all his credit to promote the interest and honour of it, and even to the sending for some of the most learned doctors from *Babylon*, *Afric*, and *Egypt*, to whom he was a very liberal benefactor. He had even the good fortune to see himself succeeded by his own son, in all his dignities, tho' his being a haughty and arrogant youth was no small grief to his father, who was particularly famed for his humility and sweetness of temper, even in his most prosperous state. But their tranquillity was soon disturbed, by an unexpected accident. And one rabbi *Halevi*, a learned and zealous *Jew*, having undertaken to convert the *Moslems* to the *Jewish* religion, to which the version of the thalmud into *Arabic* lately mentioned, was a great help, soon awoke the jealousy of the *Granadan* king, who could not but resent so bold an attempt, against the then established religion, by one that was barely tolerated. He therefore caused the *Jewish* rabbi to be apprehended and hanged; after which he began such a fierce persecution of that nation, that about 1500 families of them that lived within his dominions, felt the dreadful effects of it; which proved the more severe, as they were, by a long series of prosperity, become very wealthy and powerful^b; and because there was reason to fear that the other princes of *Spain* would have followed his example; nevertheless, they had the good luck to see it quickly stopt there, and without spreading itself out of that kingdom (K).

^a GANTZ, TZEMACH, p. 130. ^b SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 8.

(K) However as it was so violent whilst it lasted, the *Jews* took it into their head that God had caused that disaster to be bewailed a long time before-hand, because they had then kept a solemn fast all over *Spain*, on the 9th of *December*, the day on which this persecution afterwards began.

THEY

THEY would have undergone a more severe and destruc-
 tive one, under king *Ferdinand*, (who, at the instigation of his
 bigotted wife, was going to sanctify his war against the *Sara-*
cens by the extirpation of the *Jews*) had not the bishops, and
 even the pope, *Alexander II.* put a stop to his furious zeal, by
 publicly opposing and condemning it (L). But what most
 probably put them out of all danger from that monarch and
 his successor, was the revolution which the *Moors* caused in
Afric, by which *Alfonso*, distressed on every side, found him-
 self obliged to befriend and caress, instead of oppressing them,
 in order to make them serviceable to him with their purses and
 assistance. Accordingly, they were promoted by him to con-
 siderable posts, and obtained such other privileges, that pope
Gregory quite disapproved of them (M), tho' his censures could
 not prevail upon him to retract them. His grandson *Peter*
 was no less deaf to the remonstrances of *Nicholas de Valen-*
tia, who endeavoured to divert him from joining in the cru-
 sade or holy war, lately published; by representing to him
 that he had too many dangerous enemies in his bosom, mean-
 ing the *Jews*, to need to go so far to seek new ones. He

A. C.
1080.K. Peter
refuses to
persecute
them,A. C.
1096.

(L) That pontiff having been
 acknowledged in *Spain*, for the
 lawful pope, against his com-
 petitor *Honorius*, he wrote them
 a letter, in which he highly com-
 mends their laudable opposi-
 tion to *Ferdinand's* bloody design
 against the *Jews*, by which he
 was going to take away the
 lives of those to whom probably
 God might grant light and im-
 mortality. He condemns his
 zeal as furious and unchristian,
 and reminds him of the exam-
 ple of pope *Gregory* the great,
 who had strenuously opposed
 the like persecutions, and the
 pulling down of the *Jewish* sy-
 nagogues. He concludes with
 shewing them the difference be-
 tween the *Saracens*, against
 whom the prince was going to
 wage war, and who were perse-
 cutors, and the mortal enemies
 of the Christians and the *Jews*,

who were only a kind of slaves
 under them (2). It hath been que-
 stioned whether this letter was
 directed to the bishops of *France*
 or those of *Spain*; but the conti-
 nual wars which the *Spanish*
 monarchs were waging against
 the *Saracens* mentioned in it,
 sufficiently shews that it was di-
 rected by that pontiff to the bi-
 shops of *Spain*.

(M) One of them especially,
 that pope highly resented; viz.
 his setting up the *Jews* to be
 judges over the Christians, for
 which he upbraids him with
 having set up the synagogue of
 Satan above the church of
Christ (3). *Alfonso*, however,
 was too much intangled with
 his war, to listen to his reason-
 strances, so that he let the *Jews*
 enjoy their privileges and liber-
 ties, in spite of all the pontiff's
 orders to the contrary.

(2) *Alexand. II. Epist. xxxiv. p. 1183.* (3) *Greg. VII. Epist. i. lib. ix. Epist. ii. p. 277. Vid. Basnag ub. sup. lib. ix. c. 5.*

insisted in particular, that they hated the Christians to such a degree, that they never gave them any other than a *middling greeting*; (the reader may see the meaning of that obscure expression in the margin (N).) to which he added many other incentives equally ridiculous, to which the king, who was averse to persecution, only lent a deaf ear. However, this did not save the *Jews* from being massacred by the crusaders, in several other parts of *Spain*, by way of begging a blessing on their holy expedition.

*Men of
learning.*

NOTWITHSTANDING all these persecutions, *Spain* produced a great number of learned rabbies, during this 11th century, particularly the celebrated *Samuel Cophis*, a native of *Cordowa*, who published a commentary on the Pentateuch, the manuscript of which is still extant in the *Vatican* library. Those who have examined it, commend it as an excellent work, only too full of allegories. He died *A. C.* 1034. Soon after him flourished no less than five *Isaacs* at once, all of them famed for their writings, whose farther character and works the reader will find in the margin (O). But this in-crease

(N) He intimated by it, that when the *Jews* saw a Christian afar off coming towards them, they prayed to the gods and goddesses to destroy him: when he was come nigh enough to him, they wished him health and a long life: and when he was gone far enough out of hearing, they prayed to God that the earth might open and swallow him up, as it did *Corab* and his rebellious crew; or that the sea might overwhelm him, as it had done *Pharoab* (4).

(O) One of them was called *Isaac Alpbesi*, because he was come over from *Africa*, and out of the kingdom of *Fez*, into *Spain*, probably with the *Morabethons*, or, as *Marianna* calls them, *Almoravides*, who were descended from the *Arabian Homerites*, who became Christians in the reign of *Justinian*. The *Morabethons* hav-

ing conquered *Mauritania*, under their general *Abubekker*, his nephew *Joseph* extended his conquests as far as *Spain*, where his family reigned till the 12th century. And this *Isaac Alpbesi* may be supposed to have come thither about the same time, where he was looked upon as the most learned man of his age, and became chief of the captivity there. His epitaph which was wrote in hexameters, was to this purport: "Let it
" be engraved on this stone,
" that the light of the world is
" gone out, and that the foun-
" tain of wisdom is deposited
" within this tomb. Daughters
" of *Sion* come and weep; the
" world is buried and stricken
" with blindness; weep and sigh,
" for the ark and the tables of
" the law are broken in pieces
" with this doctor (5)."

Another was the son of *Ba-*

(4) *Sacm. Ben Virg.* p. 73. (5) *Ap. Dav. Gentm. lib. sup. p. 134.*

crease of learned men did not fail of increasing their old feuds *Feuds and* and quarrels, and still more between their disciples and them. *broils* For these having gained a taste of polite learning, wanted to dive still deeper into the arts and sciences, which their masters were no less desirous and careful to prevent. We have had frequent occasion, thro' the course of their history, to observe that they bred them up in a singular contempt for all kind of fo- *Prophane* reign learning; and we find, in the apostil to the text of the *learning* *Misbna*, a severe curse intailed on him that breeds up a boy, *condemned* and him that suffers his son to learn the *Greek* tongue; as if *by some* the one was equally impure as the other. But by this time we are now upon, they found it next to impossible to suppress either the knowledge of foreign tongues, or many of their studious disciples consequently from diving into their books, and conceiving a singular liking for polite literature: so that the professors now began to divide themselves on that account, some by endeavouring to suppress and condemn that prophane curiosity, others by restraining it within some limits, and a third sort, by giving it its full scope and liberty (P); and these last so far prevailed, that the young students began to apply themselves so closely to the study of the

ruch, who deduced his genealogy from *Baruch*, *Jeremiah's* secretary, and pretended that his family had passed into *Spain* at the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*. He was such a lover and master of the mathematics, that the king of *Granada* called him the Mathematician, and heard him read several lectures on that science at court. He continued in that country, greatly esteemed, till his death, which happened *an. 1007*, when he gave an ample proof of his repentance for having fallen out with the former *Ishac*, and having rejected all means of being reconciled to him: for, finding his death approaching, he sent his son to him to obtain his pardon; which the other, who was as near his latter end, readily granted, and, as a token of his sincerity, took care of that youth's education whilst he lived. The other

three were likewise men of learning, but of the same proud leaven, and so not worth dwelling longer upon.

(P) It was indeed in a manner impossible for them to prevent the learning of foreign tongues; for how could they that lived in *Egypt* avoid speaking *Greek*, those in the *Roman* empire *Latin*, those in *Spain* the *Saracen* or *Arabic*? Notwithstanding which, *R. Solomon*, who was professor at *Barcelona*, in this eleventh century, took upon him to excommunicate every *Jew* that should begin to learn *Greek* before he was 20 years of age, which, tho' a wide step from the rigidness of the Ancient law, proved so little satisfactory, that *R. Mar*, without minding his anathema, gave these young students a full liberty to learn both the languages and sciences.

mathematics and other sciences, that *Spain*, in a little time, produced a great number of learned men among them ^c.

Few
learned
in France.

R. Ger-
shom.

It proved far otherwise in *France*, where the scarcity of rabbies of any note was such, during these two centuries, that we do not read of above five or six that distinguished themselves for their learning. The most celebrated of them was *R. Gershom*, or *Gershom*, who, whether a native of *France*, or of *Mentz* in *Germany*, as most pretend, published there his book of constitutions, which, tho' it was a long time before it could meet with the approbation of the rest of the *Jewish* doctors, yet it was at length received as a body of excellent laws, about the year 1204, and its author dignified with the title of *Light of the French captivity* ^d. He is affirmed by some to have died *an.* 1028, and by others 40 years later. So that those who pretend that he flourished in the ninth century, are egregiously mistaken. He had some eminent disciples, whose characters and writings the reader will find in the margin (Q).

^c GANTZ & al. ub. sup. ^d Id. ibid. BARToloc. ub. sup. tom. iv. p. 69, & seq. WOLF Bibl. Hæbr. sub voc.

(Q) The most celebrated of them was *R. Jacob*, the son of *Jekar*, a great musician, and casuist, whose decisions are received with the greatest esteem, and cannot be rejected without incurring a crime. He is said to have flourished about the same time with his master; and to have died in the same year. The next was *R. Judah*, surnamed *Abercellonita*, who was a professor of laws at *Barcelona*, and wrote a treatise on the rights of women, and another on the various *Jewish* calculations of time; such as from the exod, from the first *Jewish* monarch, from the entry of *Alexander* into *Jerusalem*, &c. which last was followed down to the 10th century, when rabbi *Sherrab*, formerly mentioned, ob-

liged the *Jews* to reckon from the creation of the world †. *Judah* likewise published some sermons. The last worth mentioning, was *R. Moses Hadarsbian*, or *the Preacher*. These two last introduced preaching in their synagogues, which had been till then much neglected; but the latter seems by his title of *Preacher*, to have been the most admired, and was likewise the author of the *Bereishith Rabbah*, or large comment on *Genesis*, often quoted by Christians (6) against the *Jews*, and by us frequently in their preceding history. He died in the year 1070, and left behind him a no less celebrated disciple, viz. *Solomon Jarchi*, or *the Lunatic*, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention in this chapter.

† See before. p. 13, sub note. (6) Vid. int. al. Pet. GILATIN. v. c. l. viii. c. 11. & alib. pass. Raym. Fugio Fidei Mic. Neander & al. mult.

BUT among the rest of the French rabbies of this century, we must not omit the author of the pretended history of Joseph¹ *Joseph Ben Gorion*, whom, as we have elsewhere shewn, the Jews have substituted for the Greek historian of that name*. This Jewish impostor, to gain the greater credit with his readers, begins with giving himself out for a royal prince and priest of the Jewish nation, in whose person providence had united those two dignities, to war against their enemies. He calls himself the Joseph full of the spirit of wisdom and understanding, of counsel, fortitude, knowledge, and of the fear of the Lord; and who sacrificed his life to the defence of the sanctuary and people of God^c. He adds, that one of his soldiers, one day, cried aloud to him, thou art the man of God. Blessed be the God of Israel, who hath created the soul that animates thee, and hath endowed thee with such extraordinary wisdom! And when taken by the Romans, their army asked each other with tears, Is that the person so admired among the Jews, and so dreaded by the Romans? How is he caught, who was alone once able to inject terror into our army, and hath filled the universe with the fame of his valiant deeds? Titus himself was no less taken with his person and courage, and raised him above all the priests and Levites of his nation (R).

WE have already taken occasion to speak of his fabulous history, and the occasion of his imposing it on the world in an age so far remote from that in which he pretends to have wrote it, as well as of the time in which it began to be made known to the world, viz. A. C. 1140. His imposture hath however so well succeeded by his pirating from the Greek and original *Josephus*, such facts as were to his purpose, misrepresenting and adding such others as he pleased, and couching his history in the Hebrew tongue, whereby the Greek one became not only neglected but suspicious, and at length rejected as a forgery, by those of his nation. So that we need not wonder if the generality of them have since extolled it to

* See Anc. Hist. vol. x. p. 695, & (H). ^c Vid. LADISL. Decret. lib. i. c. 10. ap. VERBOCZ Corp. jur. Hungar.

(R) Thus much we thought necessary to mention to give a sketch of the modesty and eloquence of this Jewish braggadocio; in which we need not wonder that a man who designed to impose such a forgery on the world, should be so lavish of his breath in blowing his own trum-

pet; tho' we justly may, that so many of his own nation should be infatuated enough to join in the chorus, and raise his character and panegyric even beyond what he himself had done, as we have had occasion to shew at the beginning of this chapter.

the skies, and so many learned men among the Christians have been deceived by it. As to the fuller confutation of the author and his history, and the many falsehoods, contradictions, absurdities, &c. which plainly prove its forgery, we shall, for brevity's sake, refer our readers to the authors quoted in the margin ^f, and proceed with our *Jewish* history in other nations in *Europe*.

Jews in Hungary, A. C. 1092: WE begin to find them flourishing in *Hungary* towards the latter end of the 11th century, when St. *Ladislaus*, who then reigned, convened a synod, in which were made several regulations, such as if a *Jew* should marry, or, as the act words it, *sibi associaverit*, a Christian woman, or buy a Christian slave, they should be set at liberty, and the price given for them confiscated to the bishop ^g. His son *Coloman* being come to the throne, forbade them, by a new law, the using of Christian slaves, but permitted them to buy and cultivate lands, on condition they used no other but Pagan slaves, and settled only in such places as were under the jurisdiction of a bishop ^h. These two laws shew the *Jews* to have been numerous and powerful in that kingdom.

Success in Hungary and Bohemia. THEY were no less so in *Germany* and *Bohemia*, where they had built many stately synagogues, in most of their noted cities, particularly in the former, at *Treves*, *Cologne*, *Mentz*, and *Frankfort*. They had likewise settled themselves in the latter, ever since the 10th century, when they assisted the Christians against the irruptions of the barbarians, and for which they were allowed to have a synagogue there also (S).

They

^f COLOMAN. Reg. decr. lib. i. ad an. 1100 ap. VERBOCZ. ub. sup. p. 65. ^g JOSIPPON seu JOSEPH BEN GORION. Hist. Jud. libri sex p. 309. & 346. ^h De Mos. vid. BASNAG. Hist. des Juifs lib. ix. an. 6. pass.

(S) We are told however, that they were so much terrified by a variety of prodigies which seemed to threaten the destruction of the world, that having lost all hopes of the coming of the Messiah, they for the most part embraced Christianity. And indeed, if we may believe those historians, this eleventh century was remarkably pregnant with such wonders, and nothing so common as the then intercourse between this and the

other world; there being scarce a night in which there were not some travellers from the one to the other. Pope *Benedict XII.* was seen to come from thence, mounted on a black horse, to give notice of a bishop being cruelly tormented there, because all his alms had been the fruit of his extortions; and to advise his surviving brother to open the chests of his ill-gotten wealth, and distribute it to the poor. Others came to inform against

They underwent indeed, in several parts, some grievous persecutions from the zealots, such as those we have hinted under the last note; but the emperor *Henry* (not the Vth, as the *Jews* have mistaken it', but his father, who was then at variance with pope *Gregory* about some investitures) having declared himself for them, they were not only resettled in their ancient abodes, but had, by his orders, all the goods refunded which they had been plundered of. This occasioned fresh complaints and accusations, they being charged with having magnified their losses, in order to enrich themselves by a more plentiful restitution, which, if true, they did easily bear the scandal of, for the advantage they gained by it.

BUT what most contributed to kindle the heat and fury of the zealots against them, was the march of the crusaders thro' *Cologn, Mentz, Worms, Spire*, and other cities of Germany, where they committed fresh massacres in every one from *April* to *July*, on those that refused to be converted. The *Jewish* historians reckon but 5000 that were either butchered or drowned; and as to the number of those that saved themselves by dissembling, it was beyond compute^k; and they are so far from having exaggerated the particulars of that persecution, that the Christians make the number of the for-

*Protected
by the em-
peror,
A. C.
1096.*

*Massacred
by the cru-
saders,
A. C.
1094.*

Shalsheleth Hakkabalah, sub A. M. 4856. p. 110. * Id. ibid.

against whole monasteries of nuns, who were employed in making drawers for men, which made them burn with lust towards them. All which, and many more, passed for current in those times.

However, those prodigies had not converted such numbers of the *Jews*, but that there was still left a quantity sufficient to stir up the zeal of a priest named *Gotesal* against them, who at the head of 15000 banditti, committed the most horrid outrages against them, and was supported and encouraged in it by some of the crowned heads. He had already gone thro' *Franconia*, and was entered *Hungary*, when

they were caught plundering the Christians as well as the *Jews*, ravishing their wives, and giving themselves up to all kind of debaucheries: and he was surprised in the midst of them, and slain with the greatest part of his troops. (7) The landgrave of *Lininghen* having taken it in his head to follow his steps, and declare himself the persecutor of the *Jews*, had likewise made some havock among them, and penetrated as far as the *Hungarian* borders, when he was likewise surprised and defeated by the brave *Hungarians*, who were come to put a stop to his farther progress (8).

(7) *Mulin's Chron. German.* l. xv. & xvi. p. 125—126. (8) *Id. Ibid.* & *Pistor. Hist. Germ.* tom. iii. sub A. C. 1099.

mer much greater, and the manner of it even more dreadful ¹ (T): and as for the latter, they only made a shew of Christianity till the storm was over, and relapsed all into *Judaism* by the next year. The bishop of *Spires*, more humane than the rest, not only protected those that took refuge under him, but caused some of their persecutors to be hanged. The *Bavarian* annalists give us a still more dreadful account of those in their country ^m, of whom they tell us above 12,000 were slain; and all agree that the number of those that perished in other parts of *Germany* was almost infinite.

During
the second
crusade,
A. C.
1144,
& seq.

THIS was the first crusade; the next, which, was published 50 years after, might have proved no less violent against them, (it being promoted with great zeal and success along the *Rhine*, by the hermit *Rodolphus*, who was charged with the care of it: the common cry of the preachers being then, that they must exterminate all the enemies of *Christ* within their own territories, before they went to seek new ones in foreign parts) had not this pulpit eloquence alarmed them time enough to give them an opportunity of retiring to *Nuremberg*, and other principal cities, where they met with a kind reception and a protection from the emperor. It must be owned, however, that that hermit's persecuting doctrine was displeasing to many Christian bishops and others, and

¹ Vid. Addit. ad LAMBERT SCHAFFNABURG. PISTOR. Hist. Germ. tom. iii. ad. A. C. 1089. BERTHOLD. CONSTANT. Append. ad. Herm. ap. WÜRSTIS, tom. i. p. 375. Hist. Trevor. ap. DACHNER. specil. tom. xii. p. 236. ^m AVENTIN. Annal. Botor. lib. v. p. 361.

(T) These inform us that there were no less than 1400 burnt at *Mentz*, and that the disorder which happened on that occasion, was the cause of one half of that city being reduced to ashes. Those of *Worms* went to beg the bishop's protection, who refused to grant it, unless they turned Christians; and as the people were very eager, they gave them so little time to deliberate, that the most intimidated of them immediately accepted of bap-

tism; whilst others, more desperate, put an end to their own lives. Much the same was done at *Triers*, or *Treves*, where the very women, at the sight of the coming crusaders, murdered their own children; telling them that it was much better thus to dispatch and send them into *Abraham's* bosom, than to leave them to the mercy of the Christians. Others loading themselves with stones, flung themselves and them into the *Rhine* (9).^s

(9) Vid. Hist. Germ. & al. sup. citat.

that St. Bernard did in particular write a letter to the archbishop of *Mentz*, in which he highly condemned it, and was for having that fiery zealot sent back to his solitudeⁿ. Nevertheless, the flame was spread far and near by his trumpeters, not only in *Germany*, but in most other parts of *Europe*,^{by the emperor.} and vast multitudes were massacred by the Christians, besides a much greater number, if we may believe the *Jewish* chronologers; who being driven into despair by the cruelties they were made to undergo, made away with themselves^o. We are now come to the end of the 11th century, which was closed with those butcheries in most parts of *Europe*, and with a fuller account of which our readers will easily dispense, whilst we now take a view of their more peaceable and flourishing state in the east, during the 12th century.

THE author whom we have followed, and whose character Benjamin the reader will see in the margin (V), tells us that he found several of Tude-

ⁿ BERN. Epist. 133. tom. i. & seq. ^o GANTZ TZEMACH. p. 133.

(V) We shall, for want of a better guide, be chiefly obliged for the account of the *Jews*, during this 12th century, both in the east and west, to the noted traveller of their nation Benjamin, surnamed of Tudela, a city in *Navarre*, his native place, and often quoted in this chapter; who tells us that he had visited most of these parts. But we have had occasion before now to observe that he is, in the main, a very fabulous writer, and hath not scrupled to interlard his account with many absurd and incredible stories, to raise the credit of his nation. He hath even invented new countries, and mentioned kingdoms and cities, and places not then in being: and to others he ascribes many ridiculous particulars, scarce worth mentioning after him. We shall however, give our readers an in-

stance or two by way of sample to the rest, which we design to pass by.

Of this nature is what he tells us of the city of *Pethora*, the residence of *Balaam*, said by *Moses* to have been near the river *Euphrates* (10), and where our traveller tells us was still standing the tower in which he lived, and which had been built by his magic art; and the synagogue, pretended to have been built by *Ezra*, upon his leaving *Babylon* to return into *Judea*, with the rest of the captivity; as if that great *Jewish* leader would spend his time in building such places in *Babylon* for his brethren, when he was going to lead them thence back into their own land. Another of his synagogues he mentions in a city built by *Omar*, one of the first and most successful Khalifs, at the foot of Mount

(10) See Numb. xxii. & seq. See also Anc. Hist. vol. ii. p. 128. & seq. & notes.

la's cha- ral considerable synagogues, and a great number of *Jews*,
 radler and who lived there at their ease, and enjoyed the liberty of their
 travels. religion unmolessted P. That of *Bassorah*, mentioned in the
 last note, and situated in an island of the *Tygris*, had 4000
 Jews in *Jews*; that of *Almozal* answering to the ancient *Nineveh*, and
 the east. built of its old materials, had 7000 more. In this last he found
Zacheus, a prince descended from the house of *David*, and *Be-*
ron al Pherec, a famed astronomer, who associated himself as a
 kind of chaplain to king *Zin-Aldin* (W). Passing thro' *Rebo-*
both, in his way to *Bagdad*, he found 2000 settled there, and
 500 at *Karchemish*, famed for the defeat of *Pharaoh Necho*,
 and situate on the banks of the *Euphrates*. *Pundebita*, or as he
 writes it, *Pum-beditha*, once so famed, as we have seen, tho' much
 sunk from its pristine grandeur, and then named *Aliobari*, or *El-*
nebar, had still a few doctors, tho' almost forsaken, and about
 2000 *Jews*, some of whom applied themselves to the study of the
 Prince of law. It shewed still the tomb of *Bostenai*, a prince of the captivity,
 the capti- who had married a daughter of the king of *Persia*, and those of
 wity's tomb, and two celebrated doctors, and the two synagogues they had built

P ITINERAR. p. 59, & seq.

Ararat (11), where the ark rested, and with the remains of of which he built a stately mosque; as if those materials, supposing them to have lasted ever since the flood, could be fit for such an edifice. Besides, that city did not stand at the foot of *Ararat*, but on the mouth of the *Tigris*, and seems designed to prevent the *Persians* from sailing into *India* thro' the *Persie* gulph, and was called *Balsora*, or *Bassorah*. These are some of the absurdities with which he hath blended the relation we are speaking of, but which hinder not its giving us the best general idea of the state of the *Jewish* nation that can be had during this century. However, as the route which he took from *Europe* thither is contrary to the method

we have followed in this chapter, we shall stick to this last, and begin, as we have hitherto done, with the eastern parts, and those in particular there which lie along the *Euphrates*.

(W) It may seem strange that a *Jewish* astronomer should be chaplain to a *Mohammedan* prince, for such was *Zin-Aldin* above-mentioned, who was brother to *Nor-Aldin* king of *Syria*, whom the *Moslems* revered not only as a grand conqueror, but as one of their greatest saints. But if we consider how apt the generality of the *Jews* were to temporize, either thro' fear, or for their own interest, we shall not be surprized to find that great astronomer so compliable to the religion of his prince (12).

(11) *Itinerar. p. 59, & seq.* (12) *Vid. Basnag. nb. sup. l. ix. c. 8. § 4.*

before their death ⁹. The academy of *Sora*, once so famed for *other anti-* being the residence of several *Jewish* chiefs, of the lineage of *quities*.

David, as well as for the number of its scholars, and learned professors, had likewise lost most of its ancient glory; and the same he says also of that of *Nahardea*, whose schools were all demolished, and the doctors retired into the west (X). We have given an account of this desertion in speaking of the foregoing century; nevertheless, tho' those parts had now neither academies nor learned rabbies, the *Jews* were still very numerous there; and our author tells us he found no less than 10,000 of them at *Obkeray*; which city he pretends had been built by king *Jechoniab*, during the *Babylonian* captivity.

FROM thence he came to *Bagdad*, where *Mostanged* who *Jews* at then reigned, tho' but two years, was a great lover and fa- *Bagdad* vourer of the *Jews*, and had a great number of them in his *favoured*. service. He was perfectly well acquainted with the *Hebrew*, could readily write it, and had gained some knowledge of their law. There were however, not above 1000 *Jews* in that city, tho' some have enlarged it to many thousands, a thing very common among *Jewish* writers; but whatever their number might be, they had, he says, 28 synagogues, and ten tribunals or courts, at the head of which were ten of the most considerable of their nation, who applied themselves to the affairs of it, and were stiled the ten *Idle men*, over whom was the chief or prince of the captivity. The person who then enjoyed that dignity was stiled by them lord, and by the *Moslems*, the son of *David*, he being, according to our author, lineally descended from that holy monarch ¹. His authority extended itself over all the *Jews* under the dominion of the *Khalif*, prince of the faithful, and from the province of *Syria* quite eastward to the *Iron gates*, and as far as *India* (Y).

THE

⁹ Ibid p. 62, & seq.

¹ Ibid p. 72, & seq.

(X) This last was then only famed for a synagogue, which its superstitious inhabitants had built of stones, earth, and other materials brought from *Jerusalem* (13).

(Y) He farther tells us that this chief was looked upon as a kind of sovereign, to whom

even the *Mohammedans* were obliged to rise and bow as he passed, under the penalty of receiving 100 lashes. He had 100 guards that escorted him when he went to visit the *Khalif*, and a herald cried before him, *prepare the ways of the lord the son of David*. The most re-

Not independent
of the
monarchs.

THE *Jewish* rabbies who pretend that those eastern chiefs were independant of any other monarchs, and retained still the power of life and death, have left no stone unturned to prove that favourite point ; infomuch that *Origen* himself believed that those *Assyrian* monarchs under whom they lived, being contented with their subjection and dependence, allowed them to govern their people, according to their own laws, and to inflict even death on the guilty, and proved it not only from the apocryphal book of *Sufanna* against *Africanus*, but from more recent instances, under the *Roman* emperors, after the destruction of the temple by *Titus* *. He hath been followed by others both ancient and modern, who pretend they had a power to raise a tribute on the nation, and to punish the recusants as well as other criminals with death †. We shall not repeat here what we have formerly said on the subject of the sceptre departing from *Judah* * long before this time, nor on the unlikelihood that conquerors should grant such an extensive power to the conquered, notwithstanding

* Epist. ad African. p. 144. † Vid. int. al. Sulpit. Sever. Hist. lib. xi. c. 2. Drus. not. p. 279. * Anc. Hist. vol. x. p. 629.

remote places of the *Jewish* nation were obliged to receive their teachers from him, by the imposition of his hands. The *Jewish* merchants likewise levied a kind of toll in their fairs, and paid a sort of tribute to him ; the remotest provinces were wont to send him some sorts of refreshments and other presents ; besides all which, he had his own patrimony, and some lands allotted to him, to help him to keep up his grandeur, to supply his table, maintain the poor, and support some hospitals for his nation.

He was however obliged to buy this grandeur and his privileges, by a tribute paid to the *Khalif*, and by large presents, which he made to his officers ; which plainly shews, that if there was really a chief of the captivity still in being in this 12th century, and who still lived in

such splendor (though what we have said of the persecutions they underwent in the preceding century, would induce one to believe our *Jew* hath greatly exaggerated the matter, and hath rather described his state according to what he formerly was, when they enjoyed more peace and favour) yet was theirs but a borrowed or rather bought dignity, depending on the pleasure of the monarchs under whom they lived, and subject to such a tribute as they thought fit to impose upon them : so that the *Jews* have no great reason to boast of having still their princes of the house of *David*, and who still enjoy the regal dignity. But it is still more likely, that this dignity, small and dependant as it was, had been abolished in the preceding century, as we have already shewn.

the

the apocryphal story of *Sufanna*, and what he quotes from other authors. What we have said under the last note, is sufficient to *Their* confute all the rabinic pretences, since that power, let it extend *power* itself as far as it would, was still subject to a superior one, and *small and* liable to be taken away or continued according to the will of *limited*. the princes from whom they received it, by special commission under the royal signet, and so was but a precarious shadow of royal authority, which was either to be renewed by every successor upon his accession to the crown, or to become void of course. And therefore the more fair and impartial doctors of their nation have made no difficulty to give up that point (Z). Thus much we thought necessary to say concerning this pretended power of the *Babylonish* chief, we shall now follow our author thro' the other eastern provinces.

On his leaving that of *Bagdad*, he passed through *Resen*, Jews in where he tells us " he found near 5000 *Jews*, who were per- other east- forming their devotions in a large synagogue; and some *ern parts*. leagues farther about 1000 more, praying in an oratory, said to have been built by the prophet *Daniel*. *Hela*, another town about five miles from that, had four synagogues, and about 10,000 *Jews*. Proceeding still eastward, he arrived at the banks of the river *Chebar*, on which is the tomb of the *Tomb of* prophet *Ezekiel*, where he found 60 towers, every one of *Ezekiel* which was a synagogue, and not far from it the palace of *Je- revered* *choniah*, built by that *Jewish* monarch upon his being restored by *Evil-Merodach* *. The reader may see the account he gives of it in the margin (A). From thence he passed to *Cusa*,

* ITINER. p. 78, & seq. * 2 Kings xxv. 27, & seq.

(Z) This is evident not only from two of their greatest rabbies, viz. *D. Kimchi*, and *Abra-vanel*, who acknowledge the regal authority and judicial power had been abolished, but much more from the learned *Maimonides*, who hath fully proved the unlawfulness of inflicting any capital punishment in any other country but in *Judea*; so that these chiefs of the captivity must have looked upon it as a violence, should the *Khalifs*, or any other monarchs to whom they were subject, have obliged them to ex-

ert any such power, seeing there can be no sovereign tribunal, nor power of inflicting death, out of the land of *Judea*, as was hinted in a former note.

(A) This edifice which he tells us is so situate as to have a full view of the *Chebar* on one side, and of the *Euphrates* on the other; retains still the figures of that *Jewish* monarch, and of his retinue, at the end of which is the prophet *Ezekiel*, carved on the roof. But the tomb of that prophet was still more resorted to, as a place of devotion, to which even the princes

Account of
the Recha-
bitcs con-
futed.

Cufa, once the famed residence of the Khalifs*, but since abandoned, wherein, however, he found about 7000 of his own nation, who had but one synagogue. *Thema* was according to him the chief place where the *Rechabites*† were still seated, and who were, according to him, masters of a vast territory about it; but this, as well as several other particulars, which he there affirms, concerning the ten tribes transported thither by the kings of *Affyria*, and their different settlements, &c. hath been sufficiently confuted by Mr. *Basnage*, to which we refer our readers^x, and follow our author into *Egypt*.

Jews in
Egypt,

HERE he found the *Jews* still more numerous, as it was a country in which they had from the earliest times, before as well as after their total dispersion, been settled in great numbers. He reckoned no less than 30,000 in the city of *Ghouts*, on the frontiers of *Ethiopia*; 2000 he saw at *Mizraim*, now *Grand Cairo*, who had two synagogues, and were divided about some trivial points relating to the division and reading of the sacred books, one sort going thro' the whole lecture of them in one year, as they do in *Spain* and elsewhere; and the other only once in three years. In this city it was that the chief of all the *Egyptian* synagogues resided, ap-

* De hoc. vid. *Anc. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 104, & seq. † De his vid. *sup.* vol. iv. p. 136. (S). ^x *Hist. de Juifs*, lib. vii. c. 3. § 10, & seq.

princes of the captivity repaired every year, attended with a numerous retinue. It was likewise frequented and highly revered by the *Persians* and *Mohammedans*; so that during all their wars, no conqueror ever dared lay hands on it. Here hung over that prophet's tomb a lamp, which burned night and day, and was maintained by the chief, and his head counsellors. There is likewise a rich library in it, to which all the *Jews* who died without children, used to bequeath and send all their books; and among the rest they shewed the prototype of *Ezekiel's* prophecies written, as they pretend, with his own hands (14).

We omit several other antiquities and ruins which that author saw, and describes in these parts; such as the palace of the great *Nabuchadnezzar*, turned into a den of wild beasts; the furnace into which the three companions of *Daniel* were thrown, &c. which he says were there still to be seen; tho' those who have been there since give us a quite different notion of the place, as the reader may see by what we have said of it in a former part†. He tells us likewise of the magnificent tomb of *Jechoniah* at *Cusa*, which is more likely to have been that of some of the Khalifs or *Moslem* princes.

(14) *Itinerar. ab sup. & seq.* † *Vid. Anc. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 404, & seq.

pointed their doctors and took care of the affairs of the nation. Our author likewise visited the once famed land of *Goshen*, where, among other things, he found the *Jews* very numerous, in one places 200, in another 500, 300 in the city of *Goshen*, as many at *Alexandria*, and but a few at *Damiata*. ^{in Goshen.} The rest he represents as dispersed in all the other provinces and towns of *Egypt*, in great numbers, tho' vastly short of what they once were, when the single city of *Alexandria* was reckoned to have 100,000 of them (B). But what is most surprising is, that he makes no mention of any of their learned doctors, tho' there were then two celebrated ones that flourished there at the very time that he pretends to have travelled thro' it; viz. *Abi*, a learned rabbi of *Alexandria*, who wrote a treatise on the intelligences which move the heavens, and on the influence of the planets; and flourished about an. 1150. And the great *Maimonides* who lived about the same time at *Cairo*, and was in such repute there, that he was, and is still, reckoned the greatest man of that age and nation. We have had occasion to make frequent mention of him both in this chapter, and formerly in the *Jewish* history. The reader may see an account of his learned works in the next note (C). It must be owned how-
ever,

Y ITINERAR. p. 83, & seq.

(B) Our author hath not only mentioned here a city (that of *Cbouts*) which is not to be found in any other, and placed that of *Goshen*, capital of the canton, near that of *Alexandria*, contrary to the situation which the sacred writings give it, but speaks of *Joseph's* granaries as still to be seen at *Cairo*, and of *Aristotle's* celebrated academy, that was resorted to by the learned from all parts of the world (15); though the former have long ago been destroyed, and the latter was built not at *Alexandria*, nor in *Egypt*, but at *Athens*.

He hath likewise made a sad blunder in the account he gives

of the then reigning Khalif in *Egypt*, when he came thither; and hath added some other circumstances which cannot be reconciled either with each other, or with the history of that time: but as that is foreign to our present design, and would carry us beyond our bounds, we shall refer the curious to the author often quoted for the farther confutation of it (16).

(C) 1. *Pirush Hamishnah*, or a comment on that book, begun in *Spain*, in the 23d year of his age, and finished in the 30th in *Egypt*, and written originally in *Arabic*, in which language several copies are still found in

(15) *Ub. sup.* p. 115, & seq. (16) *Ibid.* p. 124, & seq. *P. d. Rasnag. ubi sup.* l. ix. c. 8. § 16, & seq.

ever, that excepting these two, *Egypt* hath not produced during these latter ages many men of note, we shall therefore leave

the *Vatican* and other public libraries; and since translated at different times, and by several hands into *Hebrew* (17). 2dly. *ʿad Cbazakab, il Mifsnah Hathora*, or the repetition of the law, and divided into four parts, and these into 14 books, which are still subdivided into various other titles.

The 1st part, Book I, contains the five following books, under the title of *Sepher Hamadab*, or book of knowledge. 1. *Tessode Hathorab*, or fundamentals of the law. 2. *Hadekoth*, or moral rules. 3. *Thalmud Hathorab*, or the study of the law. 4. *Harvodah Zarab*, or of idolatry. 5. *Hatbesubab*, or of repentance.

Book II. intitled *Sepher Abavab*, book of love, contains the six following; viz. 1. Of the reading of the sacred text of *Moses*. 2. Of prayers and the sacerdotal blessing. 3. Of phylacteries on the hands, forehead, &c. 4. Of the sacred peniculaments. 5. Of blessing and consecration of all things by prayer. 6. Of circumcision.

Book III. intitled *Zemanim*, of times, contains the 10 following; 1. Of the Sabbath. 2. Of mixtures on the Sabbath. 3. Of expiation-day. 4. Of common feasts, or intermediate days between the first and the last of the festivals. 5. Of laying aside all ferment. 6. Of the blowing of the horn or trumpet on stated days. 7. Of

the annual payment of the sicle. 8. The consecration of the new moons. 9. Of fasts. 10. Of the feast of *Purim* or *Lots*, prescribed in the book of *Esther*.

Part II. Book IV. intitled *Of Women*, treats, 1. Of marriages. 2. Of divorce. 3. Of the *Tibum Achim*, or brethren marrying the deceased brother's widow. 4. Of virgins deflowered by fraud or force. 5. Of adulteresses.

Book V. intitled *Of Holiness*, treats, 1. Of unlawful coition, incest, &c. 2. Of forbidden meats. 3. Of the due method of killing of beasts, &c.

Part III. Book VI. intitled *Of Separation*, treats, 1. Of oaths. 2. Of vows. 3. Of that of *Nazareal*. 4. Of the devoting of things and persons to sacred uses, and the estimate of their redemption.

Book VII. 1. Against mixtures of heterogeneous things. 2. Of the poor's gifts or portion to be set aside for them. 3. Of oblations. 4. Of first tithes. 5. Of second tythes. 6. Of first fruits and other offerings for the priests. 7. Of the 7th or jubilee year.

Book VIII. intitled *Of the sacred Ministry*, treats, 1. Of the temple or sanctuary. 2. Of the vessels used in it for the divine worship. 3. Of the going of the priests into the sanctuary. 4. Of things that were not to be offered. 5. Of the offering of sacrifices. 6. Of the daily

(17) Vid. Pocock, *post. Mos. Bartoloc. ub. sup. Wolf Biblioth. Hebræa. p. 837, & seq.*

leave it, and pass thence into *Palestine*, where we shall hardly find them in greater plenty.

OUR

and other sacrifices. 7. Of defective sacrifices. 8. Of those to be offered on the expiation-day. 9. Of transgressions in the eating of the sacrifices.

Book IX. intitled *Of Sacrifices, or Things offered*, treats, 1. Of that of the Passover. 2. Of the appearing before the Lord three times in the year. 3. Of the first-born. 4. Of transgression thro' ignorance. 5. Of those those that need not to be expiated by sacrifice. 6. Of the expiation sacrifice.

Book X. intitled *Of Purifications*, treats, 1. Of defilements received from dead bodies. 2. Of the red heifer. 3. Of the leprosy. 4. Of those defilements that pollute the beds, houses, &c. 5. Of the fathers or general heads of defilements. 6. Of defilement in eating. 7. Of the pollution or cleaning of vessels. 8. Of baths and washings.

Part IV. Book XI. intitled *Of Damages*, treats, 1. Of sundry kinds of damages to another's property. 2. Of thefts. 3. Of restoring that which is stolen or lost. 4. Of pledges. 5. Of manslaughter, and the preserving of the innocent man-slayer.

Book XII. intitled, *Of Possessions and Acquisitions*, treats, 1. Of buying and selling. 2. Of public acquisitions by hunting, fishing, &c. 3. Of neighbours, and the rights of neighbourhood. 4. Of the duty of messengers sent, and of their punishment for neglect, fraud, &c. and of the rights of society and commerce. 5. Of servants.

Book XIII. intitled, *Of Judgments, or sentences to be passed by the judges*, treats, 1. Of hiring and hire. 2. Of lending, pledging, and restoring. 3. Of mutual lending and borrowing. 4. Of the doer or guilty person. 5. Of inheritance.

Book XIV. intitled, *Of the Judges*, treats, 1. Of the *Sanhedrin* or grand council. 2. Of witnesses and their depositions. 3. Of recusants or rebellions. 4. Of mourning and mourners. 5. Of kings and war. These are the chief heads of that celebrated treatise *Jad Chazakab*, or *Strong Hand*, of which we thought proper to give this short scantling, that our *English* readers might frame an idea of his clear and exact method of treating and ranging each subject; all which he treats with such perspicuity, and strong reasoning, as is far above all that have gone before him, or indeed since. The reader may see a further account of this author and his books in *Wolf's* and *Bartolucci's Bibliotheca's*, whilst we content ourselves with just mentioning the titles of the rest of his works.

3. His third treatise is intitled *Moreh Nevokim*, or the director or expounder of perplexed texts or places of scripture.

4. His fourth is the *Sepher Hamitzvot*, the book of commandments, or an Exposition of the precepts of the *Mosaic* law, both positive and negative.

5. His Epistle or Discourse on the resurrection of the dead.

6. His Southern Epistle or Letter to the *Jews* inhabiting the

Jews at
Tyre.

Samari-
tans.

OUR author tells us that he found at *Tyre*, in his way thither, about 500 of his nation, some few of whom were well versed in the *Thalmud*. Most of the rest were employed in the glass manufacture, the *Tyrian* glass being then in great esteem. The *Samaritans* having abandoned their ancient capital, were retired some to *Casurca*, where he found about 200, and about 100 more at *Sichem*, which last was become the seat of their religion. The priests there boasted themselves lineally descended from *Aaron*, and never married out of their own family, that their succession might be preserved unmixed and untainted. They are very strict in solemnizing

the southern parts of the world, exhorting them to continue steadfast in the *Jewish* faith.

7. His letter to the doctors of *Marseilles* in *Provence*, which is a kind of answer or confutation of the common *Jewish* notion about the infallible influence of the stars, and of a *Jewish* impostor who called himself the messiah.

8. The epistles to the great light, that is to *Maimonides* himself, and written to him by the learned *Jewish* doctors of *France* and *Spain*, with his answers to them,

9. A set of sermons wrote by him, and mentioned in this treatise on the *Sanhedrin*, and by the author of the *Schulcheleth Hakkabalab*, p. 43.

10. His logic divided into 14 chapters, the MS of which is in the *Vatican* library.

11. His treatise on the preservation of health, dedicated to the king of *Egypt*, the MS in the *Bodleian* library.

12. His physical aphorisms, and other small treatises on diseases and their cures.

13. His garden of health, treating of animals, plants,

stones, and other products of the earth.

14. Some other physical treatises in *Arabic*, and mentioned by *Dr. Pocke*, senior.

15. His book of the knowledge of God, by the help of his creatures.

16. His treatise on the soul.

17. Comment on *Hippocrates*.

18. — on the law.

19. — on *Avicen*.

20. — on the *Gemarrab*.

21. *Pirke Moshe*, or physical extracts out of *Galen*.

22. Questions and answers concerning various customs.

23. Questions and answers on other subjects.

24. On the thirteen articles of faith.

25. His manuscript copy of the pentateuch, written with his own hand.

These are the most noted of his works. We omit some others of less moment, besides those which himself mentions in some of his treatises, but which are not now to be found. Those who desire to know more of him and his works, may consult among others, the authors quoted in the margin (18).

(18) *Bartoloc. & Wolf Biblioth. Rab. vol. I. & Sepher Schulcheleth Hakkabalab* p. 44. *Juchasit*, p. 131. *J. Boxtorpb p. asat. in Maim. Moreh Newchim. R. Clag-tering Dissert. de Maimon. & ejus Operibus. Houtsing. Thejsaur. Moris. Exercit. Bibl. Basnage Hist. ab. sup.*

their festivals, and offer up their sacrifices on *Mount Garizim*, where they pretend the altar was made of those very 12 stones which *Josbua* caused to be reared into an heap in the midst of *Jordan*, upon his miraculously passing that of river †. They are scrupulously strict in their washings, and the choice of their cloaths, and never wear those any-where else, in which they go to the synagogue.

JERUSALEM, tho' once the seat of the *Jewish* religion, Jews in and so much sighed after by the *Jews*, had scarcely 200 of *Jerusalem*, that nation in it, who were all woollen-dyers, and paid a certain tribute for being the only ones employed in that business. They were settled in one of the quarters of the city, under *David's tower*, and made but a mean figure in it, and from a false notion which goes among them, that there is still one of the walls of the sanctuary left standing, they commonly chose to go and offer up their prayers before it (D). Other cities of *Judea* were still more destitute of them, of whom he tells us, he found two in one, twenty in another, most of them dyers. That of *Shunam* had the most, that is, about 300. *Ascalon*, once one of the capitals of the *Philistines*, had 553, the greater part of whom were of the *Samaritan* sect, a few of them *Caraites*, and the rest *Thalmudists*.

UPPER Galilee, or as it was commonly called *Galilee of the in Upper Gentiles**, had a much greater number of them, and it was into *Galilee*. that province most of them retired after the destruction of *Jerusalem*; and where they afterwards founded the famed academy of *Tiberias*, often mentioned in this chapter; and yet our author found but 50 of them who had a synagogue, and the rest of the town hath nothing left worth notice, but its salubrious, or as the *Jews* always styled them, miraculous waters, of which we have formerly spoken†. However, ano-

† De hoc vid. *Anc. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 459. * *Ibid.* p. 454, & seq. † *Ibid.* vol. x. p. 522. (Z)

(D) Our author hath embellished his relation of this ruined metropolis with a description of several noble antiquities still to be seen there; tho' with as little truth as what is pretended of the wall; it being plain that the *Romans* demolished all before them, and, according to *Christ's* prediction, left not one stone upon another of that fa-

cred building. However, he tells of the stables of king *Solomon*, the tomb of *David*, and other antiquities of the same nature, not worth repeating after him; the reader may see all that is remaining of that ancient city and sepulchral monuments, in the description we have given of its ruined state in a former part †.

† See *Anc. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 446, & seq.

ther *Jewish* traveller², who was there about 25 or 30 years after, gives a quite different account of that academy and its doctors, whom he went thither to consult; and as it is hardly to be imagined either that it could have recovered itself in so short a time from the abject condition in which our author represents it, nor that this latter, who strives every-where else to raise the glory of his nation, should have any private motive to eclipse that of this city; so there can be no other way to reconcile those two travellers, but by supposing that it had undergone some severe change, just before our *Benjamin* came to it, occasioned by the incursions of the *Arabs*, who actually plundered and ravaged it sundry times, till *Soliman* caused its walls, which had been formerly demolished, to be built up again; upon which it began to be better inhabited both by *Jews* and *Turks* (E). However, as there was a synagogue then extant, and must be supposed to have had some doctors, even in *Benjamin's* time, there may have been some more come thither since, enough to verify what *Aben Ezra* says of them.

*Jews in
Greece.*

FROM *Palestine* our author passed into *Greece*, where he found about 200 *Jews*, who dwelt on and about *Mount Parnassus*, and lived on the product of it, which was chiefly pulse. They had some rabbies over them; but whatever be the reason, they have been since forbid to settle within some leagues of it. He found 300 of them at *Corinth*, and 2000 at *Thebes*, who were either dyers or silk-weavers. The rabbies in this last were so learned, that those only of *Constantinople* could equal them, tho' we can hear nothing of their productions in that kind. The two most learned of them were of the *Samaritan* sect. There were some more scattered here and there, some at *Lepanto*, others at *Patras*, and other parts of the *Turkish* empire, but were neither numerous nor wealthy, and as for learning, not to be compared to those that

*Some Sa-
maritans.*

² ABEN EZRA ap. Basnag. ub. sup. lib. ix. c. 8. § 25.

(E) Accordingly the author of a book, intitled *The Genealogies of the Just in the land of Israel* (19), who is much more modern than either of the former, assures us, that in his time this city had two kind of academies situate without its gates, the one small and the other larger. And *R. Judah Zona*, who embraced

christianity, and died at *Rome* about the middle of the 16th century, tells us that he had studied in one of them. We read of another at *Saphelah*, much more famous than either of the others, but which in all likelihood was not yet in being when *Benjamin* was there, since he takes no notice of it (20).

(19) *Vid. Basnag. ub. sup. l. ix. c. 8. § 25.* (20) *Id. ibid. & seq.*

flourished in the west, of whom we shall speak by-and-by. From *Greece* he took in his way to *Constantinople* the famed city of *Agripou*, where he found 200 *Jews* (F), and near the same number in two other cities mentioned in the last note, and still more unknown to us.

WHEN he came to *Constantinople*, he found about 2000 *Jews* at *Jews* settled in the quarter or suburb called *Galata*, or *Pera*, *Constantinople*. where we formerly took notice they had been settled by the emperor *Theodosius*, and where they lived still, and carried on the silk manufacture, and several of them were merchants. Besides these, there were about 500 *Caraites*, who nevertheless lived peaceably enough with the rest, though their quarter was divided from theirs by a wall, to prevent any communication between them. *Theodosius* had granted them the privilege of having a peculiar magistrate over them, viz. the governor of the suburb, but they were afterwards stripped of it by *Manuel Comnenus*, and made subject to the common magistrates. It is likely that he had already done so when our traveller came thither, since he tells us that they were hated and insulted both by *Turks* and *Greeks*, tho' that emperor had a physician of their nation, who made use of all his interest with him in their favour. He adds, that they were forbid to ride on horses thro' the streets of the city, and were commonly insulted and pelted by the populace, who often came also and broke forcibly into their houses, and committed such outrages among them, that they might be said to live under the hardest and most shameful slavery; notwithstanding which, they have still kept their settlement there, and the

Stripped of their privileges.

Hardly used.

(F) This city, which he says is situate on the sea, and frequented by merchants from all parts of the world, is supposed to be the ancient *Chalcis*, near the *Negropont*; but he mentions some others which he pretends to be of equal splendor and greatness, such as those which he calls *Jabaferiza* and *Rabennica*, in which he says he found a good number of his own nation, but which are not to be found in any maps, or in any other author. He likewise mentions that of *Selaucia*, where the *Jews* lived very quietly under the emperor *Manuel Com-*

nenus, who permitted them to have a chief of their own who should immediately depend on him; which invited great numbers of that nation to come and settle there, and carry on several trades and manufactures. This is somewhat different from the account he gives of that prince's treating those of *Constantinople*, as we shall see under the next paragraph: so that it is likely they must have been guilty of some misdemeanor in that metropolis, which occasioned their being more hardly used there.

quarter in which they still live, is by the *Franks* called from them the *Jewry*.

*Jews at
Rome,
Capua,
and other
parts of
Italy.*

FROM *Constantinople* our author passed into *Italy*, where the first thing he takes notice of, is the feuds and hostilities which reigned between the inhabitants of *Genoa*, *Pisa*, and other cities of that republic, on which account the *Jews* were but few in these parts; for whenever any such quarrels happened, let which ever side get the uppermost they were sure to be oppressed. He went thence to *Rome*, where he found them in greater numbers, and several learned rabbies among them, particularly *R. Jechiel*, who was superintendant of the pope's finances. *Capua* was no less famed for the number and learning of her doctors, tho' it had but 300 *Jews* in it; the chief, whom they styled the prince of the nation; tho' his authority did not extend even over all the *Jews* in *Italy*, if it did over any, except the *Capuans*. He found 500 at *Naples*, 200 at *Salerno*, and particularly in this last the learned *Solomon*, a priest, the *Grecian Eliah*, and *R. Abraham*, a native of *Narbonne*, who held the first rank. There were some others settled at *Majfi*, *Benevento*, *Ascoli*, and *Trani*, which last was the rendezvous for those who embarked for the pilgrimage of the *Holy Land*. The islands of *Sicily* and *Corfica* had likewise a good number of them, especially the former, where he found about 200 at *Messina*, and 500 at *Palermo*.

*In Ger-
many,
Bohemia,
&c.*

HE passed thence into *Germany*, where he found them not only more numerous, quiet, and peaceable, but likewise more zealous, devout, and hospitable to strangers, bemoaning the desolation of their city and temple, and in longing expectation of hearing the *Voice of the turtle-dove*, as they term it, by which they mean their glorious recall into that once happy land (G). He penetrated as far as *Bohemia*, which he tells us was then called *the new Canaan*, because the *Bohemians* sold their children to all the neighbouring nations. Thence passing over into *France*, by the way of *Barcelona* and *Girona*, where he says the

(G) That exposition is taken from the book of the canticles (21), and the *Jews*, especially in the northern parts, expect their recall to be sudden, and, as it were, in the twinkling of an eye, and therefore endeavoured to keep themselves in a proper mood for it: for they think that those who are either too impatient for, or mistrustful or careless about it, shall have no share either in that great blessing, nor in the more glorious one of the resurrection.

Jews were but thin, he came to *Varbonne*, where he found *300*, and at their head the famed *R. Calonymo*, said to be lineally descended from *David*, who was very powerful and wealthy, especially in lands, which had been bestowed on him and his ancestors on account of the signal services they had done to the lords of that country; that city was looked upon as the center of the *Jewish* religion and nation. *Montpelier* was then full of *Turks*, *Greeks*, Christians and *Jews*, who resorted thither from foreign parts. In the neighbourhood of it was *Lunel*, where was kept the *Holy Assembly*, which applied itself to the study of the divine law night and day. *Misbul-lam*, who then presided over it, had five sons equally learned, one especially, in the *thalmud*, and who fasted often; and here the strangers who came to learn, were maintained and supplied with every thing, at the public charge, that nothing might divert their attention to their studies. Our author found likewise *Jewish* synagogues at *Marseilles*, *Aries*, and other places, and not only in great cities, but in borough towns; and concludes his account with that of the city of *Paris*, where he found an assembly much given to the study of the law, and to hospitality, and received all the *Jews* who came thither as so many brethren (H). Before we conclude this 12th century, it will be necessary to give our readers a short account of some other *Jews* dispersed into other parts,

*The holy
assembly
of Lunel.*

*Assembly
at Paris.*

(H) By this account of our author, it is plain the *Jews* were very much dwindled in the east and west, both in number and wealth; especially along the *Euphrates*, where they had been formerly so populous, as to have been reckoned to amount to 900,000. They were still fewer and worse treated in *Judea*, by the crusaders; and tho' we have observed that they then refuged and spread themselves all over the west, yet by the small numbers which our author found in every place he came to, it is plain they could not amount to a very great bulk; and yet, one may safely say, that, by the tenor of

his whole relation, he has spared no pains to make them appear as considerable as he could in number, wealth, learning and figure. And it is no less a wonder that so many learned men as they had then amongst them, who applied themselves so closely to the study of the scriptures, and prophecies, should reap so little fruit from all their pains and study, and confirm themselves and their disciples in their unbelief, instead of finding out their fatal mistake, and acknowledging the Messiah to have been come, according to the time prefixed by Providence.

according to the relation which another rabbi of theirs, named *Petachiah*, hath left us of them (I).

R. Petachiah's account of them in Tartary, THE account he gives of those which he saw in *Tartary*, is that they were heretics, that is, that they did not observe the traditions of the fathers, and upon his asking them the reason why they did not, they answered, that they had never heard of any: they were, however, such strict observers of the Sabbath, that they cut the bread on *Friday* evening which they were to eat on that day: they hardly stirred from their seats all that day, eat their victuals in the dark, and knew of no other prayers but those which were contained in the book of Psalms.

Nineveh. WHEN he arrived at the *New Nineveh*, he found about six thousand *Jews* there, whose chiefs were called *David* and *Samuel*, two near relations, descended from *David*. All the *Jews* of that country were obliged to pay them a certain capitation, one half of which was to be conveyed to the lieutenant of the king of *Babylon*, and the other belonged to them. They had lands of their own, fields, gardens and vineyards, well cultivated. It was, it seems, here, as well as in *Persia*, *Damascus*, &c. the custom among them, not to maintain any fingers, but the chiefs, who kept at their table a number of doctors, obliged them, sometimes one, sometimes another, to perform that office. Their authority was so great, that they could punish strangers, as well as those of their nation, when, upon their pleading before them,

(I) This rabbi was born at *Ratisbon*, and travelled not only thro' most parts where *Benjamin* had been; but doth so exactly agree with him, as if they had copied each other; so that we shall forbear repeating from this what hath been said by the other, but take notice only of such facts or curious particulars, as are not mentioned by him.

He tells us he was at *Jerusalem*, when the crusaders were masters of it. It was in the year 1181 that *Godfrey of Bouillon* took it; so that he seems to have been on his travels much about the same with the time other. He did not however write the relation we are speaking of

(which is intituled *Peregrinatio Rabbi Petachia, R. Isaaci Albi, & R. Nachmanis, Ratisbona ortorum fratris; circuevit vero Rabbi Petachiah universas regiones ad fluvium usque Sambation, atque res omnes novas miralque a Deo editas quas intuitus est, audivitque memoriae causa consignavit literis, ut populo suo Israelitico notae fierent & in lucem protraherentur occulta*); but the two brothers there mentioned, are supposed to have compiled it from his memoirs, and what he had told them by word of mouth. Some name likewise a third author, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, who had also a hand in it; whereas *Benjamin* died an. 1173.

they

they were found in the wrong; and kept a prison for all such delinquents (K).

UPON his coming to *Bagdad* he found about 1000 *Jews* in *Bagdad*. settled there; but speaks of 2000 disciples under the chief of the synagogue, and all learned men. These sit on the ground whilst he teaches them from a high desk covered with a gold tissue; and every one hath a copy containing the twenty-four books of the sacred writ. The *Jewish* women go out veiled, and avoid speaking to strangers, either in the streets, or even at their homes. We shall only add, with respect to the chief here, to what we mentioned out of *Benjamin*, that, upon His at- the death of *Daniel*, who left no male successor, the *Jews*, count of the who had preserved the right of chusing their chief, divided chiefs. themselves, one party nominating *David*, and the other *Samuel*, to that dignity, both lineally descended from *David*; which division still subsisted when our author left *Bagdad*; where he adds, the *Jews* were treated with great mildness, and were exempt from any tribute to the king, and only paid a piece of gold to the chief of the synagogue (L). But they were

(K) Our rabbi tells us, that he fell sick during his stay at *Nineveh*, and was given over; and, to his greater grief, was informed, that the custom was to confiscate one half of the effects of those strangers that died there to the use of the governor. To avoid which, as he had very rich cloaths, and other wares, he caused himself to be carried over the *Tigris* in the night, on a hurdle made of reeds; and not only baulked the governor, but recovered his health, by breathing a purer air. As he sailed down that river, he saw synagogues in every city and town; and entered into the garden of one of the chiefs of one of them, which he found stored with all manner of fruits, not excepting the mandrake mentioned by *Moses* (22), and of which we

have given an account in a former volume (†).

(L) To show what our author is not behind-hand with *Benjamin*, or any of his brethren, in relating of miracles, we shall mention a remarkable one that happened here. The king, who had a great kindness for the *Jewish* chief, took it into his head to see the body of the prophet *Ezekiel*, which lies there buried in the stately tomb lately mentioned. *Samuel* as stiffly refused it, thinking it impious to expose sacred things to the view of the prophane. The king still insisting upon it, he told him, that it would be better to begin with the tomb of *Baruck*, the son of *Neriah*, who was the prophet's secretary, and lay buried near his master; whereupon the *Ismaelites*, who were employed

(22) *G. n. f. s.* xxx. 14.

(†) See *Anc. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 250 (Y).

Num. 6. *Jews in Persia.* were used with greater severity in *Persia* (where nevertheless they were computed to amount to 600000); for which reason he only ventured through one of the *Persian* cities. He went thence into *Judea*, of which he gives much the same account as his brother *Benjamin*, but adds, that he sought in vain for *Lot's* wife turned into a statue of salt, and believed that it was no longer in being. But we have taken notice in a former volume, that they had since found out a stump of it, which may in time, if it hath not already, be grown up to its pristine shape and bulk †. What he tells us about the sepulchre of *Abraham*, and of their having substituted another with three bodies in it, to deceive passengers, is rather too fabulous to deserve a place here: so that having now gone through the most material account of our two *Jewish* travellers, we shall supply the rest from other authors, with respect to some other countries and facts which they have passed by.

Jews prosecuted by the popes. We have already taken notice, that *St. Bernard*, who was a great enemy to the *Albigenses*, was as great a favourer of the *Jews*, and inclined the then pope *Innocent II.* on their

† See *Anc. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 424, & seq.

in opening his tomb, were all struck dead; for which reason that task was turned over to the *Jews*. These being obliged to obey, kept a three days fast before they ventured to open his tomb; and, upon their having done so, discovered his coffin and some of the cloaths; whereupon the king, thinking it wrong that two such saints should enrich one and the same place, ordered his corpse to be transplanted elsewhere; but upon having carried his coffin, which was of marble, about a mile from thence, it fixed itself in such a miraculous manner, that it could never be moved farther; and, the saint having moreover declared that to be the place where he designed to lie, they were obliged to let his bones rest there, since their miraculous

heaviness would not permit them to move them farther. He is no less eloquent in describing the marvels of the tomb of *Ezekiel*: but, instead of following him, we shall close this note with the order which is there observed in their synagogues.

It is not, it seems, allowed there to any-body to tune or sing the psalms and prayers, but to the persons appointed by the chief; to which the people only answer *Amen*. And of these, one of them begins the prayer, another the praises, &c.; and if any of them sings out of tune, the chief beckens to him with his hand, and makes him get into the right note. They are all obliged to pull off their shoes at their going into the synagogue, and to continue there barefoot during all the service.

side. What still more contributed to it was their approaching him with uncommon respect, as he was making his grand entrance into *Paris*, and presenting him with the roll or volume of their law; a ceremony which was used long before at *Rome* at the pope's installation, who, upon receiving it at their hands, returned them this answer, *I reverence the law given by God to Moses, but condemn your exposition of it, because you still expect the Messiah, whom the catholic church believes to be Christ, who liveth and reigneth with the Father and the Holy Ghost.* His successor *Alexander III.* became likewise a great protector of them, and forbade the people to affront them on their Sabbath and other festivals, or on any other occasions, as they had been wont to be; and under his protection they flourished to such a degree, that the little town of *Cozzi* in the *Milaneze*, the cities of *Monzza*, *Ricca Nova*, and others in the march of *Ancona*, produced great numbers of learned rabbies ^a.

A. C.
1146,
& seq.

THEY were no less powerful in *Spain*, where one of them, named *Joseph*, was prime minister to *Alphonso VIII.* and had a coach of state and guards attending him. He was however undetermined by one of his own creatures, named *Gonzales*, who, under pretence of filling that monarch's coffers, prevailed upon him to grant him eight of the principal *Jews* such as he should pitch upon, whom he accordingly caused to be beheaded, and confiscated their estates, part of which he gave to the king, and the rest he kept. He afterwards offered a much larger sum for the grant of twenty more; but *Alphonso* rather chose to confiscate their estates, in order to defray the charges of the war, without shedding their blood; and they were so glad to save their lives and liberty at any rate, that they poured immense sums into his treasury ^b. But what farther ingratiated them to him was his falling deeply in love with a beautiful young *Jewess*, to whom he sacrificed his honour and interest, and, for her sake, to her nation ^c; for the *Jews*, taking that advantage, were become so powerful and insolent, that the court and clergy became quite scandalized at it; and, at length, dissolved the charm by the death of the beloved object (M). The *Jews* however went on thrivingly, till the

Persecuted
in Spain
by king Al-
phonso,
A. C.
1170.

^a BARTOLOC, ub. sup. ^b SOLOM. BEN. virg p. 98 ^c MARIANA, de reb. Hisp. lib. xi. c. 18 & 19.

(M) They not only made away with the young charmer, but caused some spectre to appear to the king, and to preach chastity and repentance to him; and the defeat which the Moors gave

diffention between their doctors, mentioned in the last note, disturbed the union which had, till then, reigned among them. It was during this quiet interval, or perhaps a little before this time, that, according to the *Jewish* chronologers^d, 1140, copies came to be dispersed of the sacred *Hebrew* according to the manuscript of the celebrated *Hillel*, which had appeared some time before, at what year cannot be guessed, nor what became of it; but in which two verses were found wanting in the xviii chapter of the book of *Joshua* (N).

in France THE *Jews* did not fare so well in France, where they by Philip. were accused of the murder of St. William, and were con-

^d GANTZ TZEMACH, sub. an.

gave him at that time was cried up as a just punishment for his crime. However, the *Jews* flourished so well under him, that R. Eliakim, who was then in great esteem there, and composed his ritual of all the ceremonies used in every synagogue, commonly styled *the ritual of the universe*, reckons no less than twelve thousand *Jews* in the city of *Salido*.

They were no less considerable in *Andalusia*, where great numbers applied themselves closely to the study of divinity and other sciences, till they came at length to divide themselves into three different sects, which *Maimon*, who then flourished, hath given an account of; and looked upon this rupture as one of the sad consequences of the abolition of their sanhedrin (23). We refer our curious readers to the book for the farther particulars of it; and the sad effects which he ascribes to it.

(N) These were the 36th and 37th verses; which mention the four cities of refuge appointed in the tribe of *Reuben*; but which, being found in the book,

made *Grotius* imagine they had been since transplanted from thence into the text of *Joshua* above-mentioned, though without any foundation, seeing they are not only found there in the Septuagint, or *Greek* version, which is allowed to be more ancient than *Hillel's* manuscript; but likewise explain that text, by telling us that those towns were on this side *Jordan*, and on one side of *Jericho*. Is it not therefore more likely that they were either overlooked by *Hillel*, or by his transcribers, than that they were brought thither from the book of *Chronicles*? And if the tribe of *Reuben* was like the rest to have its cities of refuge, is it not more probable that *Joshua* should mention them, as he hath done the others, than that he should have omitted them? Since therefore all the *Hebrew* copies, Septuagint, and other versions, have those two verses, why should the single manuscript of *Hillel's*, or rather the copies of it, which are not of above 500 years standing, be deemed of more authority than them all?

demned to the flames for it^e, as they justly deserved, provided those only had suffered the punishment who had a share in the guilt. But that was seldom the case, at least the odium it brought upon the rest exposed them to the insults of the populace (O). At length king *Philip*, surnamed *the August*, under pretence of devotion, not only banished them out of the kingdom, but confiscated all their wealth, and only permitted them to sell their household goods, which yet they could get none to buy, insomuch that they were thereby reduced to the lowest misery, and great numbers forced to sink under it^f. This happened, according to some, *A. C.* 1170, *Recalled by* according to others, 1182 or 1186 (P). His zeal however soon *him.* gave

* ROB. DE MONTE, append. ad chron. Siegb. an. 1177.
 † GANTZ, ub. sup.

(O) Those of *Languedoc* in particular were obliged to redeem themselves from the most barbarous insults, which they were commonly exposed to, but more particularly on the *Easter* festival, by obtaining a treaty with the bishop of *Beziers*, by which he engaged to protect them, night and day, from *Palm-Sunday* to *Easter-day*, and to shut the church gate to any Christian that should break into their houses; and they to pay him a certain tribute yearly. This treaty, which was dated *A. C.* 1160, procured them some respite, till *Philip Augustus* banished them out of his dominions, as we are going to relate.

(P) This persecution doth not go without an excuse; for the author of that prince's life tells us (24), it was occasioned by their crucifying a youth at *Paris*, named *Richard*; which, he adds, was commonly done by that hated nation once a year. This is no new thing alleged

against them; and most of the persecutions they have undergone in this and the subsequent centuries hath been ascribed, either to some such crucifixion, to their stealing some consecrated wafer, and offering the vilest indignities to it, or to some such abominable crime, out of hatred to Christianity; which seldom failed of being discovered in such a miraculous manner as seemed to authorize the most cruel punishments they insisted on them.

Thus the *Richard* above-mentioned, being buried in a common church-yard, became so famed for his miracles, that they have made a martyr of him, and removed his body into the church of the *Innocents*, whence, we are told, the *English*, in the reign of *Charles V.* stole it away, and left nothing behind but his head. However, it was on account of this pretended crucifixion that they were condemned to that cruel banishment (25), from which, those

(24) Rigord. de gest. Phil. August. bist. Franc. tom. iv. p. 61. (25) Rob. de Monte, appen. ad chron. Siegb. an. 1180. Pistor. bist. German. tom. xi. Particul. tempor. ibid. tom. iii. p. 78. Bujnag. ub. sup. l. ix. c. 12. §. 16.

gave way to policy; and, whatever his private motive might be, he ordered them to be recalled; for which he was as highly blamed by the zealots as they had before applauded him; and for which he found no better excuse to silence their outcries, than by pretending he did it to extort more money from them to carry on the crusade.

Crucify a
Christian
youth,

A. C.
1193.

THEY returned accordingly in great numbers, though their stay proved but short; for being become numerous and insolent, as well as incorrigible, to use our author's words, in the matter of crucifying of Christian children, they assembled themselves, by the queen mother's permission, in a castle on the river *Seine*, where they crucified a youth, after having cruelly scourged and crowned him with thorns; which obliged the king to come thither in person, and to cause eighty of them to be burnt alive &c. But this did not save him from being blamed for recalling them, or the success which our king *Richard* had afterwards over him, from being looked upon as a just punishment upon him.

Jews in
England
obtain new
burying-
grounds,
A. C.
1179.

THOSE in *England*, who had been banished out of it ever since the year 1020, and had made loud complaints against the hardships they suffered by it, had since found means to settle themselves again in it; and were become so numerous in the reign of *Henry II.* that, having then but one burying ground in *London*, they petitioned that monarch to have some new ones, which were readily granted to them ^a (Q). But they underwent a most terrible punishment under his successor *Richard I.* when having ventured, contrary to the express prohibitions against it, to assist at his coronation, they were discovered, and overwhelmed with blows and dragged

^a ALBERIC. Trium Font. chronic. sub. A. C. 1182. F. DANIEL. hist. de Franc. tom. i. p. 1269, & seq. BASNAG. ub. sup. c. 12. §. 23, & seq. ^b POLYD. Virg. l. xiii. p. 236.

only saved themselves who embraced Christianity; after which their synagogues were turned into churches. *French* authors however differ much about the true motives of this banishment and recall, which we have no room to enter into a detail of; the reader may consult those quoted in the margin (26).

(Q) They represented to him, that they were forced to bring their dead from distant places, stinking and nauseous, to *London*, or leave them exposed without burial; which allegations were found so just, that they were allowed burying grounds in most towns where they were settled.

²⁶ Conf. auct. sup. citat. & Naucier. chron. gener. 4. tom. ii. sub A. C. 1182. Spand. sub. A. C. 1193. N. 9. Alberic. Trium Font. chronic. sub A. C. 1182 & 1182.

out of the church half-dead ; which so exasperated the pope, that they forced themselves into their houses, and killed all they met. From that metropolis the flame spread itself into the country ; and, though the government published a proclamation by the very next day after the coronation to suppress the fury of the people, yet the persecution lasted near that whole year (R), which was, according to most chronologists, the year 1189 or 1190¹ ; and with it we shall close this twelfth century.

BUT before we pass into the next, we shall, according to our promise a little higher, give a short account of the celebrated rabbies who flourished during that interval, it having, as we there hinted, produced a greater number of

¹ MATTH. PARIS, p. 108. TRIVEL. Chronic. gener. sub an. 1190.

(R) The occasion of this prohibition was a superstitious notion then reigning, that the Jews, being most of them conjurers, might by some means bewitch the new king ; to prevent which they were forbid, under the severest penalties, to assist either at his entry or coronation. But as several of them were come from far, and had put themselves to great charge, they were unwilling to lose their trouble and cost ; and, being unknown at court, thought they might easily disguise themselves, so as to escape being discovered. It proving otherwise, not only the court and city, but most towns where any Jews were found, took fire against and massacred great numbers of them.

They underwent a more severe persecution when the king lifted himself among the crusaders. They had indeed made sure of his favour, by the vast sums they furnished him with towards that expedition : but the people, not satisfied with it,

resolved to make a clearer ridance of them. They begun their bloody work at *Norwich*, *Stamford*, *Edgmont*, and other places, where they made a horrid slaughter among them. But the most dreadful was at *York*, where about 1500 of them had seized on the city, and, being overpowered, offered to capitulate, and to buy their lives by dint of money. Their proposal being rejected, one of the most desperate among them cried out, that it was better to die bravely for their law than to fall into the hands of the Christians ; upon which every one of them drew out his knife, and fell a butchering their wives and children. They then retired into the palace, which they set on fire, and were consumed in the flames ; whilst the people entered the city, and enriched themselves with the remainder of the plunder ; the king beholding the bloody effects of their fury without being able to put a stop to it (27).

(27) *Polyd. Virg. l. xiv. p. 248.* *Math. Paris, p. 111, & al.*

R. Nach-
man.

them than any before or since, especially as most of them have been often quoted through the course of the *Jewish* history. We begin with the learned rabbi *Nathan Ben Jehiel*, chief of the *Jewish* academy at *Rome* about the beginning of this century, and author of the book called ערוך, *Haruk*, wherein he explains all the terms of the thalmud in so copious a manner, that he hath in some measure exhausted that matter; insomuch that those who have come after, have rather plundered than improved him, particularly the great *Buxtorf*, who made frequent use of his remarks without quoting him (S).

Aben Ezra.

THE next in time, though superior in learning and merit, was the great *Aben Ezra*, or, as his name written at length imports, *Abraham Ben Meir Aben Ezra*, and surnamed, by way of excellence, *the Wise*, as he really was one of the most learned men of his age and nation. He had been a great traveller, and a diligent searcher after learning, was a good astronomer, philosopher, physician, poet, and critic, in which last he hath excelled all that went before him^k; and is chiefly admired by the Christians for his judicious explanations of the sacred books (T). He died, as he himself insinuated a little before

^k F. SIMON, Hist. crit. V. Test. lib. iii. c. 5. WOLF. Bibl. Hebr. N. 110. BASNAG. ub. sup. c. x. §. 3, & seq. SCHWAB. Bechinath Happerushim, p. 172, & al. mult.

(S) It is not agreed what family he was descended from, nor at what time he flourished, though it is commonly allowed as certain that he died at *Rome* about the year 1106 (28).

(T) He took a contrary way to the other rabbies, and, instead of hunting after traditional expositions and mystic interpretations, gave himself wholly to the grammatical and literal sense; which he hath investigated with such success and penetration, that the Christians justly prefer him to all the other *Jewish* expositors; though he

hath in some instances given himself a liberty which hath been justly blamed by both. It was he that first shewed the way to such of our critics, who maintain the notion we have confuted in a former part (†), that the *Israelites* did not cross the *Red Sea*, but made a turn round part of it at low water, that *Pharaoh* following them, might be caught and drowned by the succeeding tide. He had some smart disputes with the *Caraites*, whom he treats as *Sadducees*, for not receiving the traditions of the fathers; though he himself,

(28) *Juchasin*. p. 131. *Gantz Tzemach*, in *A. M.* 4866. *Wolf* Bibl. Hebr. N. 1727. *Basnag.* &c. (†) *See* *Anc. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 390, & seq. sub (P).

before his death, in the 75th year of his age, *A. C.* 1174 (V).

The reader will find a list of his works under the last note.

WE have in this century three famous rabbies of the name *Three* of *Levi*, or *Hallevi*. One born at *Cologne*, who, after many learned *Levi's*.

by his method of expounding the Scriptures, shews he was no scrupulous follower of the cabala, and perhaps had not a much better opinion of it than they; though he dared not own so much, for fear of bringing the partisans for it upon him, who were then very numerous and hot in its behalf: so that it is not unlikely, that he fell foul on the *Caraites*, merely to wipe off the imputation of being an anticabbalist.

(V) Upon finding his death approaching, he wrote, that as *Abraham* was come out of *Ur*, or fire of *Harar*, in the 75th year of his age, so he at that age came out of the *רוח*.

העולם, from the fire, or the anger of the world, changing only by the addition of a vowel the word *Charon* into *Charon* (29). This shews however, that he was not born before the year 1099, though several chronologers have placed his birth ten or more years sooner.

His works are; 1. A learned comment on all the books of the Old Testament, a work very much esteemed by all the learned for its usefulness, clearness, succinctness, and elegance, and for being free from the puerile dreams and fables of the *Jewish* writers. 2. *Sepher Sodoth Hatborah*, a treatise of the hidden secrets of the law.* 3. *Tesed Thorah*, the foundation of

the law. 4. A comment on the decalogue, since translated into *Latin* by *S. Munster* with notes.

5. A new comment on *Isaiah* and the minor prophets, revised and corrected by him. 6. *Ditto*, on Proverbs, the Canticles, *Ezher*, and the Lamentations. 7. His epistle on the Sabbath in rhiming verse. 8. Another poem, intituled, *הי בן מקיץ*, let

the wakeful son live; and treats of rewards and punishments. To which *Bartolacci* joins another, intituled, of the kingdom of Heaven. 9. *יסוד מורא*, the foundation of fear 10.

סוד השם. *Sepher Hasbem* on the *Tetragrammaton*, or name *Jehovah*. 11. Eight treatises on the

Hebrew grammar. 12. One on ethics. 13. One on logic. 14. A poem on the soul. 15. His beginning of wisdom, an astrological treatise divided into eight parts, and treating on the influence of the stars and planets, their motions, aspects, lucky and unlucky days; of algebra and geometry, arithmetic and astronomy, of the world, of embolimal years, of chances, and judicial astrology. 16. His excellent poem on the game of chess, translated by *Dr. Hyde*; and some others of lesser note. Those who want to know more of this excellent rabbi, may consult the authors quoted in the margin (30).

(29) *Salsbeletb. Hakbalab*. p. 41, & seq. *Gantz Tzemach*, & al. (30) *Id. ibid. Yuchasin*. p. 130, & 163. *Sebitard*, *Simon*, *Bartolocci*, & *Wolf*. & al. *sup. citat.*

conferences with the Christians, was baptized, and taught Latin under the name of *Herman*. 2. *Judah Hallevi* a good poet, and author of the dialogue intituled, *Chozar*, which we have had occasion to mention before. And 3. *Abraham Hallevi*, a learned rabbinist and cabalist, whom some make father-in-law, and others, first cousin, to *Aben Ezra*, and who was a most zealous antagonist against the *Caraites*, tho' far inferior to them in point of reasoning and judgment; so that, not being able to cope with them, he had recourse to king *Alphonso VII.* to whom he had done some signal services, and easily obtained an order from him to have all his adversaries silenced (W).

Maimonides's *defenders and opposers.* WE have already given an account of the great *Maimonides*, who flourished in this century, in speaking of the *Jews in Egypt*. His works, of which we have there given a short account of, particularly his *Moreh Nevochim*, soon raised him many admirers, but a much greater number of opponents; inasmuch that the synagogues, who took part for and against him, made no scruple to excommunicate each other. *Judah Alcharisi*, who then flourished, and was a great poet, undertook to translate his comments on the Mishnah, at the request of the *Marfilian* doctors, who did not understand *Arabic*, and gave that work the noblest encomiums. He likewise translated his *Moreh Nevochim*, on resolution of doubtful questions; but, though he likewise cried it up to the skies, *Maimonides* was not satisfied with it, but disapproved of the version. On the other hand, *R. Solomon*, then chief of the synagogue of *Montpelier*, finding that he spoke still plainer against the thalmudic decisions in his *Moreh Nevochim*, than he had done in the comment, lost all patience, and engaged all the doctors there, particularly *R. R. Jonah* and *David* who studied under him, to stand up in the defence of the thalmud against him, even to the burning of his books, and ex-

(W) This rabbi was born, *an.* 1140. An author of his nation (31), tells us, that he some way or other so exasperated that monarch against him, that he threatened to hang him if he did not turn Christian; and that he, still persisting in his religion, was really hanged. *Bartolucci* hath endeavoured to confute that story, by pretending, that

the *Spanish* monarchs never carried their persecution so far against recusants, but only against such as relapsed (32). But without examining how far that is true, *Hallevi* might have committed some other crime, which *Alphonso* might refuse to forgive him, unless he turned Christian, and caused him to be hanged upon his stiff refusal.

(31) *Solom. Ben. Virg. p. 7.* (32) *Bibl. Rab. tom. i. p. 21.*

communicating all that should read them, or apply themselves to the study of philosophy.

THE war thus declared against him and his followers, was however so far from deterring others from entering the lists in his behalf, that the doctors of *Narbonne*, with the great *Synagogues* *excommu-*
Joseph Kimchi at their head, not only stood up in his defence, but engaged all their brethren in *Spain* to do the *nicate each*
same (X). This war between the doctors of both nations lasted about forty years, and employed the most learned heads and pens on both sides; neither can it be said to have been effectually ended, seeing his works have been attacked and censured, from time to time, in the subsequent centuries by fresh doctors of all nations. However the schism which they had caused, was abolished, *an.* 1232. But it is time to speak of the other learned *Jews* that flourished in this 12th century ¹. *other about him.*

R. *KIMCHI* was the son of *Joseph Kimchi*, and, tho' *The three*
a hot zealot for *Maimonides*, was inferior to his father in *Kimchi's*
point of learning and reputation. This last was a bitter ene-

¹ CATEL. hist. d'Languedoc, lib. iv. BARTOL. WOLF. & BASNAG. ub. sup.

(X) *Narbonne* was then in the hands of the *Spaniards*, which therefore engaged all the rest of the *Spanish Jews* to take part with it, and to excommunicate the *Synagogues* of *Languedoc*, as those had done to theirs. They could not however bring them all over to their side; for that of *Pesairo*, a little town in *Old Castile*, had two learned doctors both of the name of *Abraham*, who wrote strenuously against him; the one, in contempt, treating him as a young fellow; and the other so effectually confuting him, that *Maimonides* was forced to own that he was the only man that had defeated him; though at the same time he forewarned him, in a kind of prophetic triumph, that he would not live to finish his work: which came to pass accordingly, for *Maimon* died in that very year.

Another learned antagonist was *R. Judah*, a physician and chief of the *Synagogue* of *Toledo*, whose zeal for the *Talmud* engaged him to join with the *French* against him, and against *R. Kimchi*, his most strenuous champion. He wrote accordingly with such force and fury against them, that *Kimchi* had no other way to silence him than by prevailing, by dint of caballing and interest, on the *Synagogues* of *Catalonia* to excommunicate those of *France* and their partizans; which obliged them at last to submit, to revoke all their decrees against those of *Spain*; and even to consent to erase what they had written upon *Maimonides's* monument of his being an excommunicate *.

* Vid. Bartol Wolf. & al. ub. sup.

my against the Christians; and suffered his zeal to transport him beyond all bounds, as one may see by his book of the wars of the Lord, and his treatise on faith and alliance with heretics, meaning the Christians (Y). His son *David*, of, as his name is commonly abridged, *Radak*, for *Rabbi David Kimchi*, was more learned than either of them (Z), and much more moderate towards the Christians. His works, which the reader may see an account of in the last note, are still very useful and esteemed, particularly his grammar and comment upon the Psalms, which have been translated into *Latin*, as well as some other of his commentaries, and inserted into the *Latin* Bibles of *Venice* and *Basil*. He had a brother named *Moses*, who was likewise a man of learning, and the author of a treatise, intituled, *The Garden of Delight*, which treated of the state of the soul, but hath never been printed. The manuscript of it is in the *Vatican* library ^m.

Solomon
Jarchi.

ANOTHER famed rabbi of this century, was the learned *Solomon Jarchi*, stiled by some the son of *Isaac*, and by others *Rasbi*, which is only an abbreviation of his name, a native of

^m BARTOL. ub. sup. tom. iv. WOLF. ub. sup. N. 495, & ali. sub. nom. GANTZ, ub. sup. sub an. 4950. Shalsheleth, sub. A. C. 1192.

(Y) There is some dispute whether he was of *French* or *Spanish* origin, which is occasioned by his son *R. David* being stiled provençal, dwelling at *Narbonne*; which city belongs now to the *French*, but did then to the *Spaniards*, as we observed in the last note. And this at once decides the controversy.

(Z) The *Jews*, alluding to his surname, affirm, that there can be no *Kemach*, meal without a *Kimchi*, or miller; meaning that there can be no true learning without him; and indeed there is hardly a better help to the *Hebrew* tongue than his grammar; which, though he took the greater part of it from an *Arabic* one, printed by one *Abul Valid Ma-*

rom, yet he so much improved and enlarged, that it appears a quite new work. It is intituled, *Miklol*, perfection (different from *Miklol Josephi*, or perfection of beauty, of *R. Solomon Ben Melek*), and consists of two parts, the one of which is the grammar, and the second a lexicon of all the *Hebrew* roots. His *עַת סוּפֵר*, or pen of a writer, is of the *Massoretic* kind, and commended by the learned *Elias Levita*. Some other treatises are likewise ascribed to him in the same way; but what he has been most famed for, is his comments upon most books of the Old Testament. He is likewise said to have written a version of them, all in *Spanish* (33).

(33) *Vid. Wolf. & al. sup. citat.*

Troyes in *Champagne*, who left it to travel into *Judea* and *Persia*, and upon his return, applied himself wholly to the study and teaching of the thalmud (A). His comment on the *Gemarrab* hath been so highly esteemed, that it hath gained him the title of *Prince of Commentators*; tho' his notes on the sacred books are so fraught with fables and thalmudic visions, that he is as much despised for it, as he is admired for the other. He died at *Treves*, in the 75th year of his age (B), and his corpse was carried to *Prague*, where his tomb is still to be seenⁿ. The Jews in general had many famed men in most sciences; such as *Kimchi* for grammar, *Judah Alcharisi*, *R. Hillevi*, *Joseph Hadajian*, of *Cordoua*, and *Aben Ezra* for poetry; the last named, and *Abraham Naffi*, for astronomy. It were endless to go thro' the names of their celebrated professors; we shall only mention one; viz. *Isaac*

His death,
A. C.
1180.

ⁿ Id. *ibid.* .

(A) His surname, *Jarchi*, which we have elsewhere observed, signifies *Lunatic*, hath been variously canvassed, some deriving it from the city of *Lunel* in *Languedoc*, where was an academy, which hath been rendered famous by his professorship; others from that of *Luna* in *Italy*. We have likewise seen that name given to the celebrated *R. Samuel*, on account of their great skill in astronomy †. It were therefore vain to hunt after uncertain etymologies, even tho' the subject were of greater moment than this. To come therefore to something better worth knowing;

His method of teaching and disputing was somewhat singular. He had made, during his travels, a collection of the most difficult points he had met with, together with their decisions by the learned. Upon his return, he went and visited all the academies and schools, and disput-

ed about them; and upon his going away, threw down a quire, in which those decisions were written, without the name of any author; and those quires were carefully collected everywhere, and amounted to a prodigious number; and it was by the help of those that the gloss on the thalmud is said to have been compiled.

(B) He left three daughters, whom he married to as many learned doctors; the most famed of whom was *R. Meir*, who helped to collect the scattered quires of his father in-law, and to compile the gloss above-mentioned, from them. *Jarchi* had some grandsons likewise, who assisted him in it; viz. *Jaacob* of *Orleans*, commonly called *Rath*, and *R. Thom*, likewise surnamed *Rath*. The former died in *Champagne*, and the other was murdered an. 1190, and his writings were destroyed with him (34).

(†) See before, p. 160. (34) *Gantz*, *Sba*, *Seletb*, &c.

Jews sam-Hazaken, or the elder, who had sixty disciples so skilled in *ed on other the Gemarrab*, that they could *extempore* dispute on any point *accounts*. that was proposed to them out of it, and deduce arguments *pro* and *con* from it. One of these disciples was the famed *Judah of Paris*, who became very famous in the following century^o.

J. Ger- *THOSE of Germany* made themselves remarkable rather
many for their piety, miracles, and prophecies, than for their learn-
gr at pro- ing; and, if we may believe their authors *R. Samuel*, who lived
phets and at *Vienna*, gained the title of prophet, on account of the many
miracle- oracles which he there delivered. His son *Judah*, surnamed
mongers. *the Pious*, was no less famous for the miracles attributed to
him, and fit only for a *Jewish* creed (C). This century like-
Judah the wise produced some learned women: and one of the *Jew-*
Pious, his wife travellers, mentioned a little higher, extols a daughter
miraculous of the chief of the captivity in the east, who was so learned
deliver- both in the law and in the thalmud, that she read lectures thro'
ance. the lattice of her window, to a great number of disciples, so
that they only heard without seeing her, and being in danger of
becoming enamoured with her, or she with them^p. We
have likewise seen in this chapter, some *Jews* in the highest
posts in the courts of several princes; others at the head
of armies, and exercising their several functions with great
applause. *Portugal*, amongst others, produced a most cele-
brated one, who not only raised himself, by dint of merit, to
the command of the army, but by his singular modesty, as
well as his valour and success, eluded all the cabals and in-
trigues of the *Portuguese* ministry against him (D). We might
here

^o GANTZ, & al. ub. sup. P Itinerar. R. PETACH, ap. WAGEN-
SEIL, in Sottah, p. 220.

(C) To give a sketch of it, *R. Gbedaliab*, in his *Shalsheletb* (35), tells us, that being overtaken in a narrow lane, at *Worms*, by a waggon, which must unavoidably have crushed him to death against the wall, the brutish waggoner driving on with all speed, in spite of his cries to stop; the wall gave way just in the place where he stood, and left room for the carriage to go on without hurting him. Others say it was *Judah's* mother who was

thus miraculously preserved, being then big with him. And the learned *Wagenseil* prefers this last relation, which he had from the mouths of some credible *Jews*, who shewed him the very spot; which hollow they pretend is still to be seen in the wall. *Worms* was then full of them, and no less pregnant of their miracles.

(D) This was the great *Dom. Solomon*, the son of *Jechaiab*, who was as great a philosopher

here mention likewise some of their learned, that forsook the *Converts* synagogue in this century, to turn either *Mohammedans* or *and apost-Christians*; but as that would carry us too far, we shall only *tates*. give an instance of each in the following note (E), and proceed to some more momentous transactions in it, *viz.* the several false Messiahs that appeared both in the east and west during this interval.

as general. His merit raised him to the dignity of field-master-general, *An. C. 1190*, which was then the highest post in the militia; in which he behaved so well, that he obtained the command of the whole army. His valour and success raised him very powerful enemies among the grandees, whom he overcame by his singular modesty; and not content with practising it himself, he inspired his nation with it; and having observed that their riding on horseback along the streets was displeasing to the *Portuguese*, he prevailed upon them to leave it off, as well as the wearing of silk garments.

(E) Of the first sort was the famed apostate *Samuel-Ben Jehudah*, or, as he is commonly called, *Asmonil*, a *Spaniard* by birth, and by profession a physician, who, to convince the *Moslems* of the sincerity of his conversion, wrote a book against the *Jews*, *an. 1174*, in which he charges them with having altered the law of *Moses*. This accusation was greedily swallowed by them, and is still to this day; inasmuch, that they forbid the quoting or translating any part of the Pentateuch according to the *Jewish* or *Christian* copies. They allege against

them, that there is not a word in them about the resurrection of the dead, the life to come, prayers, alms, &c. But, whether he furnished them with those objections out of hatred to them, or whether he did not rather mean by those alterations he charges the *Jews* with, the false interpretations of the *thalmudists*, we cannot affirm (36).

Of the latter or *Christian converts*, we shall only mention *Peter Alphonso*; which names were given him, the former, because he was baptised on St. *Peter's* festival, and the other by the king of that name, who was his godfather (37). He was a native of *Osea*, and professed *Judaism* till the 40th year of his age, and after his conversion was made physician to *Alphonso VII.* who was king of *Castile* and *Leon*, and died *an. 1108*. *Pedro* wrote some dialogues against the *Jews*, which are still preserved (38), and from which one may conclude he had more zeal than skill in that controversy, if he was not rather more influenced by worldly views than solid arguments; for from this instance one may see that there were no encouragements wanting to bring them over.

(36) *D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. sub. voc.* (37) *D'Aguirra, Bibliot. Hist. tom. iii. l. i. c. 3.* (38) *Alphonso. Dialog. titul. 2. & 3. ap. Biblioth. Patr. tom. xxi. p. 184, & seq.*

*False Mes-
sias.*

*First in
France.*

*A second in
Persia.*

A. C.

1138.

*A third in
France.*

A. C.

1157.

OF these authors reckon no less than nine or ten; so that the great number of their learned could neither hinder their impostures, nor the people's credulity. The first of these appeared in *France*, *An.* 1137. The place of his birth or manifestation is not mentioned by any author; only they tell us that *Lewis*, who was then on the throne, caused their synagogues to be pulled down, and the *Jewish* nation to be severely treated: from which we may conclude that he had imposed on a great part of his nation (F). In the following year another appeared in *Persia*, and drew such multitudes after him, that the king thought fit to oblige the rest of the *Jews* to summon him, and order him to lay down his arms; which they tried at first in vain, till he seemed moved at the sight of the multitudes of children, which the sorrowful mothers brought before him to excite his pity. He then proposed to that monarch, that he should pay him the charges of the war, and let him lead his troops away unmolested; which, to the wonder of the *Jews*, was agreed to, and the sum stipulated by the Messiah paid down, and the troops disbanded. But the king finding himself out of danger, obliged the disarmed *Jews* to reimburse him the money; and, as some add, caused the impostor's head to be struck off⁹.

MAIMONIDES mentions a third, which appeared in *Spain* about 15 years before he wrote, who brought a severe persecution on their nation. He was a native of *Cordoua*, and was supported in his imposture by one of the greatest rabbies in that city, who wrote a book to prove before-hand the nearness of his appearing by the stars. Our author adds, that the better and wiser sort looked upon the fellow as a madman; but as those are few, in comparison of the rest, they could not hinder his gaining credit among them, till his disappointment undeceived them¹. Ten years after that, another cheat proclaimed the coming of the Messiah within a year; and his prediction proving false, occasioned new troubles and perse-

⁹ SOLOM. BEN VIRG. ub. sup. 169. LENT de Pseudo Mess. Judeor. p. 36. MAIMON. Epist. de Reg. Aust. ap. Vurit. p. 294.

(F) *Maimonides*, who lived 30 years after, tells us, that the *French*, into whose hands he fell, put him to death, and with him the *holy assembly* (39). And another *Jewish* writer (40) complains, that on account of that impostor, they had pulled down a great number of synagogues in *France*.

(39) *Epist. de Austr. it. Reg. ap. Wurß. not. in Gantz Tasmach* p. 253 (40) *Solom. Ben Virg. ub. sup. p. 169.*

cutions against that credulous people. This was in the kingdom of Fez, where we are told ^{A. C. 1167.} there was another person who proclaimed himself the Messiah lately foretold (G). In the same year an *Arabian* set up there for the Messiah, and pretended to work miracles; tho' our author rather looked upon him as an enthusiast, who had more sincerity than judgment; and being consulted about him by the rest of the *Jews*, foretold to them the fatal consequence which his and their delusion would bring upon them. His advice, however, did not hinder vast multitudes from following that impostor, who was apprehended at the end of a year, and brought before the king; where being asked what had induced him to that imposture, he boldly replied, that he was sent by God; and as a proof of it, told that monarch, that if he would order his head to be cut off, he should see him rise immediately after. The king took him at his word, and ordered him to be beheaded (H); upon which the cheat was sufficiently discovered, and those who had been deluded by him, were grievously punished, and the nation condemned to very heavy fines. ^{Beheaded by his own desire.}

SOME time after a leper, who found himself cured in one night of his stubborn disease, took it into his head, from that supposed miracle, that he was the Messiah; upon which he went and proclaimed himself such beyond the *Euphrates*, and drew vast multitudes after him. The *Jewish* doctors, however, soon persuaded him and his followers, that this cure, miraculous as it seemed to be, was not a sufficient proof of his being the Messiah, and made them and him ashamed of their folly. But their appearing in arms on his account, had so exasperated the people, that they raised a fresh persecution against them; and one of their writers assures us ^{Jews persecuted on his account.}*, ten thousand

* SOLOM. BEN VIRG. ub. sup. p. 169. † MAIMON. Epist. ad Jud. in Massilia, ap. Wurst. ub. sup. p. 292. ‡ Id. ibid. § Id. Epist. de Austr. Region. ap. Wurt. p. 293. SOLOM. ub. sup. p. 169.

(G) According to this last author, one would be apt to think that those two cheats acted in concert. However, as *Maimonides*, who flourished at that time, mentions but one impostor, it is likely *Solomon* was either misinformed, or hath ill expressed his meaning.

(H) It is very probable that he made use of that stratagem

only to free himself from a more cruel death: but that did not hinder a great number of, his insatuated followers from hoping, that tho' he did not immediately rise from the dead, yet he would in some time after, to their no small disappointment, when they found themselves deceived and punished for their credulity.

of them, being quite tired with their sufferings on that account, forsook the *Jewish* religion, which hath rendered the memory of that impostor odious to the whole nation. A new and severe persecution was raised in *Persia*, an. 1174, on account of a seventh false Messiah, who had seduced some of the common people, by such strange tricks, that they looked upon him afterwards as a conjurer or a devil ^v.

An eighth
in Mora-
via.

AN eighth impostor set up for the Messiah in *Moravia*, viz. *David Almuffer*, who boasted that he had the power of rendering himself invisible whenever he pleased; and drew vast multitudes after him. To prevent the ill consequences of such concourses, the king sent to promise him his life, on condition that he surrendered himself into his hands. He did so; but that prince, instead of keeping his word with him, caused him to be slung into prison; from which, however, he soon escaped, by the help of his art. They tried in vain to pursue him: he disappeared when he pleased, and the king, who went after him in person, had the mortification to see him one while, without being able to reach him. Tired at length with following him, he summoned the *Jews*, who were then very numerous, to seize and deliver him up; which they at length, out of fear of a new persecution, performed, and he was again imprisoned. But whether his art was now exhausted, or some counter-charm was used against it, he could neither escape out of prison, nor out of the hands of the hangman (I) ^z.

Caught
and exe-
cuted.

A ninth,
named
Eldavid.

His cha-
racter and
success.

BUT the most famous of all, during this century, was *David Alroi*, or *Eldavid*, whom others commonly place in the year 1099 or 1200; but *Benjamin de Tudela*, who travelled an. 1173, speaks of him as having appeared 10 years before. He was a native of *Amaria*, which city contained about 1000 *Jews*, who paid tribute to the king of *Persia*; and was well versed not only in the thalmudic learning, but likewise in the *Chillean* magic, where he had picked out some strange secrets to delude the people by. He applied himself at first to the chief of the captivity, and to that of the synagogue of *Bagdad*, but chiefly prevailed on the *Jews* settled on the mountain called *Haphtan* to take up arms, after he had deluded them with some pretended miracles. The *Persian* king, alarm-

^v. Id. ibid. ^z Id. ibid.

(I) *Maimonides*, and *Solomon* above quoted, tell us of a ninth impostor, who, they say, lived in this 12th century, and in the

time of *Solomon* the son of *Adretti*; but take no notice either of his name, country, or good or ill success.

ed at this armament, and the progress it had made, sent him express orders to come immediately to court; promising him at the same time, that if he proved himself the Messiah, he would acknowledge him as a king sent from heaven. *Eldavid*, contrary to expectation, obeyed the summons, and assured the king that he was really the Messiah: upon which he was immediately clapt into prison, and was not to be acknowledged, till he had by some miracle extricated himself out of it. But whilst the king was deliberating what death to put him to, word was brought to him that the prisoner was fled. He dispatched several couriers after him; who upon their return, assured him that they had heard his voice, but had neither been able to see him or to lay hold on him. The king, suspecting them to have been corrupted, marched in person after him as far as the banks of the river *Gozan*, where he heard him call them fools, without seeing him. Soon after that, they perceived him dividing the waters of that river with his mantle, and crossing it. The king began to think indeed that he might be the Messiah; but was dissuaded from it by his officers, who assured him, that it was mere illusion; and so the army passed the river without seeing him.

Answer to the king of Persia.

Disappears,

and pursued in vain.

THE king wrote immediately upon it to the chiefs of the Jewish nation to deliver up *Eldavid* to him, under the penalty of being all massacred without mercy. This obliged the chief of the captivity to send a submissive letter to him, desiring him to deliver himself up, and save his nation from destruction: but the impostor only made a jest of it, and absolutely refused it. He continued his hostilities, till his father-in-law, being tempted with a promise of 10,000 crowns, invited him to a supper; and having plied him with wine, cut off his head, and sent it to the king (K). But *Zaid Aladin*, instead

Betrayed by his father-in-law.

(K) It is not unlikely that this *Eldavid* was the same with a *David Ben David* mentioned by an ancient chronicle (41), who was likewise a *Persian*, and appeared about the beginning of the 13th century. He is said to have been looked upon by the Jews as their king, and to have gathered a vast army of them under him. The chroni-

cle adds, that he had formed a design of coming from *Persia* to *Cologne* to meet three magicians who were to be there; and had already gone thro' some provinces, when he was forced to lead his army homewards again. What is there added about these three magicians, that they were to be of a gigantic stature, gives, indeed, the story the air

(41) *Fragm. Hist. an. Cbr. 1222, ap. Wurf. Hist. Germ. tom. ii. p. 89.*

Jews mas- instead of keeping his word, insisted upon having all those
sacred. *Jews* delivered up who had served with : which they en-
 deavouring to excuse themselves from, he caused a vast
 number of their nation to be butchered in his dominions*.
 And thus much may serve for the false Messiahs of this century :
 from which the reader may see the great propensity of the
Jews to run after every impostor that sets up for a deliverer,
 and to join with him in taking up arms, and committing all
 kinds of outrages and disasters against those whom they
 called their enemies, because held in subjection to them,
 whether Christians, *Turks*, or heathens ; and the necessity
 there was for every government under which they lived, to
 keep a watchful eye over them, and to enact wholesome laws,
 to keep them within due bounds ; especially as they betrayed no
 less surprising readiness, for the most part, when under persecu-
 tion or disgrace, to abandon their religion for any other offered
 to them, in order to save themselves from a present danger ;
 but which forced conversions made them only more invete-
 rate and revengeful against those that imposed them upon
 them, whenever any opportunity offered itself to throw off
 the disguise. So that nothing could be more impolitic and
 unnatural, than to oblige such men to redeem their lives and
 liberties at the expence of their religion. But it is time to pass
 on to the next century.

Decay of We shall here again be obliged to join the 13th and
the Jews 14th together, to avoid being frequently forced to break
during the off the thread of their history, and begin, as we have hi-
 13.*h* and thereto done, with those of the east, where we shall find
 14th cen- them strangely dwindled, both in number and figure, especi-
 turies. ally with respect either to their chiefs, their academies, or
 learned men, of whom we hardly find any mention With
 respect to the former, *R. Petathiah*, who travelled thither

* BEN VIRG. Hist. Jud. p. 162. Itinerar. MS. ap. Wagenf. in Sotah.

of a rabbinic fable ; but if we consider how credulous the *Ger-
 mans* were of such prodigies, and how eager and desirous they
 were to embrace every rumour of a Messiah, it is not improba-
 ble, that having heard of the conquest and progress of *Elda-
 vid* in *Persia*, they might give it out that he was coming

full speed to their deliverance, in order to inspire their brethren with hopes of seeing an end of their slavery, if not with some design to do the same in *Ger-
 many* which the other had done in *Persia* (42). So that *Eldavid* and *David* the son of *David* may be probably enough the same person.

about the latter end of the last century, tells us that they ^{Chiefs of} were still in being and authority ^b; but it is most likely the ^{the capti-} persecution lately mentioned, and which was not ended at ^{vity abo-} the beginning of this, had put an effectual end to them; since ^{listad.} which time their affairs have still gone from bad to worse. For soon after that *Nesser Ledinillah*, Khalif of *Bagdad*, and a very zealous *Mohammedan*, as well as a person of consummate avarice, grew jealous of the too great wealth of the *Jews*, as well as of their too eager zeal after every impostor that set up for a Messiah, raised an open persecution against them, and obliged all that would not turn *Mohammedans* to leave the *Babylonish* dominions ^c, upon which, one part marched away, and the rest chose to stay upon his terms (L). The wars that *Jews apos-* happened there since, under *Melek al Nassar* and his brother, ^{satize.} against *Holagu*, alias *Hulaku*, emperor of the *Tartars*, his killing those two princes, after the taking of *Bagdad*, helped to complete their ruin there †.

JUDEA was no less infested with the wars that raged ^{At peace in} between the Christians and *Saracens*; but that did not hinder ^{Judea.} the *Jews* from having some synagogues and learned rabbies in it. Here it was that the famed *R. Moses Nachmanides*, or as his name is commonly abbreviated, *Ramban*, retired, and built

^c D'HERBEL. Bibl. Orient. sub. voc. ABULPHARAG. Dynast. ix. p. 532. † De his vid. sup. vol. v. p. 156, & seq.

(L) Among those that staid was *Joseph* the son of *Jabiah*, a famed physician and mathematician, who chose to dissemble for a time, rather than expose himself to unavoidable misery. However, he took the first opportunity he could to turn his effects into money, and retired into *Egypt*, where *Maimonides* was still alive, and by his assistance corrected a system of astronomy, which he had brought with him; and after his death, retired to *Aleppo*, where he bought an estate, and married.

He died soon after there; and having, as we are told, made an engagement with an intimate friend, that he would come back from the other world to inform

him of the state of it, made him wait two years, and at length appeared to him. His friend, finding him very backward to disclose the secret to him, took him by the hand, and challenged his promise, but could get nothing more from him than this dark answer, "The universal hath reunited itself to the universal; and the particular to the particular (43)." This was, in all likelihood, only a dream of his friend, after having thought long and intensely upon their previous engagement; otherwise one would think it hardly worth the other's while to take so long a journey to make so inconsiderable a discovery.

R. Moses a synagogue (M), and became one of the most celebrated cabbalists that age produced. What made him leave his native country, where he was so esteemed and beloved, for *Judea*, then so torn with wars, is not easy to guess; unless he perhaps had made himself obnoxious to the *Spanish* clergy, by the conferences he had had with some friars, particularly that which was held before the king of *Arragon* and his court, *an.* 1263. The time of his death is likewise variously placed; by some, *an.* 1300; at which rate he must have lived 106 years; and by others 40 years sooner; tho' that is eight years before the author of *Juchasin* makes him to have finished his Exposition of the cabbalistical law. His other most considerable works may be seen in the next note (N). However, the *Jews* made no

retires into
Judea.

(M) He was born at *Gironna*, *an.* 1194, and at first studied chiefly physic, but made afterwards such progress in the study of the law, that he was styled the father of wisdom, the luminary and glory of the crown of holiness; and a sermon which he preached before the king of *Castile*, made him be looked upon as the father of eloquence. He at first seemed to have no opinion of the *Cabbalah*; but after he came to take a relish to it, he became so expert in it, that he could find every thing he wanted in the sacred books, particularly in the *Song of Moses*, and passed from the speculative to the *Hammabafith*, or active, or operative part of it (44).

(N) 1. A prayer on the ruin of the temple. 2. An epistle on the holiness of marriage, giving some rules how parents may beget honest children. 3. His garden of desire, another epistle, in the cabbalistical strain. 4. A third to his son, on moral subjects. 5. A fourth in defence of *Maimonides*. 6. The treasure

of life, a cabbalistical treatise. 7. On faith and trust, likewise cabbalistical. 8. His exposition of the law, in the same strain, and more subtil than the rest. 9. On redemption or deliverance from banishment. 10. His sermon before the king of *Castile* on the excellence of the divine law. 11. A treatise on purity. 12. New exposition on the treatise of *Bava Batra*. 13. On that of *Jatzirab*, or the creation. 14. On that of the wars of the Lord. 15. On that of *Maimonides*, called *Jad Chazakah*. 16. Orders of salvation, cabbalistical. 17. *Eden* the garden of the Lord, ditto. 18. *Jaaleb's* spring, ditto. 19. A comment on *Job*. 20. On some treatises of the *thalmud*. 21. A treatise on the end or coming of the Messiah. 22. On the pomegranate, cabbalistical. 23. Questions and answers. 24. The lily of secrets, a cabbalistical exposition by numbers. 25. The square table. 26. The law of man, or directions how he ought to behave in sickness, death, mourning, and expectation of a future life.

(44) *Barlebc. ub. sup. tom. iv. Wolf, Bibl. Hebr. n. 1612. p. 876, & seq. ante Tazmach, Skalsjelstch, Juchasin, &c.*

no great figure in *Palestine*, during this interval; and contented themselves with having the free use of their schools and synagogues; and *Nachmanides* was the only considerable doctor they had among them^d.

THEY did not fare much better in *Egypt*, where the invasion which St. *Lewis* made upon that kingdom, and the revolution that happened soon after under the *Mamlukes*, did not permit them to thrive either in wealth or learning; they being on the one hand excluded from having any share in public affairs, and on the other, had been obliged to set aside all thoughts of learning of any kind, insomuch that we read not of one Rabbi of any note among them. There was, indeed, one *Simeon Duran*, in some city of *Afric*, who published some works, which the reader may see in the margin (O); but he was neither *Egyptian* nor *African*, but a native of *Spain*, whence he had brought with him the comment of Rabbi *Alphez*, which he translated there; and he did not flourish till the latter end of the 14th century^e.

THE *Jews* about *Babylon*, as well as the dispersed of the ten tribes eastwards, had suffered much, as we hinted a little higher, from the invasion of the *Tartars*; but at length gained a considerable respite under Khan *Argun*†, by means of a *Jewish* physician named *Saaddodowlah*, a learned man, and agreeable companion, whom that prince made his prime minister. The Christian historians do him that justice, that he left them in quiet possession of what they had in that empire; but he made use of all the interest he had with his prince to promote the interest of his own nation, and procured them some considerable privileges. They did not enjoy them long, before *Argun* was taken dangerously ill, and died soon after; and *Saaddodowlah*, who was hated by the *Moslems* and *Arabs* for his kindness to the *Jews*, was accused by them of having poisoned him, and massacred for it; and after him a

R. Simcon

Duran.

A. C.

1391.

his works.

Saaddod-

dowlah,

favoured

by Ar-

gun,

A. C.

1291.

murdered.

1327.

^d De hoc vid. BARTOLOC. ub. sup. WOLF. Bibl. Hæbr. N. 1612. p. 876, & seq. ^e D'HERBELOT. Bibl. Orient. sub voc. † De hoc vid. sup. vol. v. p. 179.

27. His conference with a Dominican friar, mentioned above (45).

(O) Besides the version mentioned above, he compiled a chronological catalogue of all the ancient rabbies, intitled *Maghen Aboth*, the *Shield of the*

Fathers, another called *Ohef Mishpat*, the *Lover of Judgment*; and a third called *Mishpat Tzedek*, the *Judgment of Righteousness*, or *just Judgment* (46); which two last *Buxtorf* has blended into one, because they are commonly found bound together.

(45) *Id. ibid.* (46) *Bartol. ub. sup. tom. iv. p. 411.*

vast number of his nation^f. Notwithstanding which, they found means to settle themselves in the territories, and even in the court of the Moguls after *Argun's* death (P), by the next century. But as we read of neither academies nor learned men amongst them, we may conclude that they were more intent on their worldly interest.

Jews
peaceable
under the
Greeks.

It is probable likewise that they enjoyed the same tranquility in the *Grecian* empire, during these two centuries; at least we meet with nothing to the contrary. And what confirms us that they enjoyed there a full liberty of their religion, is, that the *Greek* writers of those times condemned the violence which the *Latins* exercised against them, in forcing them to be baptized, though themselves were the most forward to *judaize*^z. These reproaches were but too well founded, considering the cruel usage which the *Jews* met with from the crusaders, both in the west before they set out, and thro' every place of the east, where they came to; and that the pope and his clergy had revived several *Jewish* customs in the church, such as the eating of the paschal lamb, unleavened bread, and some others, which the reader may see in the author quoted in the margin^h.

Sad state
in the
west.

It is time now to take a view of the *Jewish* state in the western parts, where we shall find them no less oppressed than they were numerous and wealthy. For the latter seldom failed of exciting the jealousy of the clergy, and of producing the former. We begin with *Spain*, where they began to be persecuted from the very entrance of the 13th century, by the bishop of *Toledo*ⁱ, who beheld their increase in number and

^f Id. ibid. ^z Græci in Latinos ap. COTELER. Mon. Eccles. Græc. tom. iii. p. 99—501—504—506—515, ^h BASNAG. ub. sup. lib. ix. c. 17. § 15. ⁱ MARFANA ub. sup. tom. v. p. 487. CARROSO las excellencias, p. 373.

(P) At least we read in the life of *Abu Zaid*, who reigned at the beginning of that century, of a *Jew* who appeared at his court in great state and grandeur, and attended by a number of young pages, upon one of whom he leaned. A merry poet came and kneeled before him, and told him, that he saw the remains of the house of *Moses* carried by angels, and was come

to pay homage to it (47). But how they fared when the mogul's monarchy came to be divided into so many principalities, and torn with cruel wars, can only be guessed; they never being wanting to promote their own interest by money, and other kind offices among the contenders, and we do not hear of any persecutions raised against them.

wealth with a jealous eye, and stirred up the populace against them; and putting himself at their head, went and broke into their houses and synagogues, and plundered them (Q). The crusaders, who were then preparing for their expedition into the *Holy Land*^k, and were soon after to have their rendezvous near that city, completed what the prelate had begun, from a notion they took, that the destruction of those enemies of *Christ*, would undoubtedly obtain a blessing on their enterprise; and accordingly made such havock amongst them, that *Abraham* looks upon this persecution as one of the four severest ones that nation had ever suffered^l; inasmuch, that he reckons that a greater number of them went out of *Spain*, than that which *Moses* brought out of *Egypt*. The *Spanish* nobility did indeed interpose their authority to suppress the cruelties exercised against them; but king *Ferdinand*, who was then endeavouring to ingratiate himself with the zealots by the persecution of the *Albigenses*, and other heretics, encouraged the same against the *Jews*, as the worst of them all. It is, *The main* however, certain, that if the *Jews* will deal sincerely, *they cause of it* must attribute all these disasters to their shameful remissness, and open transgression of their law in several instances, which they acknowledge to be of the highest moment, and which the reader may see in the margin (R).

A. C.
1209.

1212.

THEY

* *MARIANA*, tom. xi. c. 22. p. 490. ^l In *Isaiah*, cap. 46.

(Q) His pretence for this persecution, which reached, however, no farther than their goods and liberty of conscience, was raised by that prelate on account of their having formerly betrayed the city of *Toledo* to the *Moors*. But that this was a false accusation appears both from the silence of all historians of that time, and much more so from the capitulation of the inhabitants, by which they were permitted either to leave the country, and take all their effects with them, or to stay and have the free use of their religion, on paying the same taxes they had paid to the *Goths*.

(R) It is plain that (in order to render themselves less odious

to the Christians, on account of their scrupulous observance of their *Mishnah*, (which, as we formerly have had occasion to shew, is with them of more than equal authority with the sacred books)* they had dispensed with many things which are there strictly commanded; particularly with respect to the tephilim, or phylacteries, which they are bound to wear on their heads and hands; and concerning the wearing, shape, and materials of them, there were no less than eight decisions given to them, as they word it, from *Mount Sinai*, among which that of their being of a *square form*, and sown with dried nerves, was esteemed very considerable.

* See before p. 134, sub. not.

Accused of
crucifying
a youth,
A. C.
1250.

Penna-
forte
strives to
convert
them,

THEY were since accused of an enormous crime, viz. of having stolen a young choirister of the cathedral of *Saragossa*, named *Dominick*, and having crucified him. The discovery is, by the legendaries of those times, ascribed to a miraculous light observed on the grave in which they had laid him, by the sea side; upon which he was taken up and fainted, and placed in that cathedral church ^m. The fact is backed with several other circumstances, almost as surprising ⁿ; but yet justly rejected as fabulous, by all but credulous bigots. However, we do not find that it produced any persecution; which is strange, if they really had been guilty of it; tho' it served to render them odious, and expose them to the insults of the populace; which so intimidated them, that it helped to forward their conversion, which was then carrying on with great zeal and success, if those authors may be credited. Among those that were most zealous for this blessed work, was the learned *Raymond Pennafort*, general of the *Dominicans*, who was then in high esteem with *James I.* king of *Aragon*, and his confessor, as well as minister with the pope. He had already, by his credit and address, suppressed the violence of the populace against them, and persuaded that prince, that the most

^m BEZOVIVS annal. ad an. 1250. ⁿ VINCENT BLASCO peristephan. *Aragon*, lib. iv. fol. 72. ^p TAMAIO Salazar Martyr Hisp. p. 625, & seq. ^q FASCICUL. temp. in Hist. Germ. tom. iii. fol. 18. WILLELM. MONACH. Veter. *Ævi*. Analect. & al.

And yet they had been so remiss in this and other particulars, both in *Spain* and *Portugal*, that their *German* brethren, always more scrupulous about these matters, were highly offended at it; insomuch, that *R. Baruc* came on purpose from *Germany*, about the beginning of the 13th century, to upbraid them with their shameful remissness and novelties. The small success he met with there, made him soon leave them, and pass from *Spain* into *Gandia*, and thence into *Judea* (48).

But another and more scandalous abuse had by that time been introduced among them,

viz. their intermarrying with strangers; and as those with Christians were so severely forbidden, many of them made no scruple to marry *Moorish* and *Saracen* women; insomuch that the famed *Moses Cozzi*, so named from the town of *Cozzo* in the *Milanese*, tho' a native of *Spain*, and one of the most learned and zealous rabbies of that age, thundered out his anathema's against that practice with such vehemence, that he persuaded many of them to put away their strange wives. At that time the city of *Toledo* had no less than 12,000 *Jews* settled in it.

(48) *R. Isaac de Garmisa*, an. 1236. *Bartoloc. ub. sup. tom. i. p. 695. V. p. 75 N. 1210.*

gentle were the most effectual means of converting them^o. Upon which several persons were pitched upon to learn the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* tongues, in order to fit themselves to dispute with and convince them of their errors by solid arguments (S). These did accordingly ply their study of those tongues, and of the sacred books so closely, that they easily discovered the errors and fables of the rabbies, and were able to beat them at their own weapons. Among other productions brought forth against them, one was the *Pugio Fidei*, attributed by some to our *Dominican* above-mentioned, tho' it did not appear till three years after his death, and was written by another monk of that order, named *Raymond Martini*, and only encouraged and promoted by *Pennaforte* (T).

A. C.
1255.R. Mar-
tino's Pu-
gio Fidei.

ABOUT

• Anonym. in Vit. R. Pennaforte.

(S) We are told, however, that he succeeded better against the *Moors*, of whom he is said to have converted above 10,000; whilst the *Jews* contented themselves with expressing a great regard for him, on account of his singular moderation, without betraying any inclination to turn Christians, tho' the king had published some edicts against them, which if not quite so bloody and severe as others have been, yet deprived the recusants of their ancient liberty.

Pennaforte hath not only been highly cried up for his zeal, but hath been likewise canonized for his miracles, one of which their legend tells us was, that not being longer able to bear the corruption of the *Spanish* court, he crossed the sea upon his clock, whilst his staff served him for a rudder †.

(T) Some have affirmed that he was originally a *Jew*, and after his conversion entered into that order, wherein he made so great a figure for his learning,

that he was chosen to hold that famed conference with *R. Nachmanides*, before king *Ferdinand*, which we mentioned under his name, and wherein they add he had so much the superiority, that he not only silenced that learned *Jew*, but obliged him, thro' shame of his defeat, to retire into *Judea*, as we there hinted. But in this they have done *Martini* more honour than he deserved, seeing he was not the person that held the dispute, in which he said but little, but another of his order named *Paul*; and is the only person mentioned in that king's edict, and was accordingly cited as such at another dispute held before pope *Benedict* III.

However, with respect to the conference above-mentioned, each side sung *victoria*. *Paul* obtained an edict from that monarch, enjoining the *Jews* to open the gates of their houses and synagogues to him, and to furnish him with all their *Hebrew* books whenever he came

† Anonym. in Penesfort. apud Basn. l. ix. c. 17. § 7.

Alphonso
X. encour-
ages the
Jews,
A. C
1255.

ABOUT the same time *Alphonso* X. king of *Castile*, and a celebrated astronomer, being then about compiling those tables which have since gone by his name, gave no small encouragement to the *Jewish* rabbies; many of whom he found well versed in that science, and who by that means easily insinuated themselves into his favour: Among them *Judah de Toledo* translated by his order the astronomical works of *Avicenna*, and improved them by a new division of the stars, which he di-

to dispute with them (49). On the other hand, our *Jewish* doctor (50), who published an account of that conference, pretends that the king was so well satisfied with their rabbi's conduct, that he gave him 300 crowns to defray his charges. He hath been since cried up and quoted by those of his nation, as a learned defender of the *Jewish* religion, and affirmed to have lived in great esteem at *Jerusalem*, and to have retired thither, merely on a religious account; tho' it appears plainly enough, even from their very account, that he made but a poor answer to his antagonist, about the time of the Messiah's coming, and that the only advantage he had against him, was owing to the absurd manner which that monk took to prove the Trinity of persons against him.

There is indeed some reason to suspect this relation, from several circumstances, to have been written, not by that rabbi, but by some *German Jew* some time after, there being several *German* idioms in it, which shew it could not be written by a native of *Gironna*. And even this conference made so little noise, that the pope above-mentioned,

who was a native of *Arragon*, had heard nothing of it, tho' the *Jews* represented it as so much in their favour, that he blamed the king for having permitted, and friar *Paul* for having held it. As to the *Pugio Fidei*, it hath been much cried up since it first appeared, as the best thing written against the *Jews*; but that was not till the last century, it having lain dormant till then (1). We shall not take upon us to pass a judgment on that work, from which *Porchetto*, *Galatino*, *N. de Lyra*, *Finus Ricci*, *Jerom de St. Fido*, and others among the *Roman Catholics*, and *Du Plessis de Mornay* among the *Protestants*, have drawn most of their *Jewish* learning, but in which there are several arguments against the *Jews* very jejune and inconclusive. As for the author, he was so well versed in the *Hebrew* and the *Jewish* books, that it hath given occasion to several learned men to think that he was a convert from the synagogue; tho' if he had been so, it is not likely that his *Jewish* antagonist *Nachmanides*, above-mentioned, would have forborn upbraiding him with it, in the relation he gave of their conference.

(49) *Codex leg. antiq. ap. Lindembrok, fol. 235.* (50) *Disp. Nachmanid. ap. Wügerfeld. tela ignea. Satanæ. tom. ii. p. 24, & seq.* (1) *Basnag. ub. sup. c. 1. § 9, & seq.*

vided into forty-eight constellations P. The most considerable *Some of* of the *Jews*, who assisted that prince in the compiling of *them great* his tables, were *Aben Raghel*, and *Alquibits de Toledo*, whom *astronomers* he killed his masters, *Aben Musio*, and *Mahomad de Sevilla*, *Joseph Ben Hali*, and *Jacob Abvena de Cordoua* (U). He likewise made use of them in some other cases, which the reader will see in the last note; and proved so generous a patron to them, that it excited the jealousy of the zealots, and put them upon hatching new plots and accusations against them. For it was probably about this time that three villains, of the city of *Orsana* in *Andalusia*, threw a dead corpse into the house of a *Jew*, and accused him of having murdered him: upon which the populace rose up and massacred a great number of them, whilst others went and took sanctuary in the houses of some Christians of their acquaintance. It was then the Passover, and they finding nothing there but leavened bread, which is forbidden during that whole solemnity †, many of them were like to have been starved, they chusing rather to fast than to break the law^q. The inhabitants of

*Massacred
at Orsana.*

P HIGUERA, *Hist. Toletan.* lib. xxi. c. 8. MS. & lib. xxii. c. 12. † De hoc vid. *Anq. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 24. ^q SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 78 ad 92.

(U) Besides those above-named, *Alphonso* sent for about 50 more learned men from *Gescony*, *Paris*, and other places, to translate the tables of *Ptolemy*, and to compile a more correct sett of them. All these great men were lodged in a palace near *Toledo*, which they made their observatory. The king himself presided over them; and in his absence, *Aben Raghel* and *Alquibitz*. They continued making their observations from *an.* 1258 to 1262 (2¹), and when their work was finished they were dismissed with the greatest tokens of his royal munificence.

He caused likewise a treatise to be published by them, intitled *Libro de las Armillas*, or a

treatise on circles, the manuscript of which is still preserved at *Sevil*. He made use likewise of some of the most famed astronomers, among which were some *Jewish* rabbies of the first class. It was finished in the 25th year of his reign, *an.* 1276.

About the same time flourished, in the kingdom of *Granada*, *Moses Ben Tibbon*, who translated *Euclid's Elements*. A *Jewish* writer (3) makes him to have been a professor at *Montpelier* when he wrote it; that is, according to him, *an.* 1330: tho' it is plain he lived in *Spain* in the reign of king *Alphonso*, that great encourager of learned men of all religions, about *A. C.* 1270 (4). -

(2) *Id. ibid.* (3) *R. Gh'ral. Shal'bel. Hakkabsl.* (4) *Gantz Tz mezb. An. sext. milliar. 30. seu Christi. 1270.*

At Palma. *Palma* likewise fell foul and killed many of them; upon which they sent to desire their brethren to send a deputation to court, to obtain the suppression of a massacre which was like to prove a general one. But the deputies were so closely pursued by their enemies, that they were forced to quit the highway, and shelter themselves in a wood, to avoid being murdered by the way; by which means these last were got to the court, and had laid their accusation, before they could reach it. *Joseph*, who was at the head of the deputation, and chief of the *Jewish* council, however, pleaded his cause so well, that he was admired by all the court, and the *Jewish* nation absolved from the pretended murder. But the king took occasion from thence to charge them with several other abuses, by which they made themselves justly odious to the Christians (W). Their accusers still insisted that the *Jew* should be put to the torture, to know whether he had committed the murder; but he escaped that punishment, by causing the tomb to be opened, out of which the body had been taken, and flung into that house.

*Acquitted
by the
king.*

AMONG those learned *Jews*, that flourished in the reign of king *Alphonso*, was the famed *Mithridas*, as he is called by *Gantz*, though he was the son of *Theodore*, prince of the *Levites* at *Burgos*. There was at the same time another *Meir* at *Narbonna*, with whom he is often confounded, who was likewise a great doctor, and had, like him, a great number of disciples (X). The king of *Arragon*, *James I.* tho' a devout

Loved by

• SOLOM. BEN VIRG. *ibid.*

(W) These were their grievous extortions, and excessive usury, the richness and finery of their dress, the state and grandeur with which they appeared in the streets. He asked them likewise, why they learned to sing, when they should rather mourn? why they taught their children to fence and fight, since they did not go to the wars?

If you will needs follow some of the ill customs of my subjects, said he to them, why do ye not also imitate their good ones, their peaceableness, modesty, &c. I do not

“ hatred to you: for why
“ should I hate a people whom
“ God loves? Neither do I
“ pretend to dispute with you,
“ I know that you have al-
“ ways some vain excuses and
“ pretences ready at hand; on-
“ ly make a right use of what
“ I have said to you.”

(X) This of *Toledo* was a great cabbalist, and wrote a treatise which he intitled
לפני ולפנים, *Liphe Ulephanim*; which may be properly rendered *within and without, on this and that side, or before and behind*; to shew that he was mas-

devout man, was so far from following the reigning zeal ^{king} against the *Jews*, that he is affirmed to have called them to his assistance, to have learned moral lessons from them, and even to have borrowed some of their prayer-books, and used them in his private devotions (Y). So that though they were hated by the populace, and the ignorant among the clergy, the great and the learned not only protected, but admired and encouraged them. However, this happiness was clouded again, by several accidents and misfortunes which befel them some time before the close of the 13th, and the beginning of the 14th century.

THE first was occasioned by two impostors, who went hand in hand in a design to impose upon all the synagogues of *Spain*. The principal of them, named *Zachariah*, did not indeed set up for the Messiah, but pretended he had found out, by his skill in the prophets (Z), the time of his appearing, which he told them was just at hand. He named the very <sup>Jews in Spain de-
scribed by
an impostor A. C.
1258.</sup>

ter of every branch of the most subtle cabbalah, and had studied and turned it over on every side. He likewise wrote a volume of letters against *R. R. Nachmanides* and *Maimonides*; and had a number of disciples who became the glory of the *Jewish* nation (5).

(Y) Rabbi *Jonah*, who flourished under that prince, wrote a letter to another of the same name, at *Gironna*, to desire his advice in what manner he should best comply with his majesty's desire, who had enjoined him to compile a treatise on piety and the duties of religion: and it is to him, and not to his correspondent, that the treatise on the fear of God, which hath been translated into several languages, ought in all likelihood to be ascribed.

It must be owned, that some of the *Jewish* offices are inimitably fine and seraphic, and the prayers conceived in the most elevated and extatic strains. That in particular which they

use on expiation day, is a master-piece of the most affecting devotion, and such as the most pious Christians might use to advantage. No wonder then, if in an age in which the clergy rather applied themselves to controversy than devotion, such a pious monarch should express a desire after the *Jewish* prayer-books.

(Z) We have formerly taken notice of a superstitious belief of the *Jews*, that if any man could attain to the true pronunciation of the *Hebrew* name of God, he would be able to work the greatest miracles, and dive into the deepest counsels of God †. This fellow not only pretended to have found it out, but instead of concealing it, as had been done till then, published and dispersed it among all the *Jewish* synagogues of *Spain*; and it was by that means that he so easily gained credit with them.

(5) *Baroloc. tom. iv. p. 18. Wolf Bib. Heb. N. 1380. p. 748.* (†) See *Anc. Hist. vol. iii. p. 356, sup. not. (T).*

day, and the *Jews*, who had prepared themselves by fasting and alms, went on that day to the synagogues clothed in white, and in high expectation of him. A *Jew*, who since turned monk, and wrote against his nation, *an.* 1458, adds, that they were greatly surprised to find not only their garments all covered with red crosses, but likewise the linen they had in their houses *. It is indeed more likely, that the only cross was the shame of being deceived, and exposed to the laughter and insults of the Christians. They were deceived in a different way, about thirty years after, by a poor rabbi, named *Moses de Leon*; who, not being able to maintain his numerous family by the small income of his synagogue, took it into his head to sell complete copies of the book *Zohar*, which till then could only be had by piece-meal †; and which he had supplied out of his own head. At length, the learned found a sufficient difference between the old and the new, to convince them of the cheat: and this was a new subject of shame and insult, not only on the rabbi, but on the nation.

Irruption of the shepherds,
A. C. 1320. BUT the most dreadful of all their disasters was that which happened to them about the beginning of the fourteenth century, and was occasioned by the irruption of a band of enthusiastick shepherds, who pretended to work miracles; and, being swelled into a numerous army, carried fire and sword into many provinces, and were not suppressed till after a dreadful effusion of blood (A). The *Jews* in particular bore their

* ALPHONSO DE SPINA, *Fortalit. Fidei*, titul. iii. † BARTOLOC, *ub. sup.* tom. iv. p. 82.

(A) The origin of these shepherds is variously related (6). The *French* historians affirm, that it began in *France* under the reign of *Philip the Long*; and that the pretence for their rising was the conquest of the *Holy Land*. They had a degraded priest and a runaway monk at their head, who, by their pretended sanctity and miracles, so imposed on the credulity of the common people, that they left their flocks, farms, &c. to follow them; whilst the noblemen, being hurried away by the stream, protected them, till they found themselves obliged to destroy them, to avoid being plundered by them. They ravaged several of the southern provinces, broke open the prison doors, and lifted all the malefactors they found into their society; by which means they had made themselves masters of several cities, and committed the vilest outrages and cruelties, but more particularly against the *Jews*. To avoid which, a con-

(6) *Fid. Sacerd.*, lib. ix. c. 12, & *anler.* 15. 10. c. 12.

their share of the cruelties which those enthusiasts committed where-ever they came; which laid the foundation for a long train

siderable number of them retired into a castle, under the protection of the *French* king; in which they were soon after closely besieged by the shepherds, with a design to destroy them all. After a stout and desperate defence, the besieged, finding their arms to fail, began to sling their children over the walls, in hopes to move their compassion, but in vain; for the besiegers set fire to the gates, and entered the place, where, to their great disappointment, they found nothing but the carcases of the besieged, and some children that had been left alive: for they had butchered one another, to prevent falling into the hands of those merciless barbarians.

The *Jews* indeed give us a different account of them, which they pretend to have taken out of some *Spanish* chronicle which they translated into *Hebrew*, and is as follows: A young *Spanish* shepherd, named *Roar*, was often visited by a dove, which, as soon as he went to catch it, turned itself into a young man; and, at length, ordered him to put himself at the head of the populace, and raise an army of them to drive the *Saracens* out of *Spain*; and, to gain him the greater credit, had imprinted the figure of the cross on one of his arms; on which some of the most expert or credulous could read a promise of success. *Roar* soon saw himself at the head of an army of 300,000 men, which was designed against the *Sara-*

cens; but, the fear he conceived of being defeated by a nation so well inured in war, made him alter his resolution, and turn his whole force against the *Jews*.

A fierce quarrel which happened soon after, between a *Jew* and one of his shepherds, determined him wholly to it; and his whole army having taken fire at the pretended insult, fell a plundering of their synagogues. The *Jew* was not only killed upon the spot, but his death was followed by the massacre of all of that nation who were found in that neighbourhood. They passed thence into *Navarre*, where they found them more numerous, and where they committed the greatest cruelties against them. Six thousand of them were butchered in the single town of *Estella*; none escaped but such as could retreat into some of the fortified castles belonging to the nobility. Only *R. Menahem*, then a youth, but since a learned chief of the synagogue of *Toledo*, found means to save his life by the help of a young soldier, who, being moved with the groans which he uttered for the loss of his father, mother, and four brothers, who had all been butchered just before, and were left naked and covered with wounds on the floor, carried him into his own house, and got him cured of his hurts.

The shepherds passed thence, some into *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and

Jews doubtless persecuted
A. C. 1321.
train of misfortunes, which attended them during the remainder of this century. Happy were they that could save their lives at the expence of their religion and wealth; but those that refused to do so were inhumanly butchered everywhere, as we have seen in the last note. The pestilence, which spread itself from the shepherds army to the neighbouring countries, proved also the source of new disasters to the Jews, who were accused of having bribed the peasants of *Mesura* to poison the waters of the river, and having furnished them with the poison; upon which vast numbers were clapt in prison, and informations were lodged against them. They did indeed clear themselves of that imputation after a long imprisonment; but the king, who had no mind to condemn the injustice which he had done to them in detaining such great numbers so long a time in gaol, pretended that he had only done it with a view of converting them; and, upon their refusal of baptism, caused 15000 to be burnt alive ^u.

Alphonso's edict against them,
A. C. 1333.

ALPHONSO XI. their friend and protector, who was wholly guided by one *Joseph* a Jew of *Astigi*, then intendant of his finances, was nevertheless prevailed upon by his mutinous subjects to issue out an edict against them, on account of an indignity, pretended to have been committed by a Jewish boy, to the sacrament, as it was carried through the streets. And the complaints of the zealots against them were grown to such a height, that a council was called on that very night, to deliberate whether they should be massacred or banished, and, the latter being preferred, they were ordered to depart the kingdom in three months. Happily for them, the prince royal obtained a revising of the process; by which it was found that it was a young Christian, whose curiosity had brought him to the window to see the procession, and

^u *SOLOM BEN VIRG.* p. 181, & seq. Vid. & *BASNAG.* l. ix. c. 18. §. 8.

and other parts of *France*; whilst others spread themselves farther through *Spain*, and ravaged and plundered where-ever they came, Christians as well as Jews; but the latter were every-where more cruelly used. The pope, then at *Avignon*, thundered in vain his excommunication against them; and the princes in both kingdoms tried in vain to suppress them. The kings of *Ar-*
ragon and *France*, with the nobility and choicest of their troops, marched at length against them, and so closely beset them, that one part of them perished by the sword, and the other by a pestilence which raged among them. Thus ended that dreadful inundation after having caused a prodigious effusion of blood, and an infinite variety of other disasters (7).

(7) Vid. *Basnag.* ubi sup. c. 18, & seq. *Solom. Ben Virg.* p. 181, & seq.

had

had by chance overturned a pot of water upon the chalice; *Recalled.* upon which the king recalled his edict (B), to the great mortification of the zealots, who gave out that the young Christian had been bribed to make that friendly deposition in favour of the *Jews* ^{w.} This did not hinder them however from carrying on their resentment against them in another town, where they massacred some of them under the same pretence; and might, in all likelihood, have gone a much greater length, had not the king caused ten of the mutinous ringleaders to be hanged.

THEY had scarcely escaped this danger, before they found *Jews* *mas-* themselves involved in a more dreadful one, from a fresh in-*sacred at* surrection made against them at *Toledo*; in which they be-*Toledo.* haved in such a desperate manner, as can hardly be read without horror. *R. Asber* had some time before fled thither *Their de-* from his own native place of *Nottinghamburgh*, with eight sons, *spair,* one of whom, perceiving the zealots breaking into the house with an intent to massacre them all, was seized with such fury *A. C.* and despair, that he killed all his relations who had taken shel- *1349.* ter in his house, together with his own wife, and that of his

^w SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 181, & seq. MARIANA. hist. Hisp. tom. ii. lib. 15. p. 38.

(B) The king had, we are told, dreamed, that he saw some wolves assembled to demand of a shepherd to murder his flock, to make them reparation for the damages they had sustained from it; and that the frightened shepherd was just on the point of doing it, but was happily diverted from it by a young lion; upon which the wolves came some days after, destroyed a number of his sheep, and fled. The dream seemed too singular and uniform not to have some momentous meaning; and the interpretation, which a favourite of that prince gave him, was, that his mutinous subjects would one day demand of him to banish the *Jews* out of his kingdom; but that his son, pointed out by the young lion, would dissuade him from such an unjust proceeding; which was actually verified by the event (8). Whether the dream and interpretation were real, or a fiction in favour of the *Jews*, the whole story plainly shews how powerful they were then at that court. And it is not unlikely, that the evidence of the young Christian's spilling of the water upon the chalice was trumped up by their friends to save them. For the *Jews*, whether young or old, were always forward enough to affront the Christians, whenever they thought they might do it with impunity.

(8) Mariana, hist. Hisp. lib. xv. page 38. Solom. Ben Virg. p. 184, & seq.

brother *Jaacob* (C); and last of all dispatched himself, to prevent falling into the hands of those butchers. *Alphonso XI.* who was still alive, and a great friend to them, was forced to suffer that sedition, which he found impossible to suppress. His son and successor *Peter*, surnamed *the Cruel*, who mounted the throne on the next year, being some time after killed, at the taking of *Toledo* by his natural brother *Henry de Tristemar*, this last went and besieged *Burgos*, where the *Jews* had fortified themselves in their quarter, and refused to surrender to him; alleging, that *Peter* was their lawful king (not knowing of his death), and vowing, that they would sooner sacrifice their lives than receive any other master than the true heir to the crown. This singular instance of loyalty so affected *Henry*, that he granted them much better terms when they came over to his side ².

Meir tortured for poisoning the king. ACCORDINGLY *Tristemar*, being come to the crown, made *Don Meir* his physician: but dying some time after, not without suspicion of having been poisoned, *Meir* was put to the torture, and confessed that he had killed the king ¹. But other *Spanish* authors, such as *Gusman* and *Mariana*, think that he was rather poisoned by a *Moor*, whom the king of *Grenada* had sent thither for that purpose. But as his death was occasioned by a weakness in his nerves, there is no great probability that he was poisoned, especially by his physician, to whom he had been so good a friend, as well as to his nation ². However, that did not hinder the *Jews* from being hated and insulted on that account. They complain accordingly, that, towards the latter end of the fourteenth century, the monks, from a principle of zeal, declared them-

¹ CARDOSO, Las Excellencias, p. 371. ² Fortalit. Fid.
² CARDOSO, ubi sup. p. 373.

(C) This last was not only a very learned, but a very generous doctor, who commonly taught his disciples *gratis*. He was the author of a famed treatise, intituled, ארבע טורים, *Arbab Thurim*, or the four orders or rows, alluding to those mentioned *Exod. xxviii. 17, & seq.*; and of some other works which the reader may see in the authors quoted below (9).

Some place this persecution in the year 1340. but others, more rightly, nine years after; seeing, according to *Gantz* and the *Sba'sbeleth*, *Jaacob* was still in *Germany*, an. 1340, and was then writing the book above-mentioned; which is a kind of collection of civil and ecclesiastical laws, out of the *Gemarrab*, and other *Jewish* writings.

(9) *Bartoloc*, ubi sup. *Wolf*, ubi sup. N. 1023. p. 582.

selves their irreconcilable enemies ; and had obtained, by the queen's means, an edict for expelling them the kingdom ; but that princefs, being told that it was not right to root up a vine that bare good fruit, fuffered herself to be bought off by a fum of 50,000 crowns.

THEY fuffered much more under the reign of *Henry III.* of *Caftile*, when *Martin*, archdeacon of *Aftigi*, went preaching through the streets of *Seville* and *Cordova*, and fo exasperated the people, that they maffacred the Jews in both places. The fire fpread itfelf to *Toledo*, *Valencia*, and *Barcelona*, where they plundered fome, and murdered others ; whilft the more artful ones, changed their religion, to efcape their violence. The great and populous fynagogues of *Seville* and *Cordova* became, in fome meafure, defert ; the young king ftill purfuing them. Thofe that retired into *Andalusia*, and other provinces, were murdered by the inhabitants (D). His fon *John* proved no lefs cruel to them ; infomuch that thofe who had concealed themfelves under his father's reign, perifhed under his, being deprived even of the neceffaries of life, and obliged to wear a red mark of diftinction, by which they were eafily known. Thofe of *Arragon* did not fare much better than thefe of *Caftile*, that kingdom being torn by intestine wars, which could not be maintained without heavy taxes ; with which the Jews were not only the heavieft loaded, but expofed to continual vexations and profecutions, which reduced them to the loweft degree of mifery^b. All this did not prevent their having feveral learned men during this century ; the moft eminent of whom the reader will find in the margin (E). But it is now time to fee how they fared in other parts of *Europe* during thefe two centuries.

Persecuted
by Henry
III.
A. C.
1394-

In Arra-
gon.

Learned
men.

FRANCE

^a SOLOM. BEN VIRG. MARIANA. EZOV. & al. ^b MARIAN. ub. fup. tom. i. p. 134.

(D) *Solomon Ben Virga* places this perfecution in the year of the world 5130, answering to that of Chrift 1390. *Spondanus* in 1391. and *Mariana*, an. 1392. But as *Henry III.* did not come to the crown till an. 1393, *Brœvius* hath rightly placed it in the year 1394 (10).

(E) We may place at their

head the famed *Ifaac Sciprus*, or rather *Sprott*, one of the bittereft enemies and violent writers againft the Chriftians. Authors are not indeed agreed about the time in which he flourifhed, though they all place him in the fourteenth century : fome an. 1374, and others 1390. But *Bartolacci* tells us, he had

(10) *Ezov. Ann. fub an. 1394. Bafnag, lib. ix. c. 18. §. 13.*

Jews persecuted in FRANCE was not more favourable to them. We saw them in the twelfth century banished and recalled by king Philip;

seen a manuscript of his work against the Christian religion; at the beginning and end of which it was said to have been compiled at *Turiasso*, a city of ancient *Castile*, an. 1340, which was the very year, wherein, as we lately took notice, *R. Jaacob Ben Asher* was writing his *Arbah Thurim* (11).

His son, *Shem Tob*, or good name, inherited all his father's hatred against the Christians. He flourished, an. 1375, and translated St. *Matthew's* gospel into *Hebrew*, and gave it the title of *אבן בוחן*, *Eben Bochen*, or the touchstone, probably to render it more contemptible to his nation; the gospels being esteemed by Christians, the touchstone or rule of their faith. He wrote afterwards his disputes against the Christian mysteries; to which he added, the contradictions of his antagonist, master *Alphonso* the apostate. Who he means by him is somewhat doubtful; for *Alphonso de Spina*, who wrote against the *Jews* after he had turned Christian, (12), did not live till an. 1458; by which time *Shem Tob* must in all likelihood have been dead. *Bartoloci* mentions another *Alphonso* (13), who confuted all the objections against the Christian religion; and which *Kimchi* collected in his book of the *Wars of the Lord*; but it is uncertain whether he

lived in this century. However that be, *Shem Tob* published another treatise on *Paradise*, in which he endeavours to shew, that most of the stories in the the thalmud ought to be understood allegorically (14).

We must here take notice, that there have been several rabbies of his name; particularly *Shem Tob* of *Leon*, who wrote a treatise against the Eucharist, in order to reduce a young *Jew*, who was retired to *Avignon* where the pope then resided. He wrote likewise his *Diret Gadol Emunah*, or highway to truth, in which he pretended to prove the truth of the *Jewish* religion by philosophical demonstrations. There was a third of that name, the son of *Joseph Palkera*, who lived in the sixteenth century; he was not only a celebrated preacher, and printed his sermons on the Pentateuch, and the great festivals of the year, but was the author of a letter, or dispute, whether piety is to be preferred to the study of the law, or this to that; which letter is held in great esteem.

Another learned rabbi of this century, was *Solomon Ben Chanok* (15), who came from *Constantinople* to *Burgos*, that he might display the depths of the divine law. For that was the title of a book which he wrote; and in which he explained the most difficult texts of the Penta-

(11) *Bartol.* tom. iii. p. 927. *Conf. Wolf. Bibl. Rabbin.* N. 1282. p. 695, & N. 1023. p. 582. (12) *Fortalit. fid.* (13) *Bartoloci ub. sup. tom. iii. p. 927. Wolf. ub. sup.* (14) *Bartol. ub. sup. tom. i. p. 366. & tom. iv. p. 508. Wolf. Bibl. Rabbin.* N. 2157, & seq. p. 1127, & seq. (15) *Id. ibid.* N. 1976. p. 1034. *Bartoloci, ub. sup. tom. iv. p. 376.*

Philip; and they were no sooner settled in it, than they re- France, fumed their old usury and extortions; by which they not only A. C. grew powerful and wealthy, but bought lands and estates, 1218. and grew so insolent and tyrannical, whilst the *French* nation became daily more and more impoverished, that the government was again obliged to make new laws to suppress the monstrous abuses which were daily committed by them (F). But, as those laws did not prove sufficient to put a stop to that evil, *St. Lewis*, in the beginning of his reign, called a council at *Melun*; in which a new law was made, expressly forbidding all his subjects to borrow any money from the *In Britta-* Jews^c. But the most remarkable of all was that which *John* uy, *le Roux*, duke of *Brittany*, published against them, in the. A. C. 1239.

^c Vid. DECRET. PHILIP AUGUST. de Judeis, an. 1218. SPICILEG. DACHERII, tom. vi. p. 471. Stabiliment. ap. Me- lend. Ibid. p. 473. BASNAG. lib. ix c. 20. §. 2.

teuch, and the *Rabbinic* glosses, which were either too metaphorical or hyperbolical. *Zerachiah* the younger flourished about the same time with *Shem Tob* (16), and is therefore different from one of the same name, who lived in the twelfth century, and was a native of *Lunel* in *Languedoc*, and hath been mentioned in his proper place. To these we may add, the two physicians of the *Castilian* king, both men of note, especially *Meir Alguaidesh*, who was also chief of all the synagogues in *Spain*. He translated *Aristotle's Ethics*, and flourished till an. 1405 (17). At this time *Aristotle's* works were in such esteem among the rabbies, that *Shem Tob*, another learned Jew, inserted them in his treatise on the Excellence of the Law; Which is the more remarkable, because, as we have frequently hinted in the *Jewish* history, they commonly expressed a sin-

gular contempt for all foreign learning.

(F) That the reader may guess at the one by the other, we have here subjoined some of those ordinances of the council: as, 1st. That it should not be lawful for them to lend money to monks or priests, unless the latter had a permission in writing from the monastery or chapter they belonged to; nor to take in pledge any of the utensils or ornaments of the church; nor the tools of any tradesman. A trooper had liberty to pledge his horse; but the artist, husbandman, and labourer, were not allowed to borrow any money from them; if they did, it was to be lost to the Jew. In *Normandy*, the laws were still more severe against them; where the lender was bound to summon the borrower before the magistrates, and those debts to be declared null that were not registered before them (18).

(16) *Wulf. ubi sup. N. 581, & seq. p. 361.* (17) *Id. ibid. N. 138. p. 44.*
(18) *Phil. Aug. De. ret. de Judeis, an. 1218. Spicil. Dacherii, tom. vi. p. 471.*

year 1239. They were then very numerous, and dispersed through that province, and every-where such great usurers, that the people were almost ruined by them; upon which the nobility and merchants joined in a complaint to the duke, who immediately summoned all the states of that duchy; and in that assembly was passed that law, the substance of which the reader will find in the margin, and which was prefaced, among other things, with these words; "At the request of the bishops, abbots, barons, and vassals of *Brittany*, all the *Jews* shall be for ever banished from it (G)."

Council of
Lions,
A. C.
1240.

THE famed council of *Lions*, which excommunicated the emperor, passed a decree, enjoining, under pain of excommunication, all the Christian princes, who had any *Jews* in their dominions, to oblige them to refund to the crusaders all the usury they had got by lending to their subjects, under penalty of being deprived of all the privileges of civil society. The *Jews* were likewise forbidden by it to demand any debts due from the crusaders till their return, or till an authentic certificate was received of their death^d. The council of *Vienna*, held in the

Of Vien-
na, A. C.
1267.

same century, found itself obliged likewise to defend the Christians against the vexatious suits, as well as extortions of the *Jews*. Notwithstanding all which decrees and precautions, the *Jews* still found means to maintain themselves; insomuch that in some provinces of *France*, particularly in *Languedoc*, they

^d Conc. Lugd. can. xvii. tom. ii. p. 656.

(G) It was farther enacted by it, 1st. That all the debts due to the *Jews* should be discharged; and that those who had received any pledges from them, should keep them. 2d. That all that should kill a *Jew*, should be deemed guilty; and a prohibition was made to the judges to take cognizance of any such facts. 3d. That the king of *France* should be desired to do the same in his dominions; that is, to banish them, to strip them of their property, and to permit his subjects to butcher them. 4th. The duke did then engage for himself, and his suc-

cessors, for the time present and to come, to maintain the same law against them inviolate; in default of which the bishops were not only impowered to excommunicate him, but to confiscate all the lands he had in their respective dioceses, without regard to any privileges then annexed, or hereafter to be annexed, to them. 5th. Lastly, he declared, that no vassals of *Britany* should be admitted to pay homage, till they had sworn before two bishops or barons to conform to this law, and not to suffer any *Jews* to live in their territories (19)."

(19) *D'Argentre, Hist. de BreTAGN, lib. iv. c. 23. p. 207. Vid. & Bafnag. ub. f. p. lib. 12. c. 29. §. 1d.*

had the privilege of being raised to the magistracy (H), and, in most places of the kingdom, to have Christian slaves; which was attended with very great inconveniences, and often with enormous abuses (I).

BUT the greatest persecution that befel them, during this interval, was that which was raised against them by the *Parisians*, in the reign of St. *Lewis*, on account, as was pretended, of their sacrificing some Christian children on *Good Friday*, and using their blood on their Passover-solemnity; and for which many of them were cruelly butchered at that metropolis. It did not stop there, but spread itself into the provinces of *Brie*, *Touraine*, *Anjou*, *Poitou*, and *Maine*, where above 2500, who refused to turn Christians, were put to the most torturing deaths; and would, in all likelihood, have gone much farther, had not the pope interposed, and sent a letter to desire that monarch to let them have liberty of conscience*. But though this put a stop to their misery at present, it did not prevent their suffering greatly under the crusade of shepherds, which was raised during his imprisonment in the *Holy Land*, in order to go thither to release him; and which was carried on with the same enthusiastic fury as that which we have mentioned in speaking of *Spain*, and which happened in the subsequent century. The head of

Their privileges in Language suppressed.
Persecuted under St. Lewis.
 A. C.
 1236.

* INNOCENT III. epist. 155.

(H) The city of *Montpelier* in particular had been frequently in danger of seeing a *Jew* at the head of the magistracy: upon which account, *William IV.* lord of it, found himself obliged to forbid it by his last will, as his grand father had done about fifty years before. Nevertheless, to discharge his conscience, he bequeathed a considerable sum to one *Bonet a Jew*, from whom he had received singular favours (20). This shews in what credit they were still in these southern parts.

(I) The continuators of *Baronius* give an instance of a young Christian woman, who had been

by her *Jewish* master inspired with such contempt of the Christian mysteries, that, having communicated on *Easter-day* as usual, she conveyed the consecrated wafer to her master in a handkerchief; and adds, that, upon clapping it into his purse, in which were seven pieces of silver, he found them all turned into wafers. It was well that his avarice did not provoke him to offer some great indignity to those miraculous symbols; but he was struck with such a reverence for them, that he acknowledged his crime, and desired to become a Christian (21).

(20) *Testament Guillelm. N'orspel. Specil. tom. ix. p. 145, & 161.* (21) *Baron. Ann. jub. A. C. 1213. N. 19. Spondan. jub eod. an. N. 25. p. 53.*

Banished
out of
France,
A. C.
1253.

that mobbish army was an *Hungarian* named *James*, first a *Mohammedan*, then a *Cistercian* monk, and now a deserter from that order. He led them first to *Orleans*, where he massacred all the priests and friars he could find; thence marched to *Bourges*, where he caused all the *Jewish* books to be seized, in order to burn them; and so went on committing the vilest disorders, till they were at length overpowered, and a great many of them put to death ^f. We are told of a conference which was held on the year following, between *R. Jehiel*, a learned cabbalistical *Jew*, and *Nicholas Donim*, a famed convert from *Judaism*, before *Queen Blanche*, then regent of the kingdom, and a private encourager of this new crusade. The Christians and *Jews* give us different accounts of the success of it (K); but that *St. Lewis* was no friend to the *Jews*, plainly appears from the edict, which he sent whilst under his confinement, to have them banished out of *France*, which his queen regent punctually executed, and died on the year following ^g. The *Jews* however pretend, that it was the king himself that banished them after his return.

Recalled,
A. C.
1275.

THEY were recalled in the next reign by *Philip the Bold*, a prince of a sweet disposition, who was moreover induced to it from their known usefulness in promoting trade, making

^f Vid. gest. S. Ludovic. per GUILLELM. DE NANGIACO, Hist. Franc. script. tom. v. p. 359. MATTH. PARIS, Hist. Angl. Henr. III. p. 530. SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 417. * M. PARIS, ibid. p. 576. SOLOM. BEN VIRG. ibid. & seq.

(K) The *Jews*, who make him a great favourite of *St. Lewis*, and his prime minister, give him by far the victory in this conference. But, whatever may have been the success of it, it is absurd to suppose him to have been raised to that height of power by a prince that was so great an enemy to his nation. The *French* authors, on the contrary, pretend, that he was so overpowered by his antagonist, that he had not a word more to say; and, through shame of his defeat, left that kingdom, and retired into the *Holy Land*; tho' it may as well be that devotion,

such as reigned at this time among Christians as well as *Jews*, for pilgrimages thither, and not his defeat, was the motive that sent him thither.

However, one may guess how numerous the *Jews* were then in *France*, since their banishment did so depopulate the country, that they were obliged to send for artists, workmen, &c. to supply their place; and, at length, to permit such *Jews* as would turn merchants or tradesmen to stay. And we read moreover of a city near *Paris* which was called the *Jewish city* (22).

money circulate, and thereby improving his finances which were almost exhausted. This recall admits of no contradiction, nor their becoming powerful and wealthy under his reign; since they were afterwards wholly banished in great numbers by *Philip the Fair*, as will be seen in its proper place. Towards the latter end of this thirteenth century flourished the famed rabbi *Levi Ben Gershom*, and grandson, by a daughter, of *R. Nachmanides*. He was born in *Provence*^b, which being then subject to *Spain*, both *French* and *Spaniards* claim him as their countryman (L). *Gascony* had likewise a great number of *Jews*, who had gained such an ascendant there, that a complaint was made to *Edward I.* then in possession of it, by an *English* knight, who, having mortgaged some lands to one of them, and summoned him before a judge, refused to appear or release the mortgage. The king gave him such an answer as gave the *Jew* to understand that he must comply; and that, though he had suffered them to enjoy all the privileges which his father had granted to them, yet, if he found they had abused them, he would himself be judge, and shew, that he did not design to give them the preference over the Christians; upon which the *Jew* submitted to the law. But the king having soon after escaped being killed by a clap of thunder which passed over his bed, and killed two of his officers in the same chamber, thereupon banished them out of *Gascony*, and all his other dominions in *France*^c. There had, by this time, crept such abominable abuses among the Christians, as well as the *Jews*, in all those *Gallie* parts (M),
 Levi Ben Gershom,
 A. C. 1290.
 Jews in Gascony banished by Edward I.
 A. C. 1288.

^b GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 145. BARTOLOC, ub. sup. WOLF, ub. sup. N. 348. p. 726. ^c WALSINGHAM, vit. Reg. Angl. P. 53.

(L) He wrote a comment on the Pentateuch, which he finished in the year 1330, wherein he affirmed that the angels there mentioned to have appeared to *Abraham*, *Balaam*, &c. were only visions and dreams; and would never be prevailed on to admit of the different interpretations of the thalmud concerning them. Eight years after, he published his comment on *Samuel*, and some other works, which the reader may see in *Bartolucci* and

Wolf above quoted; and lived to see the ruin of his own nation in *France*.

(M) Among the former, there were many that had turned to the *Jewish* religion; and these were circumcised in some peculiar manner, by which, they might be known from the original *Jews*. Others judaized only in part, observing the Sabbath, going to their synagogues, lighting of candles, and offering their prayers and oblations there;

Great abuses among them. that pope *Nicholas IV.* was obliged to send orders to all his inquisitors there to be more watchful over them both, and to suppress all those scandalous practices; which they did accordingly with great exactness as well as severity. However, it is not unlikely, that our king *Edward*, being then on the point of going to the holy war, had, like the rest of the crusaders, given into the notion, that the persecution of those enemies to Christ was the most effectual means of obtaining a blessing on that enterprize.

Banished by Philip, Fair, His example was, not long after, followed by *Philip the Fair*, who wholly banished them out of his dominions (N); and

there; though, in other cases, they conformed to the established religion. The *Jews*, on the other hand, not only had from these instances been industrious in unhinging and perverting the Christians, but in reclaiming the converts which those had made upon them; infomuch, that there was a new order of *Rejudaizers*, as they were called by them, or Relapsed, as the Christians stiled them, who were readmitted into the synagogue by washings and other ceremonies; and these commonly went with their crowns shaved like the monks (23).

We are told of another kind of abuse under that pontif (24): a woman, who had pledged her best cloaths to a *Jew*, went to desire the use of them for the *Easter* holidays; which he refused, unless she brought him a consecrated wafer: this she did; and, he having pierced it in several places, and, perceiving it bleed abundantly, he flung it into boiling water. Some Christians coming in at that instant, to borrow money

of him, perceived it, and went and indicted him for it. He was accordingly condemned; all his effects were confiscated, his house demolished, and the church of *St. Saviour* built upon that spot. The reader is at liberty to believe or reject this story; but we shall find in the sequel, that very many of their persecutions and sufferings in these late centuries were founded upon such abuses and miraculous discoveries.

(N) The *Jews* have greatly exaggerated their sufferings, as well as the number of the banished, which they make to exceed that of the *Israelites* that took possession of *Canaan* under *Joshua* (25); tho' it is scarcely credible that ever they amounted to half that number in all *France*. Some authors attribute this persecution to much such a miraculous discovery of a wafer pierced by a *Jew*, as we mentioned in the last note; and add, that he was condemned to be burnt alive for it, but saved himself from the flames, by holding the thalmd in his

(23) *Vid. Basnag. ub. sup. c. xx. §. 10. Wolf. Bartol. ub. sup. (24) Id. ibid. Walsingb. ub. sup. Nouvel. Chron. gener. xlv. tom. ii. p. 875. Basnag. ub. sup. §. 15. (25) Gassius, ub. sup. p. 143. Expositio, sub A. C. 1306, p. 83.*

and though several causes are assigned for their expulsion, yet it is commonly allowed that he did that good deed from a bad principle, that is, in order to enrich himself by their plunder; and sacrificed the whole nation to his extreme avarice^k. For he seized on all their wealth and effects, and suffered them to take only their cloaths, and as much money as would conduct them out of the kingdom: by which means great numbers perished in the way, and the rest happily reached *Germany*. And hence it is, that the generality of the *German Jews* look upon themselves of *French* extract. Those only saved themselves from banishment, who embraced Christianity; among whom was the famed *Nicholas de Lyra*, who wrote more learnedly and strongly against the *Jews* than any did either before or since (O). But of those that were baptized, few were so sincere, and many of them relapsed, and shewed their repentment by spitting upon the images of the saints, and other such indignities; and one of them was burnt alive four years after this edict^l; and yet the *Jews* pretend, that *Philip* died suddenly by a fall in hunting, as a punishment for this injustice to them^m; which is manifestly false.

^k Contin. Chron. GUIL. NANGIS, sub. A. C. 1310. DACHER. Spicil. tom. xi. p. 637. ap. Basnag. ub. sup. §. 6. ^l Continuât. Chronol. ub. sup. ^m SOMOM. BEN VIRG. p. 149.

hands (26). One of the continuators of *Baronius* owns the miracle of the wafer, but says, it happened sixteen years earlier, and so could not be the cause of their present banishment; which *Platina* attributes to their exercising of the magic art (27).

(O) There is some controversy about his native country, as well as about his being a convert from *Judaism*; though with respect to the latter, his great skill in the *Hebrew* and rabbinic learning, will not suffer us to doubt of his having been of *Jewish* extract and education. However, after his conversion, he studied some time in the university of *Paris*; after which he

entered into the *Franciscan* order, and wrote his treatise against the *Jews*; and applied his whole life in commenting and expounding the sacred books, which he divided, as the *Jews* and Protestants do, into canonical and apocryphal. He seems indeed to have been too fond of *Aristotle's* philosophy, then in vogue; but, in the main, he was justly esteemed one of the best and most judicious commentators of that age, as may appear by the monkish verse in praise of him;

Si Lyranus non lyrasset,

Totus mundus aberrasset.

He died in his convent of *Vitreuil*, an. 1340 (28).

^{Spandau. Ann. Eccl. sub. A. C. 1306. (27) In vit. Clement. (28) Vid. l'f. ub. sup. N. 1697, p. 912. Basnag. ub. sup. c. 21. §. 5, &c.}

Recalled,

A. C.

1314.

Persecuted

afresh,

A. C.

1330.

THEY were however recalled eight years after, by his successor *Lewis*, surnamed *the Hutin* or *Mutin*, in order to replenish his empty coffers, recover his finances, and make trade flourish. He exacted also great sums of them for their liberty, which they readily granted; and, in consequence of it, lived very peaceably during his reign; but that proving short, they were again exposed to new troubles^a. We have already taken notice of what they suffered in *Spain* and *France*, under the second invasion of the enthusiastic shepherds. This misfortune was soon followed by another, pretended to have been occasioned by their suffering themselves to be bribed by the *Saracen* king of *Granada* to poison all the rivers, wells, and reservoirs of water; which they not daring to do, as being too much suspected, committed the execution of it to a number of lepers, whom they hired by dint of money, and the prospect of the rich spoils of the dead (P). The waters were

^a SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 149, & seq.

(P) This accusation appears from many circumstances, with which it is transmitted to us, to be altogether false. Such as, that the lepers convened four general councils of the deputies from every lazaretto in Christendom, in which they disposed before hand of all the dignities, estates, and offices of those that were to be poisoned by those waters; the deposition made by one of them, before the lord of *Pernay*, in which was contained the receipt for poisoning them, viz. human blood and urine, three sorts of weeds, and a consecrated wafer, which were to be tied in a bag, and flung into them; and some others equally ridiculous and incredible. Besides, if the *Saracen* king had hired any *Jews* for such a black deed against the Christians, he would, doubtless, have ordered it to be done in *Spain*, where they were most obnoxious to them, and not in *France* and

Germany, where he had nothing to fear.

It must be owned, that there reigned then such a mortality in both these countries, as carried off more people than any pestilence had ever done. It began, we are told, at *Rheims*, and spread itself through *France* and *Germany*; and, as the physicians were unable to discover the cause of it, they had everywhere recourse to the old superstitious notion of the waters, &c. being poisoned by magic, and of the *Jews* being the authors of such public calamities. However a late author of theirs hath undertaken to confirm the story of the waters being poisoned, and to justify the severities which were used against the *Jews*; though he hath done it in such a manner as will convince

were accordingly found poisoned in *France* and *Germany*; and a leper having deposed, that a certain rich *Jew* had hired him to it, the information was sent to court, and the lepers were all either imprisoned, or confined to their lazarettoes; and the people in several provinces, especially in *Languedoc*, without staying for farther orders or proceedings, fell foul on the *Jews*, and massacred them in such a barbarous manner as cannot be read without horror; whilst the pretended criminals marched to the flames, and other cruel executions, with such intrepidity and joy, as if they had gone to a wedding. Those of *Paris* were used with more equity; where they only put the guilty to death. Others were banished, and the rich sort imprisoned till they had discovered all their treasures and effects; by which *Philip*, surnamed *the Long*, proved a very considerable gainer. Great numbers of them were likewise massacred in *Dauphine*, and their effects confiscated, and yielded to the dauphin of *France*.

CHARLES, whilst dauphin of *Viennois* and duke of *Normandy*, was forced afterwards to recall them; during his father's imprisonment, and the disorders that reigned in his dominions; and, upon his mounting the throne, confirmed their former privileges, and only obliged them to wear some mark of distinction. But being afterwards grown senseless, or, as some affirm, having been bewitched; the *Jews* began again to be accused of committing some murders, and other outrages; for which some of them were hanged, others whipt, and the synagogues fired; which obliged many of them to turn Christians. At length came out, two years after, that edict which for ever banished their whole nation from the *French* dominions; and it is from that sad epocha,

Continuat. Chron. GUIL. DE NAVOIS, ub. sup. p. 691, & seq. P. Memoires pour servir a l'histoire du Dauphine, ap. BASNAGE, ub. sup. §. 7, & seq. Id. ibid. DU HAILLON, Hist. de France, lib. xvii. sub. an. 1395. JUVENAL DES URSINS, Hist. de Charl. VI. p. 129. BASNAG. ub. sup. & seq.

vince very few of his readers, unless they are as partial as he (29); as those that read him in the place above quoted will easily own. He likewise there affirms, that the *Jewish* nation were for ever banished that kingdom, and never settled there more by authority; though we shall see presently that they were recalled in the next reign.

(29) P. Daniel Hist. de France sous Philip le Long, an. 1321. p. 414, & seq. ap. Basnage. ub. sup. §. 13.

Obtain
their pri-
vileges at
Metz.

that they have since reckoned their years (Q). We must, however, except the city of *Metz* in *Lorraine*, in which they have preserved their ancient privileges and synagogue; that city being then an imperial one, where they had therefore the same liberty as in all others of the empire. This was afterwards confirmed to them by *Lewis XIII.* and an edict granted in their favour, by which all criminal causes relating to them, were to be referred to the council; and their ancient privileges confirmed: which edict, given at *St. Germain*, bears date 1617.

(Q) But for all this edict, they still kept a considerable interest in the nation, by means of the money which they lent to private persons; the management of which they committed to one *Nicholas Flamel*, a citizen of *Pontoise*, allowing him half the profit; by which he became so rich, that he was supposed to have found out the philosopher's stone; built several churches in *Paris*, particularly that called *St. Jacques de la Boucherie*, where he and his wife *Prenchia* lie buried, and their tomb is still to be seen. He is said to have been a philosopher, painter, and poet.

We read moreover of some eminent *Jews* that were since then tolerated in *France*, tho' they had not the same full liberty as formerly; and among them *Profanus*, a celebrated astronomer, who taught at *Montpelier* about the middle of the 15th century. *Montallo*, another famed *Jew*, was sent for to *Paris* to be physician to *Mary de Medicis*, who obtained of *Henry IV.* full liberty of religion for himself and family; inasmuch that being sent for by

some great patient at some distance, they furnished him with fresh relays, that he might reach him before the Sabbath began (30).

They have been since, in great numbers in *Gascony*, whence *Isaac Castro de Tartas* being gone into *Brazil*, and taken by the *Portuguese*, was condemned to the flames. A *Jewish* writer adds, that it was upon his account, that the law for burning them alive was abrogated in *Portugal*; for that all the time he continued alive in the flames, he was heard to say; *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord!* which so surprised those that heard him, that they repeated the same words after him, and became *Jews*, without knowing how (31).

We could instance in many others; but it is sufficiently known, that they still live there, though in disguise, to avoid the severity of the laws against them; inasmuch, that they have got admittance into some of the highest places in church and state, as we shall have farther occasion to shew towards the end of this chapter.

(30) *De hoc vid. Barrius. Relacion de los poetas*, p. 55. *Bassompierre. Memoirs of Montallo*, an. 1615. *Bajmag. nb. sup. lib. ix. c. 21. §. 20, & seq.* (31) *Cardoso, Las Excelencias*, p. 324.

IT is now time to pass into *Italy*, and other parts of *Europe*, during these two centuries. We begin with *Italy*, where we find the pope still very favourable and kind to them, both in his own territories, and where-ever his authority reached (R). We have seen these pontiffs receive with open arms those whom *Ferdinand X.* and other zealous princes, had banished out of their dominions; though at the same time they seemed to commend their zeal against them. *Gregory IX.* now on the papal throne, followed the steps of his predecessors; and, tho' he was a zealous promoter of the holy war, yet observing, that the crusaders began their pious work in divers places with the massacre of the *Jews*, took all the proper methods of preventing such butcheries. They were grown very numerous also in the kingdom of *Naples*, particularly in that capital, and the city of *Trani*; where they had very learned rabbies and good poets, who were protected and caressed by the king, on account of some signal services they had done him. He likewise recommended them at his death to his states; but these thought it a greater kindness to try to convert them, than to give them the full enjoyment of their religion; so that, to avoid the impending persecution, they promised to turn Christians, with a permission included to marry the daughters of the richest and noblest families in the kingdom. Every body was surprised at such a compromise (except the clergy, who were willing to convert them at any price); and much more, still to see such marriages permitted in favour of conversions so little to be depended upon: for those who could not thus marry to ad-

*By the
king of
Naples.*

**
Massacred
at Trani.*

(R) Thus we find pope *Nicholas* interposing with the emperor *Rodolphus* in favour of *R. Meir*, a *German*, whom he had caused to be imprisoned, in hopes of extorting a large sum from him; and told that prince, that if *Meir* had been guilty of no other crime, than that of stiffly adhering to his religion, he deserved no punishment for it; and therefore expected, that he should set him at liberty. We have seen a little higher, how *Gregory IX.* put a stop to the persecution raised against them in *France* and *Spain*. And though there was then a misun-

derstanding between him and the emperor *Frederic*, yet he made no hesitation to write a letter to him, in which he allowed the *Jews* indeed to be turned over to the secular power for crimes of state; but added, that such punishments ought to be confined within due bounds, and not extend to what was barely matter of religion and conscience. And we may add, that few popes were ever against giving them full liberty of conscience; and many of them have even raised them to dignities of authority and trust in the dominions under them.

At Na-
ples.

vantage, made no scruple to relapse. It was therefore upon this last account, that a monk of *Trani* took it into his head to punish them; and having buried a cross in a dunghill, charged a *Jew* of that city with the fact. This was enough to raise the fury of the zealots, who immediately butchered all the *Jews* they could lay hands on. The riot passed from thence to *Naples*, where they would likewise have been murdered, had not the chief of the nobility interposed, and concealed the most wealthy, and consequently the most obnoxious, in their houses, and thereby saved them from the fury of the populace. Pope *Alexander IV.* who then reigned at *Rome*, was so far from being suspected to encourage that persecution, that he endeavoured to suppress it; but his interposition proved fruitless, and he died soon after. However, as the nobility had done it so effectually, there was the less need of his intervention.

Peaceable THE marquise of *Ancona*, though not then in the pope's
at Anco- possession, had likewise been very favourable to them, and
na. A. C. allowed them full liberty of conscience (S). And here it
1280. was that the famed *R. Menahem*, a native of *Ricina Nova*,
A. C. did, by some kind of miracle, from a most stupid dunce, be-
*1320. come one of the greatest cabbalists of that age (T). We
have lately seen, how *Clement V.* who had moved the papal
seat to *Avignon*, strove to stop the persecution of the shep-
herds against them, as far as his anathemas could do it; he
was no less industrious to promote their instruction; and or-
dered that every university should have professors to teach
the *Hebrew* tongue, and to bring up men that should be
able to dispute with and convince them by their own books.

* SOLOMON BEN VIRG. p. 123.

(S) The popes did not become masters of this territory, till an. 1532; when *Clement VII.* sent his troops to seize on it, in order to protect it against the *Turks*.

(T) The *Jews* tell us, that he fell asleep one day in the synagogue, where he saw, in a dream or vision, a man who offered him a vessel full of water, of which he had scarcely drank

a draught, before he found himself as learned as he had been before ignorant. He is commonly known by the name of *Recanati*, from the place of his birth; and wrote several learned treatises in the cabbalistical way (32). We do not vouch for his miraculous change, but mention it chiefly to shew, that the *Jews* flourished in this age in most parts of *Italy*.

(32) *Shalheleth*, p. 61. *Baroloc*, ub. sup. *Wolf*, N. 1457. p. 775. *Rif-*
nage, & *aub*.

His successor indeed; *John XXII.* took a contrary method, being induced thereto by a zealous sister, and much more so by some of his bishops, whom she had brought with her; and who had accused the *Jews* of having shewn some indignity to the cross, as it was carried in procession before them.

THIS produced an edict, by which they were to be banished from all the territories of the church; which caused so much the greater consternation among them, as they were grown very numerous and rich under the favour of his predecessors. They applied themselves to *Robert*, king of *Jerusalem*, a good friend of theirs, and a favourite of that pontiff, who soon after prevailed upon him to revoke his edict, which he promised to do, provided his sister could be satisfied about it; and accordingly abrogated it as soon as she had received 100,000 florins from them (10). It is plain, therefore, that this edict was issued out against his inclination, since he was so easily prevailed upon to recall it. We have seen already how *Clement VI.* endeavoured to suppress the persecution which was raised against them in *Spain*, *France*, and *Germany*, on the absurd pretence of their poisoning the rivers there; and made no difficulty to give as many as could come a safe sanctuary in his dominions. Some historians have indeed accused him of doing it out of covetousness; but he easily retorted the charge against them, by shewing, that these persecutions were only raised against them with a view of plundering them of all their riches. His very inquisitors, who exercised such severities against the *Albigenses*, a kind of ancient Protestants, suffered the *Jews* to live in peace, and seldom gave them any disturbance, but when they found them guilty of some such enormous abuses as those we have lately taken notice of.

THEY were no less numerous and powerful at *Bologna*, where, besides their old synagogue, which was too small to contain them, they built a new one much larger and finer, and erected a kind of academy in that city. This last owes its erection to one of the family of the *Hannabarim* (children

Jews at Bologna,
A. C.
1394.

* BASNAG. ub. sup. lib. x. c. 19. §. 8. *

(U) Our authors do not name the pope who issued and revoked this edict, but mention his sister *Sanguisa*, who is still more unknown. But since they affirm, that this transaction happened under *Robert* king of *Jerusalem*, and there was then a

king of that name of *Jerusalem*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*, whose chancellor *John XXII.* had been, and lived ever after in perfect friendship with him; he is most likely to be the pontiff meant by them, especially as his successor *Benedict XII.* had no sister.

who was then going from *Rome* thither. This family, which deduces its original from those *Jews* whom *Titus* transplanted from *Jerusalem* to *Rome*, had continued there till the latter end of the fourteenth century, and was both numerous and considerable; but about this time went and settled at *Bologna*, where they grew so wealthy that they built stately houses, and the synagogue above-mentioned, which is the noblest in all *Italy*. They became still more famous for the many learned rabbies which came to teach in it; which is a fresh proof of what hath been said of the popes protecting and favouring them (W). But it is time to pass on to other countries of *Europe*.

WE

(W) This city did then belong to the ecclesiastical state; and pope *Eoniface IX.* though so much dreaded by his subjects, did nevertheless permit them to erect the academy above mentioned, and to build that grand synagogue, which, for its largeness and beauty, is justly admired by all travellers (33).

The *Jews* here did likewise present *Emeric*, the pope's inquisitor (who flourished about the middle of the fourteenth century, and composed the directory of the inquisition), with a bible said to have been written by *Ezra*; which is still carefully preserved in the library of the Dominicans there. It hath the following inscription in *Hebrew*, at the end of the Pentateuch;

This is the book of the law of Moses, which Ezra had wrote, and which he read on a wooden desk to a numerous assembly both of men and women.

But there is added another *Latin* one, which more fully explains it; and in which it is

affirmed, that that roll of the law was written by *Esdra's* own hand at his return from the *Babylonish* captivity: 2. That it is assuredly the original from the testimony of the ancient *Jews*, who received in their synagogues, where it was kept: 3. That the *Jews* believed it such from one generation to another; and as such presented it to *Emeric*: 4. That the learned rabbies, who had examined it before witnesses, had acknowledged it as such, from some peculiar characters and strokes which are not to be met with in the modern manuscripts: 5. It is there affirmed to have been the manuscript which was shewn to the people on festival days; whence it is concluded, that it ought to be held in great veneration, and as a book dictated by the Holy Ghost, after all the other sacred ones had been burnt (34).

They likewise shew you there a *Megillath*, or roll of the book of *Esther*, still more ancient than that of *Ezra*; and a bible written for the use of *R. Menachem*;

(33) *Basnag. ub. sup. c. xiv. §. ult. p. 400.*

(34) *Montfauc. Diar. Ital. c. xxviii.*

WE do not read any thing worth mentioning concerning Jews in the *Jews in England*, till the time of king *John*; except that they were invited into this kingdom by *William the Conqueror*, *Invited by* and came from *Rouen* hither; and where, even so early as the *William* reign of king *Stephen*, an. 1145, they were accused of cru- the Con- cifying a young Christian, in contempt of Christ and his re- queror. ligious, and were accordingly punished for it. They were again prosecuted for the same atrocious fact at *Gloucester*, in *Accused of* the reign of *Henry II.* an. 1160. And for a third committed *crucifying* at *St. Edmondsbury*, an. 1181. More of such persecutions *Christian* there may have happened in other places, which *children.* *Matthew Paris* hath not mentioned; and these he hath accompanied with some circumstances which we shall pass by at present, because we shall have perhaps more frequent instances of them in the following centuries, than the generality of our readers will be inclined to believe; though we shall be obliged to mention the most remarkable of these, as they were always, if not the true cause, yet at least the pretence and forerunners, of the most severe punishments inflicted on that unhappy nation.

WE pass on therefore to king *John*, whose reign was so *Banished* troubled with intestine feuds, that he was forced to maintain *by king* himself by the hardest exactions; the heaviest of which fell *John*, of course on the *Jews* in his dominions, whom he caused to *A. C.* be imprisoned, and put to most violent tortures, when they *1210.* refused to pay such taxes as he laid on them (X); and, at length, we are told, confiscated all their effects, and banished them by a public edict. They did not fare much *under* better under the long reign of *Henry III.* during which many *Henry* of them chose to turn Christians, to avoid the severity of his *III.* government; but, being afterwards detected, were justly pun- *1233.* nished for their dissimulation. This did not discourage that prince from endeavouring their conversion; to promote which the more effectually, he caused a seminary to be founded

Trivet. MATH. PARIS, Chronic. an. 1210, p. 159.

the inscription of which was, that it was finished in the month of *Adar*, an. 953 (answering to *A. C.* 1187), to the end, that *Menachem*, and his posterity, and the posterity of his posterity, might be instructed out of that book.

(X) Our author (35) men-

tions one of them at *Bristol*, of whom the king demanded ten thousand marks; and who suffered his flesh to be torn off his bones, and seven of his teeth to be drawn out, one each day, till he complied; but paid the sum, rather than loose the eighth.

for the maintenance of *Jewish* converts, and where they might live without labour or usury; which soon induced great numbers of them to come into it: and that house, we are told, subsisted a considerable time *.

Jews at
Norwich
punished,
A. C.
1235;
at Lon-
don,
1243.

THE *Jews* of *Norwich* were some time after accused of having stolen a Christian child, and of having kept him one year, in order to circumcise and crucify him on the ensuing Passover; but, the fact being timely detected, they underwent a due punishment (Y). Some years after, those of *London* were indicted for the same crime, but with some difference in the manner; the child having been sold to them by his parents, and crucified, and the fact discovered by some miraculous circumstances not worth relating; so that he was canonized for a martyr, and his relicks wrought strange wonders. However, the murderers could not be found out; only some *Jews* having left *London* about that time, were shrewdly suspected *. Their whole nation was still more alarmed on the following year, when the shepherds made such havock of them in *Spain*, *France*, and *Germany*; and they had reason to fear the storm would fall next upon them here: to prevent which, they purchased an edict from the king, forbidding any one to hurt them in any of his dominions †. But, as that prince's minister was still craving for more money,

* MATH. PARIS, *Chronic. an.* 1210, p. 159. † Id. *sub'an.* 1244, p. 436. ‡ Id. *ibid.* Vid. BASNAG. *ub. sup.* c. 22. §. 9.

(Y) They are charged by the same author (36), with having repeated the same crime three times in that city, with very little variation of circumstances. On the first, they were brought to the king's court at *Westminster*, and there confessed the fact; for which they were only confined, and their lives left at the king's disposal. The same accusation was laid against them on the following year; and four of the wealthiest of them were hanged, and their effects confiscated. Lastly, they were accused of the same fact before the bishop, *an.* 1239, at which

time it was that the child's father found him in the *Jews* house, after he had been lost a whole year. The accused in vain appealed to the king; the bishop maintained, that the crime, being of a religious nature, was cognisable only by the spiritual court; upon which four of them were dragged at the tail of so many horses to a gibbet, where they were put to death. So that they must have been very incorrigible to dare commit the same crime so many times within the space of five years, and after having been so severely punished for it.

and they refused to pay it, they were accused of some murder committed in *London*, where, after various vexations and sufferings, they were obliged to pay one third of all their wealth ² (Z).

THE holy war, to which *Henry* was pressing invited by *New* the pope, proved another pretence for squeezing money out ^{taxes,} of his subjects, and especially from the *Jews*, whom he made ^{A. C.} no scruple to strip of all they had left. The next was the ^{1252,} pretended *Spanish* war, to which the nobility and gentry refused to contribute till it was actually declared. The *Jews* were again called upon for new supplies, but being quite exhausted, begged leave they might leave the kingdom for ^{1254.} some more propitious country (A); but that was refused to them, and they were forced to pay the sum, only with some alleviation. On the next year he demanded 8000 marks of them; and upon their pleading insolvency, sold them to his brother *Richard*, who paid him that sum for them, and would in all ^{1255.} likelihood have made them refund it double, had he not been convinced of their real poverty and misery.

THOSE of *Lincoln* were about the same time accused of ^{A child} having crucified a young Christian, with several circum- ^{crucified at} stances of inhumanity, which the reader may see in the mar- ^{Lincoln,} gin (B). One *Copin*, at whose house the fact was committed, ^{A. C.} ^{1255.} not

² Id. sub. A. C. 1243; & 1250.

(Z) Our author tells us of one single *Jew*, named *Aaron*, who paid at different times, to extricate himself out of prison, and other vexations, about 200 marks of gold, and 30,000 of silver. The rest fared no better, being prosecuted sometimes for coining false money, at others, for counterfeiting the king's seal, and such-like; from which they found no other way to escape than by bleeding freely to that monarch, or bribing, as they did in several instances, their judges to be favourable to them (37).

(A) *Elias*, one of their brethren, undertook to plead for them before the council; and

in a pathetic speech, which was accompanied with a flood of tears, represented the impossibility of their paying such an exorbitant sum as was demanded of them; and begged they might be rather banished the kingdom, than be thus inhumanly oppressed; professing, that if they were to be slayed alive, they were not able to raise the money. He swooned away, or pretended to do so, at the conclusion; but the council, who probably gave no credit to him, obliged them to produce the greatest part of the sum demanded (38).

(B) These are, that they fed him some time before with milk, to make him more susceptible

(37) *M. Paris, ibid. A. C. 1250, & seq.* (38) *Id. sub. an. 1254. p. 596.*

*Their syn-
agogue
fixed,*
A. C.
1267.

not only confessed it before the lord *Lexington*, upon promise of having his life spared, but owned it to be an usual custom among them to do so every year, if they could procure any such children. The king, upon his coming from the north of *England*, being informed of all, highly blamed that nobleman for promising to spare such a villain's life, and revoked his pardon; upon which *Copin* was dragged at a horse's tail, to the place of execution, where he was hanged in chains, or, as our author words it, *his body and soul were made a present to the demons of the air*^a. Their condition was still more desperate all the time of the league and civil wars which happened during that prince's reign; whereas, let which side soever get the better, they were sure to be crushed by it; at least we find that the leaguers seized on their synagogue at *Lincoln*, and from thence passed into the *Isle of Ely*, and made dreadful havock among them. And it is likewise pretended that *Henry III.* did at length banish them by a perpetual edict (C).

IT

^a TRIVET Chron. A. C. 1267. Specil. tom. viii. BASNAG. ub. sup. §. 18.

of pain: that they convened an assembly of the most considerable *Jews* in *England*, to assist at his execution: that they appointed one of them to act the part of *Pontius Pilate*, and pronounce sentence of death against him; that they caused him to be whipt till the blood gushed out, to be crowned with thorns, buffeted, spit upon: that every one of them plunged his knife into him; that they made him drink vinegar, and crucified him by the name of *Jesus*: that they pierced his heart with a spear, and after he was dead, took out his entrails, to use in their magic operations, and flung the rest of his body into a well belonging to that house, where the sorrowful mother, after a long search, found it (39).

(C) This banishment is variously related by historians, as well as the motives of it. The *Jews* affirmed it to have happened A. M. 5020 (of Christ 1260); which our learned *Selden* (40) justly looked upon as a palpable mistake, and that the former date ought to be 5050; which would be more probable, if that error had not been in more authors than one; but as it is the same in most of them (41), it is more likely that they have either designedly or inadvertently antedated the disaster by 30 years.

Accordingly, an inscription was found ingraven, in Hebrew letters, on a stone in *Winchester* goal, where probably the *Jews* of that county had been confined to this purpose (42): "The com-
monalty of the *Jews* were ar-

(39) *M. Paris*, sub. A. C. 1255. p. *ibid.* (40) *De Jure Gent.* lib. ii. c. 6. p. 190. (41) *Schalcheleth Hakkabalab*, fol. 112. *Solom. Ben Virg.* p. 139. *Gentile's* *Trismach*, p. 142. (42) *Selden*, ub. sup.

It is however, agreed by most Christian authors, that this *Their final* edict was published against them about the latter end of the *expulsion* 13th by king

"rested and imprisoned *A. M.* "5047." So that they could not have been banished either in the year of the world 5020, or 1260. Besides, the leaguers being defeated by king *Henry*, seized on the synagogue of *Lincoln* above-named, *A. C.* 1267. From which it is evident that they were still in the kingdom, and had their public meetings about the latter end of that monarch's reign. We may add, that none of our *English* annalists have made any mention of the perpetual edict, but, on the contrary, observe that his son *Edward I.* caused the *Jews* to be imprisoned *A. C.* 1287, and to be all banished three years after. The annals of the Dominicans of *Colmar* affirm, that this happened *an.* 1291 (43); which is the more probable, because the council that was held in *London*, and caused their banishment, bears date 1291.

The occasion of the banishment is likewise variously related. One *Jewish* writer pretends, that they had been falsely accused to king *Henry* of counterfeiting his coin, and by those very rogues who had done it; and that the prosecution was carried on with such vehemence against them, that the king, who saw through it, ordered them to be banished, to save them from a more cruel punishment (44). Another tells us, that a priest being fallen in love with a beautiful *Jewess*,

and not being able to obtain her by any other means, submitted himself to be circumcised, and abjured Christianity; which being soon after known, the zealots insisted that all the *Jews* in *London* should be burnt alive; but that the king only caused those to be burnt who had a hand in that fact, and banished the rest (45). But in neither case is it credible that he would, for the crime of a few private persons, banish a whole nation which had so often filled his coffers.

A third pretends that his son *Edward*, seeing the country almost ruined by famine and pestilence, was easily persuaded that the incredulity and wickedness of the *Jews* had drawn down those two dreadful punishments on the whole nation; upon which they were all called upon to turn Christians. But that not having removed the famine, they began to ascribe the continuation of it to the violence they had offered to their consciences. Upon which the king ordered two pavilions to be reared near the sea-side, the one with a red cross over it, into which the sincere profelytes, and the other with the law of *Moses* in it, into which the dissatisfied converts, were bid to repair. But many of the latter, suspecting some private design against them, forbore to go to the *Mosaic* booth; and well it was for them; for those that did

(43) *Ap. Vurß. Hist. Germ. tom. ii. p. 25. Vid. Basnag. ub. sup. l. ix. c. 22. §. 18.* (44) *Solom. Ben Virg. p. 140. Shalsbeth, fol. 113.* (45) *Id. ibid.*

Edward, 13th century †, which is farther proved by public records, found in some chanceries. *Trivet* affirms, moreover, that king Edward, who banished them out of his kingdom, granted them money to transport them into France, and afterwards confiscated their effects ^b. *Walsingham* says much the same thing ^c; and *Polydore Virgil* tells us, that this edict was enacted by a council that sat at London, A. C. 1291, and being desirous to sever the goats from the lambs, ordered the Jews to leave England in a few days, but with a permission to take their effects with them ^d. He adds, that they obeyed, and that the nation, which was then very numerous in England; took their final leave of it, and still remained from place to place till they all perished; whose loss, says he, needs not be much regretted, provided they leave behind those sacred books, without which it would be difficult for us to preserve our religion for the future (D). It is plain our author had no great belief in those prophecies which assure us that they will be actually recalled before the end of the world. However that be, it is plain they never more appeared in a body in this kingdom, from that time, till they were recalled to it, in the time of *Oliver Cromwell*, as will be seen in its proper place. It is therefore time to pass on to those of Germany, Hungary, and other northern regions.

Jews in Germany, &c. A. C. 1222. A. C. 1241. WHETHER the Jews were really more wicked in Germany, than in other countries, or the people more superstitiously zealous against them, there is hardly a kingdom where they have been accused of more enormous crimes, and of greater number and variety of them, during these two centuries. We have already taken notice of their having encouraged the invasion of the *Persians* and *Tartars*, under a false Messiah, and of the joy with which they, especially those of *Cologne*, were ready to receive them, had not their project proved abortive. Notwithstanding which disappointment, and the bad effects it brought upon them, they seem to have been no less flushed at

† Vid. SELDEN, ub. sup. lib. ii. c. 6. ^b Chronic. sub. an. 1290. ^c Hypodigm. Neutr. per T. WALSHING. ^d Hist. Angl. lib. xvii. p. 327.

were immediately massacred, and their bodies flung into the sea. Thus far our *Spanish Jew* (46).

(D) The reader may remember that Edward had given the

same decree against them in all his French dominions, on account of their corrupting the faith and practice of the Christians there *

(46) *Cordoso Las Escallencias*, p. 382. * See before, p. 319.

a fresh irruption of *Tartars*, who had already penetrated into *Hungary*, infomuch that the emperor *Frederic* himself was beyond measure alarmed at it. But what seems to justify them from the imputation, was that even that monarch was suspected, as well as they, of having invited those barbarians; which scandalous surmise was, it seems, invented by the pope and his clergy, whom he had disoblged, and was soon after wiped off by the effectual repulse which he gave them. They were perhaps more justly accused, in the same year, of having obstructed the conversion of a young man of their nation; for in such cases the *Jews* lost all patience, and the seeing of their children or relations taken from them, and abjure their religion, seldom failed of driving them into some extravagant violence. On the other hand, the zealots who were extremely fond and proud of such conversions, could not brook the least opposition, without double retaliation. This is what happened at *Francfort*, upon such an occasion, and where their fury on both sides ran to such a height, that they took up arms; several Christians lost their lives, and about 180 *Jews* perished in the flames they had kindled. Half of the city was consumed by them, and the *Jews* all in danger of being sacrificed to the resentment of the populace; to avoid which, some of the most politic, to the number of 24, turned Christians, and among them the chief of their synagogue, whom our author * absurdly calls their bishop; for the *Jews* had no dignity which answered to that.

Accusations against them.

A sad fire and slaughter at Francfort, A. C. 1241.

THEY were likewise often accused of murdering and crucifying the children of the Christians: the first time was at *Haguenau*, in *Lower Alsatia*, where three of them were found dead in a *Jewish* house. Complaint of it was made to the emperor, who not being inclined to believe those idle stories, dismissed the plaintiffs with an illusory answer (E), which

* Addition. ad LAMBERT SCHAFFSABURGH, German. PISTOR. tom. ii. p. 257. BASNAG. ub. sup. §. 4.

(E) He told them, it seems, (47). But another, of more candour and temper, tells us, that *Frederic* convened an assembly of learned divines, and enquired whether it were indeed true, that the *Jews* thought themselves obliged to shed some Christian blood on *Good-friday*?

(47) *Richen. Chronic. Sepon. lib. iv. c. 32, & 33. Specul. tom. iii. p. 401.*

*Massacred
in Bava-
ria, A. C.
1286.*

*At Bern,
&c.*

*Learned
rabbies in
Germa-
ny.*

which still more exasperated the people; but as the fact could not be proved, they obtained, by means of a considerable sum, a favourable judgment from him. They did not meet with so kind a judge at *Munich* in *Bavaria*, where an old woman having confessed that she had sold a child to the *Jews*, whose blood they had drawn for some sacrifice or sorcery, the people, without staying for a farther trial, massacred all that came in their way. The town officers having in vain endeavoured to suppress the tumult, advised the rest of the *Jews* to retire into their synagogue, which was a stone building; which they did, but were all burnt and destroyed in it, notwithstanding all the efforts of the duke himself, and all his officers; to appease and disperse them^f. Much such another accusation was brought against the *Jews* of *Wurtzburgh*, and *Bern*, where they were massacred in the same manner, and the two children killed by them canonised for martyrs, and miraculous saints^g.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these persecutions, and bitter zeal against them, *Germany* produced several great and learned rabbies, during these two centuries. The town of *Germerheim* gave birth to two of them, who took their surname from it, as it began about this time to be the custom to do; viz. *Baruc* and *Eliezer de Germerheim* (F). That of *Vienna* produced the famed *R. Isaac*, author of *The light sown*, and a great transcriber of *Jewish* books, which he dispersed among the synagogues of *Germany*, more exact and correct than the common ones. He had several learned disciples particularly *R. Meir de Rottenburgh*, who exceeded him in learning, and became the judge and chief doctor of the *German Jews* (G). They likewise

^f AFENTIN, Ann. Bojor, lib. vii. p. 441. Ann. RENON sub. an. 1288. Hist. German. tom. vi. p. 396. ^g Id. ibid. vid. & Fascicul. Tempor. Ætas vi. Hist. Germ. Pistor. tom. iii. fol. 83.

But as they could produce nothing certain about it, he suffered the prosecution to go no farther (48).

(F) They were both great cabbalists; and the latter is affirmed (49) to have written a famed treatise in that strain, stiled the *Mantle of the Lord*, an. 1240. But he should rather be

of older date, since he is said to have taught the *Cabbalah* to *Moses Nachmanides*; who, as hath been formerly mentioned, died an. 1260, aged 66 years.

(G) This rabbi was at length taxed by the emperor in a large sum, and imprisoned for non-payment; whereupon one of his disciples became bound for

(48) *Auf. incert. Fragm. Histor. ante Albert Argentinens; Chron. op. Vurfz, tom. ii. p. 91.* (49) *Cantz Thesmach, sub. an.*

likewise extol their *R. Annon* for his learning, riches, and handsomeness, as well as for his miraculous recovery of all his fingers and toes, which the bishop of *Mentz* had caused to be cut off, for declining a conference with him, which he had promised three days before; but this last may well pass for a *Jewish* legend.

THEY flourished no less in *Lithuania*, during the 13th century; king *Borissas*, surnamed *the Chaste*, having granted them full liberty of conscience, and several other considerable privileges, which they have preserved ever since. This seems, indeed, to have been in a great measure their case thro' all those northern tracts, where the high ones favoured and protected them for their services, and the large sums they brought to them; whilst those of the inferior rank, especially the zealous among the clergy, beholding their prosperity with an envious eye, and being, as is most likely, often provoked at their insolence, and the contempt they shewed for their superstitions, were ever and anon raising some accusation to disturb their peace, and render them odious to the world. This doth but too plainly appear to have been the case, by what passed in the council of *Vienna*, which was held about this time. It was there observed that the Jews were grown so numerous and powerful, that the clergy's income was considerably lessened; for which reason it was decreed, that they should reimburse them in proportion to what they might have been intitled to, had their families been Christian (H).

Council of
Vienna
held, A.C.
1267.

They

him, but he died before he could get his liberty. On which account we must observe a gross mistake, which some authors have made (50), who pretend that he died in a city called *Beith-Sohar*; whereas those two words mean only a prison-house; and such was that in which he died of grief.

Another thing we observe, is that *Buxtorf* has mistaken him for another *Meir Cohen*, who wrote against *Maimonides*, of whom we have spoken elsewhere. And 3dly, those are likewise mistaken, who affirm that *Rodolphus* was the emperor

that imprisoned him, *an.* 1305; for that prince died *an.* 1292; so that it must have been either his successor *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, or perhaps rather *Robert* archduke of *Austria*, and the son of *Rodolphus*. There is likewise a book attributed to him called *Hatti Sbatz*, which he had indeed begun, but was afterwards finished by his disciples, and is a collection of his decisions.

(H) It was farther objected that they prevented the conversion of their sons, daughters, wives, &c. and brought over many Christians to their religion, inasmuch, that their syna-

(50) *Bartoloc Bibl. Rabbini*, tom. iv. p. 23.

They farther decreed that they should be obliged to pull down the new and stately synagogues which they had built, and be contented with their old ones ^h.

ALL these decrees, however, could not but prove abortive, whilst the princes and great ones publicly protested those that refused to obey them, and obliged their officers to shelter those who should implore their assistance. So that the evil grew up to such a height, that the clergy was obliged to take more violent measures, and to excommunicate all those that should protect the *Jews*, and refuse to execute those decrees, which had been enacted against them. They were forced soon after to make fresh ones at ^{Augsb.} *Augsburg*, on account of the improper oaths which were till then administered to them, and which they made no scruple to break (I); and to oblige them to swear by the name of God, and the law of *Moses*, holding their hand on the Pentateuch ⁱ. The misfortune is, that even this last kind of oaths is held by them to be annulled on the grand expiation day; so that at the most they can be of force but one whole year. And we may add, that they have their casuists likewise, who allow them to equivocate, and to tell officious lies, according to that concession of the thalmud, that *it is lawful to dissimble for the sake of peace* ^k.

Disputes with the Caraites. ABOUT this time the dispute between the talmudists and *Caraites* arose to such a height, that *R. Aaron*, head of the latter, and a man of great learning, wrote a treatise to expose the extravagances of the thalmud (K), in order to suppress a certain

^h Concil. Vienn. ap. Canis. lect. Antiq. tom. i. p. 621. ⁱ CRUSIUS Annal. Suevor. c. 8. p. 3, & seq. ^k MANASS. Conciliator quest. in Gen. quest. 37. p. 48, & seq.

gogues multiplied, the new ones were made larger and more sumptuous, to the great decay of their churches and congregations.

(I) The custom, it seems, was, before that time, to make them swear by the saints, by the Blessed Virgin, and even by the Son of God; which oaths they made no difficulty either to take or break (1).

(K) This treatise, which he intitled *Moreh Abaron*, or *Doc-*

tor Abaron, is an explication of the articles of their faith, to which he gave the title of *Hetz Hachajim*, or *Tree of Life*, because he did not believe any man intitled to eternal life that did not believe them. And therefore, tho' he acknowledged a resurrection, yet he confined it only to the true believers of the house of *Israel*.

Bartolucci pretends that he rejected all the sacred books, except the Pentateuch (2); but

(1) *Crusius, Annal. Suev. c. 8. p. 3. & seq. Basnag. ub. sup. c. 23. §. 14.* (2) *Bibl. Rabb. tom. i. p. 29.*

certain fondness which those of his sect began to betray for that book, inasmuch that *R. Nissi*, the son of *Noah*, another *Caraites*, had been obliged to expound the *Mishnah*, at the earnest request of his disciples. *Aaron* in vain strove to oppose himself against the current, for a time; but he was at length obliged to follow *Nissi*'s steps, for fear of disgusting his disciples, and to give an allegorical sense to divers places of scripture. The thalmudists were not a little pleased to see their antagonists make such steps towards them, but that did not reconcile them the more to each other; on the contrary, their hatred and animosity continued as fierce as ever †.

THEY underwent soon after a much greater misfortune Jews during the contest between *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, and *Albert* of *Austria*, who had been both chosen emperor, when a peasant named *Raind Fleish*, took the advantage of the war then raging to set up for a preacher in the high *Palatinate*, *Franconia*, and other provinces, and to pretend that God had sent him to exterminate all the *Jews*. His pretence was, their having stolen a consecrated wafer; and the people taking him at his word without farther enquiry, fell upon them at *Neurenbergh*,
A. C. 1264.

† De his vid. Anc. Hist. vol. iii. p. 7.

that is a mistake, since he wrote comments on the *Psalms*, and on the prophecies of *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*, which are still preserved in MS. in the library of *Leyden* (3).

We must here observe that there were two famed *Caraites* rabbies of that name; viz. this who was the son of *Joseph*, and styled himself *Aaron Cohen* (*Aaron* the priest), and flourished about the end of the 13th century; and *Aaron* the son of *Eliab*, who lived about fifty years after him. The former, whose commentary was found in the library of the fathers of the oratory at *Paris*, by *Morinus*, and brought thither from *Constantinople* by Mr. *Sanci*, hath made some learned men think that he had written it in the East. But

as he opposes in it the rites of the *German Jews*, he must be supposed at least to have lived some time amongst them, and to have designed his work for the synagogues of that country (4). He was likewise the author of another work which he intitled *Miklol Yoppi*, or *The Perfection of Beauty*.

As for *Aaron* the son of *Eliab*, he lived in the East, an. 1362, and attacked the great *Aben-Ezra*, and other traditionalists, with great zeal and reasoning, in a book which he intitled *The Crown of the Law*, which is a literal comment of the *Pentateuch*, after the method of the *Caraites*; and in another work, the MS. of which was brought from *Buda* into *Germany* (5).

(3) *Freji excerpt. Aburoni explan. in Pentateuch. Bask. ubi sup.* (4) *Id. ib.* §. 16. (5) *Id. ibid.*

At Nu-
remberg,
1292.

Newmark, Rottemburgh, Amberg, and other towns of *Franconia* and *Bavaria*, and burnt as many as fell into their hands; whilst many of the rest chose rather to burn themselves, with their wives, children, houses, &c. than to be dragged into the flames by the Christians. Duke *Albert* would fain have suppressed those butcheries, but was afraid lest *Raind Fleiß*, who was looked upon as sent from God, should draw the people over to his competitor. The persecution was at length suppressed, probably by him, and the city of *Nuremberg* laid under a severe fine, besides having been above half burnt by the fire which the oppressed *Jews* had set to their houses (L). This did not hinder it from resuming its hatred against them, 10 or 12 years after, and hanging the famed *R. Mordecai*, who had written some learned comments on the thalmud, and on the works of *R. Isaac Aphez*, which are highly esteemed by the *Jews* (M).

Mordecai
hanged,
A. C.
1310.

SOME

(L) Some place this transaction after the death of *Adolphus*, and add two circumstances to it; viz. 1st. That this tumult was raised on account of the blood which came out of the consecrated wafer, whilst the *Jews* were braying it in a mortar. And, 2dly. That a great number of Christians joined themselves with the oppressed; and made so stout a defence, that the populace was forced to besiege and pursue them into their retreat (6). But these two facts explode each other; for it is by no means credible that such numbers of Christians would have sided with the *Jews*, if they had been convinced of the miracle of the bloody host; and much less that the archduke would have put himself at their head. So that this was no other than a popular uproar, which the better sort condemned; for there was no man put to death at *Frankfort* on that accusation,

after the magistrates had taken full cognizance of the affair, and proceeded on it according to their laws.

(M) He was hanged soon after his return into *Nuremberg*, after having retired some years to *Triers*, where he taught in company with *Isaac* of *Dijon*. The *Jews* have made a martyr of him (7). But the mischief did not stop there; for soon after, A. C. 1338, one *Armleder* put himself at the head of a troop of peasants, and made a sad havock and slaughter among them; but being taken, was beheaded by the order of the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*; upon which the rest dispersed themselves (8). *Brœvius* adds, that the *Jews* were then accused of having stolen an host, and that upon piercing it, they were so alarmed to see rivulets of blood issuing from it, that they fled out of the house. Information being made of it to the duke of *Au-*

(6) *Stenon, Annal. Hist. Germ. tom. v. p. 402. Hist. Austral, ap. Reub. Hist. Germ. tom. v. p. 341. vid. Bohnag. lib. ix. c. 23. (7) De hoc, vid. Bartoloc. ub. sup. tom. iv. p. 47. Gantz Tzemach, p. 147. (8) Spond. sub. an. 1338. p. 433.*
Jlria,

SOME years after the council convened at *Vienna*, by pope *Clement*, against the *Templars*, likewise condemned the usury of the *Jews*, and those as heretics who approved of them; which was a fresh cause of vexatious law-suits and other mischiefs to them, especially in *Germany*¹. They were, however, in some measure relieved by *Menicho* bishop of *Spire*, who by the bi-
forbad them to be molested on that account in his domini-^{shop of}
ons, alleging that law could not concern them, seeing the *Spire*,
church doth not judge those that are without^m. A few years
after which they were quite banished by *Lewis I.* king of *Hun-*¹³³⁹⁻
gary, who had lately subdued the *Moldavians*, out of all his ^{Banished}
dominionsⁿ. ^{by the king}
of *Hun-*

ABOUT five years after, a great number of them were plun-
dered and burnt by the newly-started up fraternity of *Flagel-*
lants (N), at *Spire*, *Straßburgh*, and other places^o, especially ^{A. C.}
at *Thuringen*, where they exasperated the people against ¹³⁴⁴⁻
them; but the worst of all happened at *Francfort*, where, af-
ter some disorders committed against them, and their being ^{Persecuted}
at length come to some kind of accommodation, a *Jew* ^{by the Fla-}
named *Cicogne*, whose family was very numerous in that city, ^{A. C.}
not satisfied with it, threw a piece of fire-work into the town-
house, which consumed both it and all the records preserved ¹³⁴⁹⁻
in it. The flame spread itself to the cathedral, which was
likewise reduced to ashes, and burnt quite as far as *Saxen-*
house. The crime did not go unpunished, for not only the
at *Franc-*

¹ CLEMENT lib. v. p. 510. NAUCLER Chronol. p. 3003.
^m SZENTIVANY Soc. Jelu Dissertat. Paralipomenic. rer. memorabil. Hungar. Catalog. p. 236. ap. BASNAG. lib. ix. c. 23. §. 22.
ⁿ Id. ibid. ° Hist. Landgr. Thuring. c. 105. p. 941.

aria, he refused to act in it without consulting the then pope, *Benedict XII.* who only sent him word that the host ought to be revered, and those who had pierced it to be punished (9).

(N) So called from their assembling and stripping themselves stark naked, twice a day, and whipping themselves with cords, armed with barbed iron, and accompanying that ceremony with psalms sung to mournful tunes, and some prayers which they repeated aloud. This sect, which had been almost suppressed, took fresh vigour about this time, under some new chiefs, and pretended to have received a letter from heaven, by an angel, by which they were ordered to inflict those macerations on themselves, to relieve the souls which languished in purgatory, and to put a stop to the sins which then reigned in *Germany*; which letter was read aloud every time they met.

(9) *Ann. lib. ix. 1338. N. 20,*

incendiary, but all the *Jews* of that city, except some few that retired into *Bohemia* (O), were put to death^p.

A NEW accusation was brought against them, which hath been already mentioned in speaking of those of *France* and *Spain*; viz. of poisoning the wells and spring-heads of rivers: tho' upon no other foundation than that they escaped from the common mortality which happened in most parts of *Europe*. This caused a fresh massacre in most provinces of *Germany*, the very year after that which had happened at *Frankfort*. In some places they were burnt alive, in others most cruelly butchered. Those of *Mentz*, however, resolved to stand in their own defence, and having seized on about 200 unarmed Christians, massacred them in a most barbarous manner; upon which the incensed populace came in shoals, and fell so furiously upon them, that they murdered about 12,000 of them on that single occasion. After this, they set fire to their houses, which spread and burnt with such vehemence, that the great bell, glass and grate of the cathedral were melted down †. Their rage spread itself all over *Germany*; the imperial cities demolished all their houses, and built castles and towers with the materials, and the populace was the more eager to pull them down, because they found money and other rich things among the rubbish. The then count *Palatine*, and his ministers, strove in vain to suppress their violence, and to give shelter to them: they were opposed by some of the nobility, as well as by the common people, and accused of having been bribed by large sums to take their part. All the inhabitants of *Ulms* were burnt alive^q, with their wives, children, and effects; and in a word, the whole *Jewish* nation saw themselves without friends or place of retreat, the princes not daring to interpose, in their favour, at so critical a juncture. *Lithuania* was the only country where they enjoyed any tranquility; which was chiefly owing to a beautiful *Jewess*, named *Esther*, with whom

*Revenge
on the
Christians
severely
retaliated.*

^p BASNAG. ub. sup. † NAUCETER. Chronol. gener. 45. p. 1009. ap. eund. ^q CRUS. Antiq. Suevor. lib. v. p. 253.

(O) And even, these met but with a short respite; the citizens of *Prague*, displeased to see them celebrate their Passover, chose that time to burn their synagogue; and those that were then at their devotions in it, which they did without any opposition, so that not one of them

escaped. This misfortune proved so much the more grievous, as it was unexpected, as well as undeserved, and the *Jews* of *Prague* have preserved a regretful sense of it in a prayer which was composed some time after, in memory of that event.

Casimir the Great was enamoured, and at whose request he had granted them several considerable privileges.

THOSE who had taken refuge in *Bohemia*, did not fare *Massacred* much better than those in *Germany*, as appears by what we in *Bohemia* said in the last note. Two years after which catastrophe, *Vincenzas*, emperor, and king of *Bohemia*, desirous to ingratiate himself with his subjects, to whom his excessive love of wine and women had rendered him odious, discharged all his nobility of the debts they owed to the *Jews*¹. The people thereupon looking upon them as discarded from his protection, began to make a sad massacre of them at *Gotha*, which became still more dreadful, as the peasants joined the populace in it. Those of *Spire* put them all to the sword, without regard to age or sex, some few children excepted, which were spared, and hurried away to the font to be baptised (P). But as such violent persecutions are not only odious, but seldom fail of unpeopling a country, they found it necessary to put a stop to this, by the punishment of some of the ringleaders.

THEY were soon after accused afresh, of having poisoned the wells, springs, &c. and punished for it by the most severe deaths, not only all over *Germany*, but in *Italy*, *Provence*, and other parts. The *Jewish* historians, however, tell us, that the emperor being fully convinced of their innocence, represented again to his council, the impossibility of poisoning springs, which have a continual run of water²; but that the people pretending to have seen them throw the poison into them, and muttering some words all the time, made the emperor resolve to banish them, to the no small disappointment of the seditious zealots, who cried out, that no punishment was too severe for them. His edict came out accordingly against them, either to flee or be baptised; and the *Jewish* writers above-quoted, highly extol the perseverance of those of their nation, who, notwithstanding the great misery which then reigned among them, not inferior in their account to that which followed the destruction of *Jerusalem*, yet few, if any, were thereby driven to apostatize, or, as they word it, to forsake the glory of their God. But for this we

¹ CRUS. *ibid.* lib. vi. c. 3. Hist. Landgr. Thuring. c. 132. p. 948. PISTOR, Hist. Germ. tom. i. AN. SYLV. Hist. Bohem. c. 31. BASNAG. *ub. sup.* ² SOLOM. BEN VIRG. *fab. A.* 160. p. 151. GANTZ TZEMACH, *sub. cod. an. p.* 146.

(P) The pretence for this was, that they had insulted a priest, as he was carrying the viaticum to a sick person.

Jews in
the 15th
century
banished
out of
Spain.

have only their bare word, and with it we now close these two centuries and pass on to the 15th.

In running thro' which, we shall not, as formerly, begin with the eastern *Jews*, for reasons which will more visibly appear in the sequel; but pass now from *Germany* into *Spain*, where we shall find them (after a long and peaceable abode there, during which their synagogues and learned men flourished, and their nation was greatly multiplied) banished at length from that country, excepting those who preferred dissembling to a mortifying exile; which fatal revolution hath ever since excited the complaints of the *Jews*, as well as the pity of the more moderate Christians for them; but as it did not take place till the close of this 15th century, and was ushered in by several considerable events, it will be necessary to give our readers an account of them before we pass on to their final expulsion. The first step towards it was promoted by the anti-pope *Benedict XIII.* who was then in *Arragon*, the only province left that owned his authority, and was trying to ingratiate himself with the rest of the *Spanish* nation by his zeal for the conversion of the *Jews*. He accordingly appointed a conference with them (Q) in which, as he defrayed all their charges, they treated him with unusual complaisance and respect; tho' they expressed themselves with some bitterness

A conference
held
between
the Chris-

(Q) He was induced to it by one *Hieronymo de Santa Fé*, who had forsaken the synagogue to turn Christian, and was then his physician, and promised that he would convince all the *Jews*, from express passages out of the thalmud, that *Jesus Christ* was the Messiah. Accordingly he and one *Bertrand*, a native of *Valentia*, another profelyte, and then *Benedict's* almoner, together with one *Garcias Alvares d' Alarcon*, a man well versed in the *Hebrew*, challenged the *Jews* to a disputation. All the learned rabbies in *Spain* were summoned to it, and one *Dom. Vidal* chosen to manage it on their side. This last, must not be confounded with another of that name, surnamed *de Tolosa*,

who flourished in *Catalonia* forty years before this conference.

As to the title of *Dom*, which is an abbreviation of *Dominus*, the *Jewish* rabbies had begun about this time to take it, in imitation of the *Spanish* doctors, among whom it was then a mark of high honour; but is since become much cheaper, and commonly given to abbots, priors, and other heads of convents. The *Jewish* writers do indeed likewise give it to some of their ancient rabbies; and *Gedaliah* calls one of his ancestors by it, whom he places in the 10th century; but it is plain, it did not come into use among them till after the end of the 14th (10).

(10) *De hoc, vid. Basnag. lib. ix. c. 24. §. 3.*

against his physician, who was the chief promoter as well as *tians and*
conductor of it against them¹.

THE tenor and success of this conference is variously related, by the *Jewish* and Christian historians that have transmitted it to us, tho' they were both present and bore a share in it². Both sides pretend to have gained the victory, as is usual in such cases (R). But as neither the arguments on one side,

¹ SOLOM. BEN VIRG, p. 227—246—264. ² Shaltheleth Hak-kabal. p. 113. HIERONYM. DE S. FE. Cont. Jud. lib. i. c. 2. in Bibl. patr. tom. iv. pt. i. p. 750.

(R) The *Jews* pretend that they bribed several of the bishops to persuade *Benedict* to break off the conference as soon as possible. be ng afraid lest it should exasperate the Christians against them; but that the pontif insisted strenuously on *Hieronymo's* making good his promise against them. They add, that their rabbies came off with honour, and that the *Jews* were only ordered to refund some part of their exorbitant usuries on the Christians; which they, however, evaded; by applying to *Martin of Florence*, who was chosen pope after the deposition of *Benedict*, and resided some time in that city, and revoked the edict of that anti-pope against them. We omit several blunders and anachronisms which those authors (11) have been guilty of, and content ourselves with stating the time and fact as they are related on both sides.

The Christians, on the other hand, pretend not only to have gained the victory, but likewise that, in that very year, *Hieronymo de S. Fé* presented to *Benedict* a writing, which exposed the

dangerous doctrines contained in the thalmud, against the law, against the Messiah, and against the Christians; and that rabbi *Asmuth* presented another soon after to the cardinal de *S. Angelo*, in which he owned that the passages extracted out of that book appeared shocking and erroneous to him; and that it was true, indeed, they might be capable of a better sense, which yet he did not pretend to know. For that reason he declares that he neither pretends to defend or justify them, and disowns any answer he may before have made use of to elude them. This was likewise assented to, and signed by all the rabbies there present, except

Albo and *Ferrarius* (12). This would be indeed a signal triumph against the *Jews*, and a sufficient, as well as solemn condemnation of their thalmud, by those who were the professed defenders of it, if the MS. out of which our author hath taken it, could be depended upon. But as neither *Hieronymo de S. Fé* takes notice of any such recantation in the book which he wrote soon after against the

(11) Shaltheleth Hak-kabalab, p. 113, & seq. Gantz Chron. p. 144. (12) Bar-soloc, ubi sup. tom. iii. p. 177.

Benedict
XIII's
bull, A.C.
1415.

side, nor the answers on the other, have any thing particular in them, we shall, for brevity sake, refer our readers for the further account of the whole, to the historian often quoted by us^w, and only add, that tho' *Benedict XIII.* was present at some of the sessions of it, yet he soon left his room to be filled by the general of the *Dominicans*^x, and that it was begun *February 7, 1413*, and lasted till *May 10, 1414*. On the 10th of *November* following, *Hieronymo de Santa Fé* presented that pontiff with his relation of it, which was confirmed on the 12th of *December*, and was afterwards published at *Frankfort*, an. 1602, in the *Bibliotheca patrum*. With relation to the fruits of this conference, we are told that about 3000, or, according to others, 5000 *Jews* were converted upon the reading of *Hieronymo's* relation of it; for which he grew into such esteem, that *Joseph Albo*, fearing lest their synagogues should be forsaken, compiled his *Articles of faith*, by which he endeavoured to confirm the wavering belief of the rest (S). As for *Benedict XIII.* he published in the year following his constitution against the thalmud, and the usury of the *Jews*^y,

^w BASNAG. lib. ix. c. 24. §. 4, & seq. ^x D'AGUIRA Bibl. Hisp. tom. ii. c. 1. ap. eund. ibid. ^y See his bull in BARTOLOC. ub. sup. tom. iii. p. 731—797.

thalmud, nor *Astroch*, who sent^o an account of this conference to *Girona*, it may be justly called in question. Especially, considering that all the rabbies assenting to it, except the two above-named, the declaration ought rather to have been drawn up by *R Vidal*, who was at the head of the rest, than by *Asmuth*. However that be, the former wrote against the conference itself, his *Kadesh Kadoshim*, or *Holy of Holies*; and *R. Isaac Nathan*, his censure of the *Seducer*; tho' the latter did not appear in public till after the death of *Hieronymo de S. Fé* (13).

(S) These he reduced to three, viz. the existence of God, the law of *Moses*, and the rewards and punishments of belief and

disbelief. Whether, therefore, he found his brethren too closely pressed on the article of the coming of the Messiah, it is plain he struck it out of his confession, as not necessary to salvation; and censures *Maimonides*, without naming of him, for having made the belief of his coming an essential article of the *Jewish* faith.

This work of his, published at such a juncture, was held in such esteem, that the *Polish* *Gedaliah* hath written a comment upon it, which he intitled *The Planted, or Complete Tree*, and of which his notes are the roots, the indexes to the places of scripture, the branches; and the allegorical explanations, the leaves (14).

(13) *Hosinger, Bibl. Orient.* (14) *Vid. Jacobin. p. 134. Gentz, p. 147. Hist. Bibl. Hebr. N. 452, & 862. Hosinger, ub. sup. Basnag. & d.*

but as he was deposed soon after, and all his ordinances were revoked, they felt not the effects of them. Neither do we find that his successor, *Martin of Florence*, followed his steps against the *Jews*.

BUT the greatest converter of them at this time was *Vincent Ferrario*, since canonized and extolled to the skies for his *Ferrario's* great zeal and miraculous exploits (T). The Christians reckoned that he converted about 8000 *Moors*, and about 30 or 35,000 *Jews*. And these last, willing to raise his character still higher, or, which is more probable, to discredit what the former say of him, allow him to have made about 200,000 converts out of their nation, besides near 100,000 of bad Christians. But whatever be the number of these *Jewish* converts, their sincerity was far enough for passing unsuspected, and not without good grounds; for the greatest part of them, after having dissembled as long as they saw occasion, made no scruple of throwing off the mask, as soon as opportunity offered; by which one might see that they had only given way to necessity, and merely to avoid a more

numerous conversions, A. C. 1415, & seq.

not sincere.

(T) He is stiled by their martyrologists (15), *the bright star of Spain, the light of Valencia, the prodigy of the universe, the pattern of the Dominicans, and the glory of the glorified saints*. They tell us moreover that he was heard to bark in his mother's womb, as a presage that he would become a celebrated preacher; and that tho' he only understood his own mother tongue, yet by a prodigy greater than that which happened to the apostles, every nation could plainly understand him, His credit was become so great that he was raised to the highest dignities in church and state, and particularly to that of confessor to the anti-pope *Benedict*.

It is not agreed whether or no he was a convert from *Judaism*; the *Jews*, by calling him *Mesku mad*, or apostate, seem to allow it; but others pretend that he was descended of an illustrious Christian family in *Valencia*. However that be, we are told that he converted more by his miracles than by his eloquence; insomuch, that being once got into a synagogue, with a cross in his hand, the men's garments, and the women's linen, were all covered with red crosses; which obliged them to acknowledge Christ crucified, and to turn their synagogue into a church, for which it has been called ever since the *Church of the holy Cross* (16).

(15) *Tamayo Salazar, Martyrol. Hispan. tom. ii. p. 509. Saussay, Martyrol. Gal. tom. i. fol. 190. Legend, Manusc. lez. lib. iv. ap. Tamizum. p. 510. Bish. ubi sup. §. 11. (16) Bzov. sub. A. C. 1412. N. 11. Ægid. Gonzal. Albulers. Historiogr. Philip III. lib. iii. c. 15.*

severe treatment (U); for they themselves complain, that he was a great persecutor and calumniator²; so that it is no wonder that they only conformed to outward appearance, but privately and within doors, lived intirely like *Jews*, circumcised their children, observed the Passover, and all other *Jewish* festivals and rites⁴.

The inquisition ordered to suppress their relaxes.

THIS dissimulation did not go long unobserved by the clergy, who acquainted the king (*Ferdinand*) and the pope (*Xistus IV.*) with it; upon which the tribunal of inquisition was strictly charged to watch more closely over those delinquents, and Christian princes were exhorted to assist it in the punishment of them. This decree, which was published in most cities of *Spain*, so alarmed the *Jews*, that 17,000 immediately returned to the church, and submitted to whatever censures or penance it should impose upon them. Two thousand of them were burnt alive, some of whom, nevertheless, acknowledged *Christ* to be the Messiah. A great number of others were thrown into dungeons, where they continued a long time; and those that were let out were declared infamous, and ordered to wear two red crosses on their upper garments, in acknowledgement that they had deserved the flames. They did not even spare the dead, but took up and burnt their bones, confiscated their effects, and declared the children incapable of succeeding their parents. These great severities made several of them flee into other countries, notwithstanding the watchfulness of that tribunal; whilst the rest took care either to dissemble more closely, or to be better instructed before they turned, that they might be less exposed to the punishment of apostacy (W). These conversions

The punishment insisted on them.

² CARDOSO las Excellencias & auct. ab eo. citat. ⁴ Bzov. ann. ub. sup.

(U) We have a pregnant instance of this in a MS. letter, preserved in the *Vatican* library, written from a *Jewish* rabbi named *Duran*, who after having embraced Christianity, artfully strove to dissuade his son from imitating his forefathers. The whole tenor of it was equivocal, and seemed, at first reading, as intended to persuade him to

continue steadfast in the religion he had embraced; but upon closer reading, the whole mystery was soon unraveled, and the design found to be to persuade him to return to *Judaism*, which he himself owned he had forsaken at the instigation of *Vincent Ferrario* (17).

(W) Among them who are esteemed sincere converts, was

(17) See the letter in *Bartolucci*, tom. i. p. 404.

sions did not hinder the populace from often insulting and oppressing them, and from attributing every misfortune or calamity that befel them either to the obstinacy of the recusant, or to the dissimulation of the conforming *Jews*; witness the insurrection they made against them at *Toledo*, on a pretended infringement of their privileges, and laying a new tax on that city, which, tho' small and light, was at the time of war very necessary; on account of which, the inhabitants vented their resentment on the *Jews*, without sparing even the posterity of those that had been converted, and after having broke into and plundered their houses, and murdered all that opposed them, as soon as the city had resumed its tranquility, enacted some laws against the new converts, whether from *Judaism* or *Paganism*, by which they were excluded from all offices of honour and trust ^b. The clergy, however, more equitable to those neophytes, took them under their protection, and condemned those laws as unchristian, and had their censure soon after ratified by the pope (X).

An insurrection at Toledo, A. C. 1445.

ALL

^b MARIANA ub. sup. lib. xxii. c. 1.

Solomon the son of *Levi*, who having read the *Summ.* of *Th. Aquinas*, was convinced of the truth of Christianity, and took the name of *Paul* of *Burges*. He was soon after raised to the bishoprick of that city, which was his native place, and afterwards to the patriarchate of *Aquileia*. He hath left behind some additions to *N. Delira*,^a formerly mentioned, but doth so often take upon him to correct him, that himself wants a fresh corrector, having been guilty of some egregious blunders in his criticisms. He was accordingly criticized by *Simon de Girona*, but with little credit or success, since that rabbi is often forced to give up the authority of the *thalmud*, tho' of such great weight among the *Jews*.

Paul left a son, who succeeded him in his bishoprick, and wrote the history of *Espain* that goes by

his name. He had a second, who was raised to the see of *Placentia*; and a third, who married into an illustrious *Spanish* family, and became preceptor to the king of *Castile*. But in the midst of all his preferments, he declared that no dignities either in church or state ought to be given to any of his nation, because they were too much accustomed to dissemble. May not he have been one of that class?

(X) The dean of that city was the first who fulminated his anathema's against those laws, and ordered public theses to be held, in which they were condemned; and to give the greater weight to his defence, mentioned a good number of families of high rank, who had intermarried with the *Jews*, and were likely to be deprived of their public employments by them. All his endeavours and struggles would, however, have proved fruitless,

A conference before Alphonso.

ALL this while the *Jews* were still protected and loved by king *Alphonso the Great* and his grandees; and it is under his reign that one of their writers ^c places a conference which happened between that monarch and one *Thomas*, surnamed *the subtle philosopher* (Y), who came so much the more opportunely thither, as one of the bishops had preached a severe sermon against them, in which he imprudently affirmed that they could not celebrate their *Passover* without shedding of some Christian blood; which, if true, he said, he was resolved to drive them out of his territories; whereupon the king was glad to have so learned a man to confute that absurd notion; which he accordingly did, tho' not with that strength and energy which might be expected from a person of his character. The same author mentions another conference that passed between *Alphonso of Portugal* and the *Jews*, on the subject of the 22d Psalm, and the application which the Christians make of several pregnant passages of it to *Christ*, but which

A second.

^c SOLOM. BEN VIRG.

fruitless, had not pope *Nicobolus* I. published a thundering bull against them, by which he excommunicated all those who were for depriving these proselytes of any place either civil or ecclesiastical, or from the priesthood and government, whether they were converts from *Judaism* or *Paganism*. This bull meeting but with a cold reception, that pontif was obliged to send a second to confirm it; and *Mariana* is almost the only *Spanish* writer who hath vouchsafed it a place in his history, so displeasing was it to that whole nation (18).

(Y) One might be apt to think, by the name and character, that this must have been the famed *Thomas Aquinas*, especially as he flourished in the reign of king *Alphonso*, the then great favourer of the *Jews*. But as it doth not appear that he ever

was in *Spain*, and in this conference quotes *Nich. de Lyra*, and *Abraavanel*, who both lived after the *subtle* doctor, our author must have either jumbled some persons together that were not cotemporary, or mean *Alphonso V. of Portugal*, who reigned about the middle of the 15th century. However that be, this conference, which lasted several days, concluded in favour of the *Jews*; and *Thomas*, by quoting *Abraavanel*, who acquits the Christians of idolatry, and telling that he, the king, was lineally descended from king *David*, easily engaged him to protect and favour their nation; whilst at the same time he counselled him to make some laws against their usury and luxury, which were the two main things that rendered them odious to his subjects.

(18) *Mariana. Hist. Hisp. lib. xxii. c. 1, & seq.*

these denied to relate to him; but as he hath not told us how that dispute ended, we shall say no more of it, there being nothing extraordinary urged on either side.

AMONG the learned rabbies who flourished during this 15th century, besides those we have already mentioned at Arragon, &c. we may name their celebrated *Shammai*^a, one of the greatest cabbalists of the age (Z). *Joel*, the son of *Sciocu*, was no less famed a preacher, whose sermons, tho' too long and diffuse, had some very judicious expositions of certain sections of the Pentateuch. The family of *Alcaleb* produced two excellent astronomers, the uncle and the nephew, who both compiled astronomical Tables. The first was named *R. Isaac Ben Tzadic*, and the other *R. Isaac Ben Solomon Ben Tzadic*. We shall by-and-by have occasion to mention several others of their learned men, who were unhappily included in the edict of condemnation and banishment, and involved in the same misfortunes with the rest of that unhappy nation, of which we are going now to speak (A).

^a BARToloc. Bibl. Rab. tom. ii. p. 840. ^e Id. ibid. tom. iii. p. 290, & 925. WOLF Bibl. Hæbr. N. 1263, & seq.

(Z) Among other cabbalistical secrets, he published that of begetting more boys than girls in the married state, by placing the bed from the north to the south. And the rabbies, who abound with such kind of superstition, affirm, that the Divine Majesty resides from east to west, and that it is a dishonour to it to place one's bed in that point. But when, out of respect to it, men plant it from north to south, God recompenses them with a breed of boys, which the Jews prefer to the girls. But one would rather think they did it in imitation of, or conformity to, the notion of the old philosophers, who believed that the cold north winds contributed to the procreation of boys.

(A) We must here once more observe that *R. Abraham*, prince of the Jewish nation, and tutor to

the great *Aben Ezra*, had foretold 200 years before, that the same configuration which *Moses* their great law-giver was born under, namely, the conjunction of *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, would bring in the Messiah. It was to happen, according to his calculation, 2859 years after the former; that is, A. C. 1464. And there actually happened such a conjunction twice within this 15th century, viz. 1444 in *Cancer*, and 20 years after in *Pisces*. But instead of that glorious train of miracles, which was to accompany the birth of that long expected prince, and exalt the Jewish nation above all the rest, they met with nothing but disasters, and a general banishment out of all the Spanish dominions, which proved the ruin and destruction of the greatest part of it.

Jews ban-
ished out
of Spain,
A. C.
1492.

The num-
ber of
them,

THIS dreadful edict was issued out against them by *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, soon after he had happily ended his war with the *Moors*, and obliged the whole *Jewish* nation to quit *Spain* in four months after the date of it (in *March*, A. C. 1492). *Turre Cremata*, who was the soul of this persecution, advised the king to shorten that term, and forbid the people, under the severest penalties, to afford either victuals, or any other assistance, to such as were found in the kingdom after the month of *April*. Some historians likewise think that they were forbid, by a new order, to carry away either gold or precious stones, or any thing but a few cloaths, wine, and such other merchandize (B). If so, it is plain that order was not punctually executed, since they found means, we are told, to convey away thirty thousand millions of ducats ^f. The *Spaniards* tell us, that 70,000 families, or 800,000 persons, left the kingdom pursuant to this edict; and the *Jews* make them to amount to 160,000 families, or 600,000 persons g, and even some of those who had been most in credit at court, (among whom was the learned *Abravanel*, who had been a long while a favourite of the king and queen (C),) were obliged

^f BASNAG. ub. sup. c. 25. §. 1. g ABRAVAN. CARDOSO las Excellencias, &c.

(B) We are told that many of them who had courage enough to leave the country, found themselves obliged to stay and be sold for slaves for want of a few ducats, which every one that embarked was obliged to pay to the captain of the vessel; and to such a degree of strictness were the king's orders executed, that two vessels, loaded with *Jewish* families, not having been able to sail before the time prefixed, set them on shore again, where they were unmercifully seized and sold, and all their goods confiscated.

(C) We took notice lately that this learned rabbi pretended to be lineally descended from king *David*, and as such was in great esteem among his nation, as well as for his learning,

riches, and employment; notwithstanding which he had been often forced to flee from one country to another. He appeared even from his younger years at the court of *Alphonso* king of *Portugal*, and was in great credit with him; but upon his death, not finding the same favour from his son and successor, *John II.* he privately retired into *Castile*, where *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* intrusted him with the care of their finances, which gave him an opportunity of getting an immense treasure in a short time.

Being obliged to leave *Spain*, with the rest of his nation, he embarked for *Naples*, where he soon recommended himself to the favour of the king, and did him considerable service. But that

liged to embark for foreign countries; and none permitted to stay, but those who preferred Christianity to banishment, which were likewise very numerous.

THE

that prince dying, and *Charles VIII.* having seized on that kingdom, he was forced to flee into *Sicily*, with *Alphonso II.* who had succeeded his father. His faithfulness to him, in the midst of his misfortunes, which had deprived him of his riches and crown, obliged him again, after his death, to leave that island, and sail to *Corfu*, and thence into *Puglia*; where having resided some time, he went and died at *Venice*. His corpse did not rest there, but was conveyed to *Padua*, and there interred.

He was no less esteemed for his learned works, and we may truly say that he is, of all the *Jewish* doctors, the most clear and useful for the right understanding of the sacred text. His style is pure, and easy to be understood; and only sometimes rather too swollen, and more like that of an orator than a commentator. He explains the literal sense of the sacred volumes, and learnedly handles those questions that fall in his way in those books he hath commented upon. He was moreover of a sweet and affable disposition, and lived in a friendly and familiar manner with the Christians. One fault, however, is commonly found in his writings, that he frequently inveighs against them, particularly against the pope and his clergy; on which account

some are of opinion that the *Jews* ought to be debarred from the reading of them (19).

Among other learned *Jews* that followed *Abravanel's* fate, were *R. Isaac Ben Arama* a great philosopher and cabbalist, whose exposition of the *Mosaic* law is highly esteemed by the *Jews*, though some critics (20) think it too diffuse, allegorical, and full of a moral altogether *Jewish*. He took with him his son *R. Meir*, one of the greatest rabbies of that age, and author of a comment upon *Job*, which *Buxtorf* hath attributed to his father.

Another was *Joseph Gigatella*, surnamed *the divine Cabbalist*, and *Taumaturgus*, who, during his exile, applied himself to the exposition of the *divine Attributes and Names*, and of the ten *Sephiroth*; that is, of the most mystical, and at the same time of the most admired part of the *Jewish* theology.

Isaac Karo was another learned exile: he retired at first into *Portugal*, and thence to *Jerusalem*, but lost his children and books in his passage. He lived a perfect recluse there, and compiled his book of generations (or of the sons of *Isaac*, to comfort himself for the loss of his own) which is only a comment or clear solution of some doubtful questions on the *Pentateuch*, partly cabbalistical, and partly literal (21).

(19) *De hoc, vid. Bartoloc. ub. sup. tom. iii. p. 357. Sinon Critic. Ant. Tesh. lib. iii. c. 6. Bafnag. ub. sup. c. 25. §. 4. &c.* (20) *Simon ub. sup.* (21) *Bartol. ub. sup. Wolf Bibl. Hebr. N. 1266. p. 639, & seq.*

and grievous misery.

Learned men banished.

THE misery of those who embarked is almost inexpressible. In some the vessels took fire, and they either perished in the flames, or were drowned; others were so loaded that they bulged and sunk with them to the bottom. Others were shipwrecked on some foreign coasts, and either perished with hunger and cold, or were exposed to some new disasters. In some the plague began to rage, and they were set down at the next shore, where those that outlived it perished with want; others reached the city of *Fez*, where the inhabitants, being frightened at their vast number and misery, shut their gates against them; so that they were forced to spread tents in the fields, and to live upon such few herbs as that dry and barren ground afforded. And this might even pass for a mercy, in comparison of the insults and horrid hardships which they were forced to undergo from some barbarians there, who thought they might impunely commit any inhumanities against those unfortunate fugitives. The reader may see some instances of it in the margin (D). All this while

Abraham Zacchut flourished likewise about the same time. *Bartolucci* hath confounded him with *Abraham the Jew*, who translated an *Arabic* treatise on the virtue of remedies. Both of them were good astronomers, and published a perpetual almanac. *Zacchut* was a native of *Salamanca*, and taught at *Saragossa*; but being obliged to leave the country, pursuant to *Ferdinand's* edict, retired into *Portugal*, where king *Emanuel* made him his historiographer. And here it was that he compiled his famed book of *Juchasin*, or genealogies from the creation to the year of *Christ* 1590. We omit many more, for want of room; but these are the most celebrated ones that underwent this dreadful exile. °

(D) One of these wretches, we are told, ravished a *Jewish* virgin before her parents; and returned presently after and cut her throat, for fear she should

have conceived, and should bring forth a *Jew*. A seaman seized on a number of *Jewish* children, who were gathering of cockles and other shell-fish on the shore, at low water, and brought them to his ship, where he gave them some bread; which brought many more thither, with whom he sailed away, and sold some of them to persons of quality, and the rest he made slaves of. The captain of a vessel that was transporting a number of them, took one day a resolution to murder them all, and thereby, as he pretended, revenge the death of *Christ*, whom they had crucified; upon which they represented to him that the blood which *Christ* had shed was for the sins of mankind, and did not want to be revenged; and that he did not desire the death but salvation of the sinner. The brutish sailor being somewhat softened by this reply, forbore indeed murdering

ing

while the king and queen were highly blamed by all sober Christians, not only for depopulating their dominions, but for running the risque of involving them in a civil-war; for whatever precaution he might have taken against it, the resentment and despair of 800,000 subjects, so cruelly used, might, not unlikely, have defeated all his measures; and *Abra vanel* had reason to extoll their submission and fidelity, for not opposing so severe and unjust a decree. What induced that monarch to it, whether avarice, and prospect of seizing upon their immense riches, or religion and the notion of gaining heaven by the persecution of the enemies of *Christ*, or the hopes of ingratiating himself with his clergy, we leave to our readers to guess. However, he soon after received the title of *Catholic* for it, from pope *Alexander VI.* who probably laughed at his zeal, whilst himself received Catholic. those fugitives which he had banished.

BUT a good part of them met with a much nearer refuge from *John II.* king of *Portugal*, who had already done him some great service (E); and tho' he did not love them, yet found it his interest, to receive them into his dominions; and tho' upon very hard conditions, yet such as they chose to submit to, rather than expose themselves to new misfortunes. His

Received in Portugal upon hard conditions.

son

ing them, but caused them to be stript naked, and set down on the next shore; where part of them perished with hunger, others were torn in pieces by lions, that came out of a neighbouring cavern; and the rest were saved by the humanity of a master of a vessel, who seeing them in that dismal plight, took them in, and cut his sails to cover their nakedness. Those who sailed for *Italy*, being arrived at *Genoa*, found that country afflicted with a sore famine, which made all victuals exceedingly dear. The *Genoese* beholding them so macerated by sufferings, and destitute of money to buy food, met them in the streets, with bread in one hand, and a cross in the other, and gave the one to those that would worship the other; which

temptation proved so powerful, that those poor famished wretches, who had had the courage to abandon their country, riches, &c. could not now be proof against it.

(E) That monarch had formerly sent some of them, particularly *Abraham de Beja* and *Joseph Zapatero*, to make new discoveries along the coasts of the *Red Sea*, of which they had made an exact and faithful report to him. They had likewise been assisting the *Portuguese* adventurers in the discovery of the *East-Indies*; and could be made still more useful to him in other matters. However, as he privately hated them, he found means at once to satisfy his aversion and policy, by laying them under very severe conditions.

The king's
treachery
to them,

and their
sad mis-
eries.

son and successor *Emanuel*, seemed indeed at first to pity them, but was soon induced to sacrifice them and the *Moors* to his interest, and the alliance he made with *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*. He accordingly banished both nations by an edict; and as he feared reprisals from the *Moors*, he suffered them to go with their effects; but doubly broke his promise to the *Jews*, first, by detaining their children that were under 14 years of age, which piece of treachery drove them into such despair, that some of them killed themselves, and others, sacrificing their natural affection to religion, became the executioners of their own children: and, secondly, by reducing the three ports which he had assigned them to embark in, to one, by which many of them were forced to make a kind of double journey, to take quite new measures, and exhaust their purses; to which we may add, the delay which was caused to their embarkation, which increased their poverty and misery. Those that had the good fortune at length to embark, were nevertheless obliged to bear very severe hardships and insults from the ship-captains and seamen, even to the despoiling of their wives and daughters, or exacting large sums to preserve them from being so. Even among those that turned Christians, to avoid such a train of miseries as they saw before their eyes, many of them were very harshly used from a too just mistrust of their sincerity, and a great number of them were massacred upon the first, tho' but slight, occasion that offered itself (F). All which seemed but too well encouraged by the cruelty

These were, that every person was to pay him eight crowns of gold for his protection; and that at the end of a certain term by him prefixed, they should be obliged to quit his dominions, under the penalty of being made slaves. They complain, moreover, that he sent great numbers of them to the isles *de los Ladrones*, lately discovered, where they came to a miserable end; whilst the rest comforted themselves with the notion that God punished him for his severity to them, by the disasters which happened to him and his family (22).

(F) there was, it seems, in a church at *Lisbon*, a crucifix, the bloody wound of which was covered with a glass, out of which some fanciful devotees thought they saw an extraordinary light emanating; which made them cry out, a miracle! One of these converts having imprudently denied the fact, gave occasion to this bloody uproar, which lasted three days; during which, the zealots, headed by two *Dominican* friars, stirred up the populace, and massacred above 2000 of them. They broke into their houses, plundered and unmercifully

cruelty and treachery with which king *Emanuel* had used them. But tho' this action of his hath been so highly applauded by some of his flatterers ^h, it hath been no less condemned by some of their more candid and equitable historians ⁱ.

We have now seen the *Jews* banished out of four kingdoms of *Europe*, viz. *Great-Britain*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*; but before we pass into the eastern parts, it will be very proper to say something of those which still remain in the two last-mentioned kingdoms, in great numbers, tho' under the cloak and title of new Christians, and under the mask of zealous catholics, ^{the} in their hearts as firmly attached to *Judaism*, as those who make open profession of it where they are tolerated. It is indeed surprising to see how so impious a dissimulation, hath been able to support and propagate itself thro' so many generations as it has done; so that the grandees of those two nations have in vain made new alliances, changed their names, and have taken up ancient coats of arms; they are still known to be of *Jewish* extract, if not still *Jews* in their hearts. The monasteries and nunneries are full of them, and the greatest parts of their prebends, priests, inquisitors, and even bishops, are descended from the same stock ^k. This ought to make both clergy and laity tremble, to think that such ecclesiastics do only abuse and profane their sacraments, and most solemn part of their worship and religion. And yet, *Orobio*, who relates the fact, was not only perfectly acquainted with those dissemblers, and had been himself of the number [†], but gives pregnant proofs of what he says; in-

An account of those that staid.

Their dissimulation.

The number and danger of them.

^h LEGUIRA Nouvel. Hist. de Portug. lib. iv. p. 8. ⁱ OSORIUS, lib. i. MARIAN. lib. xxvi. c. 13. ^k Vide LIMBORG Collat. cum Judeo, p. 102. [†] Ap. BASNAG. l. ix. c. 25. §. 11.

butchered them, and snatched them even out of the churches, and from the foot of the altar; whilst the magistracy, instead of suppressing, encouraged the butchery. At length the king himself put a stop to it, and upon full enquiry into the cause of it, condemn'd the two friars to be burnt, and the magistrates to be degraded. Some foreign authors have indeed pretended that these converts had been found celebrating their Passover after the *Jewish*

manner; but *Mariana's* testimony (23) ought to be of more weight than that of *Germans* or strangers, who relates the fact as we have done. Tho' it must be owned, at the same time, that the greatest part of those who staid both in *Spain* and in *Portugal*, were rather dissemblers than sincere proselytes; and such must prove all conversions which are wrought by violent means.

(23) *Hist. de Rob. Spanie. lib. xxviii. tom. ii. c. 17. p. 593.*

so much that he mentions in the very synagogue of *Amsterdam*, *Jews* and *Jewesses*, which are brothers, sisters, or near relations to some of the best families in *Spain* and *Portugal*; as likewise others that have heretofore been friars and nuns of almost every order, the *Jesuits* not excepted, who came thither to do penance and reparation for their former apostacy.

Some of
their
learned
turn Jews
again.

WE may add that among those who being at length tired with such impious dissimulation, have returned to *Judaism*, several of them were men of great learning, and appear by their works to have been better versed in the *Jewish* law than in the gospel. Of that number was *Joseph* the son of *Jehosuah*, who hath continued his chronology down to *A. C.* 1554. He was a *Spaniard* by birth, and perhaps the best historian that the *Jewish* nation hath had since the great *Josephus*. Such was also *Joseph Ben Sheveth*, or the son of the rod, another *Spaniard*, who hath written a collection of sundry necessary rules, for the right understanding of the *Gemarrab*. The last we shall name was the famed *Isaac Cardozo*, descended from some of the false converts of *Portugal*, and became one of the first physicians in *Castile*, one of whose works we have often quoted in this chapter (C). For these reasons the

(G) He wrote two treatises in *Spanish*, one on the usefulness of common and snow water, and of drinking liquors hot or cold. The other on the then excellencies or prerogatives belonging to the *Jewish* nation, and which ought to be esteemed an honour to it, in spite of all the misfortunes and dispersions which have happened to them for the punishment of their sins. He therein observes, that God chose them for his peculiar people; that they alone are separated by him from all other nations; that they received the Sabbath and Circumcision from him; and that they were taught his law by men inspired by him. This work is followed by a kind of second part, which

he styles *Las Colonias de los Hebreos*; wherein he confutes ten accusations which the Christians object against them. This last treatise was written after he had left *Spain*, and his name of *Ferdinand*, which he had received at his baptism, and retired to *Venice* and *Verona*, where he took that of *Isaac*, about the middle of the last century. He wrote likewise a treatise at *Madrid*, concerning fevers; and another of the origin and restoration of the world; both learned and curious in their kind (24). It is surprising that *Bartolucci*, who was so well versed in *Jewish* learning, and their writings, should have made no mention of the treatise *de las Excellencias* above-mentioned.

(24) *De hoc. vid. Basnag. ubi sup. c. 25. §. 18. Wolf Bibl. Hebr. N. 1265. p. 649.*

inquisition always keeps a watchful eye over all those new Christians; and the least cause of suspicion given by them, is sufficient to bring the severest punishments upon them; and both *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* are still so superstitiously prejudiced against them, that there scarcely happens any public calamity, but they look upon them as the cause of it, and make them suffer for it, as they formerly did the professed *Jews*. *Cardoso* last-mentioned, hath given us a flagrant instance of it, which happened towards the beginning of the last century, when a *Dominican*, at the head of a numerous populace, on some suspicious pretence, fell upon those new converts, and plundered and massacred between four and five thousand of them¹.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these cruel severities both on staunch *Jews* and false converts, they made once more a bold push for getting a fresh settlement in *Spain*, as soon as they heard that *Charles V.* was come to that crown. They sent some of the most considerable of their nation to him into *Flanders*, to represent to him, *that they groaned under the yoke of a religion, which had they been forced to embrace, and were daily exposed to the rigorous prosecutions of the merciless tribunal of the inquisition: that they carried on with honour the whole commerce of the nation, and were the most useful and perhaps the most faithful subjects of the kingdom; on which account they trusted in his justice and goodness, that he would grant them the free exercise of their religion; and engaged, on that condition, to give him all the assistance they could, and to make him a present of 800,000 crowns in gold, in return for his kindness.* They met with a very gracious reception from that monarch; and the council of *Flanders* was likewise of opinion, that he ought to accept of their offer, and grant their request. But cardinal *Ximenes* no sooner heard of this resolution, than he sent a courier with all speed to inform him, *that it was not lawful for him to make a traffic of religion, and to barter the blood of Christ for money; and that the tribunal of the holy inquisition had been instituted for very good and wise ends; that he ought therefore to follow the steps of king Ferdinand the Catholic, who, in his greatest need, had refused the 600,000 crowns which those very Jews had offered to him for the liberty of continuing peaceably in his dominions: that those who had rejected Christ from reigning over them, were unworthy of the protection of a Christian prince.* Our author adds^m, *that Charles yielded to these reasons, and pre-*

*Address
Charles V.
for liberty.*

*Gracious
reception.*

*Cardinal
Ximenes
opposes
them.*

¹ CARDOSO las Excellencias, sub. an. 1605. p. 383. ^m Vid. FLECHIER's Life of Cardinal Ximenes, lib. vi. p. 772.

ferred the wholesome council of the cardinal to the persuasions of his selfish ministers. This was their last effort; which proving so unsuccessful, they have had recourse ever since to dissimulation, and by pretending to a greater zeal than ordinary for a religion which they abhor, do for the most part pass unobserved, if not unsuspected.

*The hard
fate and
punishment
of the judaizing
converts.*

WE need not here give an account of the inquisition's proceedings against such as are indicted for apostacy, nor of their dreadful punishment when found guilty. It will be sufficient to say, that in such cases they are delivered up to the secular power to be put to death, tho' with a strict and solemn charge not to shed their blood; to prevent which they are condemned to be burnt alive. The Jewish authors do bitterly complain that these severities are still continued in full rigour against them, at Cordoua, Lisbon, Conimbra, &c., and even in the East and West Indies; and for want of better reprisals, do in their return canonize all those sufferers for saints and martyrs, and embellish their sufferings with legends of miracles wrought in their favour, that is, either to save them from, or to revenge their deaths: the reader may see a specimen in the margin (H). In the mean time, in order to honour and

(H) Thus they tell us of one Sylva a physician, who had been kept a prisoner at Lima, during the space of 13 years, where he circumcised himself, forbore eating of flesh and drinking of wine, and became a perfect Nazarite, under the name of Heli Nazareno Indigno Siervo de Dios al. Sylva. Being at length condemned to the flames, he was no sooner flung into them, than a prodigious storm arose, which overturned the house in which he had received his sentence, to the great astonishment of the very Indians, who owned they never had seen any thing like it (25)^u

Another that was burnt in Portugal, beheld his chains fall off in the midst of the flames, and was no more seen; which

made his executioners say that the devil had fetched him away; but the Jews believe that he was miraculously preserved.

One Sobremont, a physician at Lima, was there burnt alive, after an imprisonment of 22 years. Dom. Lope de Vera, of a noble and Christian family, having studied sometime at Salamanca, turned Jew, and circumcised himself in prison, and gave himself the name of Judah the believer. He was likewise burnt alive at Valladolid, An. 1644, and died with such surprising constancy, that the chief of the inquisition was forced to own, that he had never seen such an ardent desire to die, such a firm assurance of salvation, and such an intrepidity, as he beheld in that young man, who died in the flower

and perpetuate their memory, they have taken the method of *Mademars* writing martyrologies of them in some places ⁿ. A sketch of *tyrs* by the which may likewise be seen in the same note. But it is now *Jews*. time to pass over into the eastern parts.

WE begin with those that were settled in *Persia, Media, Armenia*, under the *Great Mogul, &c.* where, to avoid the frequent *the East* breaking off the thread of their history, as well as the scarcity *during the* of materials, we shall continue their history thro' the 15th, *three last* 16th and 17th centuries. They had hardly recovered them- *centuries* selves from the long and fatal disasters which they suffered during the wars of the great *Timur Bekk* † and his successors, during which those *in Persia and Media* were not only greatly attenuated and impoverished, but their academies, learning, and learned men, had totally disappeared (I), before they received

ⁿ At Amsterdam, vid. *BARRIOS GOUVERNO* popular. *Judaico*, p. 42. *MENASSEH*. *Esperanza d'Israel*, p. 99. † See the history of that conqueror in vol. v. p. 215, & seq.

of his age (26). Thus they preserve their memory to posterity; and affirm, that God suffers these frequent executions, because he is willing to have such faithful witnesses of his unity in all ages and nations of the world.

(I) We are told, however, that one of the provinces of *Cochemir* was filled with *Jews* which had come thither ever since the time of *Solomon*, or of *Sbalmanezzer*. Mr. *Thevenot* desired a correspondent of his there to enquire of them whether they had the holy scriptures, and whether they were the same with ours; but was answered, that if there had been any *Jews* there formerly, there were none of them left then, and that all those inhabitants were either *Mohammedans* or heathens (27). That author tells him, however, that there were some in *Chiac*, who still

preserved the Old Testament, and had never heard of *Jesus Christ*. He mentions a jesuit's relation concerning one part of that spacious empire, just upon entering it, and passing the mountain called *Pire Penjale*, where most of the inhabitants appeared to be *Jews*, both by their air and complexion, by their making use of the name of *Moufa* or *Moses*, and a tradition they have, that *Solomon* came into that country, caused that mountain to be cut across to make a conveyance for the waters. They add, that *Moses* died at *Cachemir*, and that his tomb was about a league from it; and lastly, shew a small edifice, built on a high mountain, at some distance, which they say was built by *Solomon*, and was still called *Solomon's throne*. All which are too fabulous to deserve farther mention; tho' we readily own that many *Jews* may have passed into those

(26) *Carta del Inquisidor Moscoso a la Condesa d. Monterey*. ap. *Basnag*. lib. II. c. 25 ad fin. (27) *Bernier Voyag.* tom. ii,

Ishmael's conquests,
A. C.
1500.

Jews re-jected.

Persecuted
A. C.
1577.

ceived a new mortification from the conqueror *Ismael Sophi*, chief of the family of the *Persian* kings, who reigned there ever since, till the late great revolution that drove them from the throne *. The *Jews* who were very numerous in *Media*, where *Ishmael* had begun his conquests, were so surpris'd at his wonderful and swift success, that they began to look upon him as the *Messiah*; in which they seem'd moreover confirm'd, because he gave himself out to be a prophet sent by God to reform the *Mohammedan* religion. But that prince, who despis'd them in his heart, refus'd all their homages and proffer'd services, and treated them with greater severity than any of his subjects. He died in the year 1523, and was succeed'd by his son *Thahamass*, and he by *Ishmael*, a blind prince, and father of the fam'd *Shâh Abbas*, who became a great persecutor of them. The fact, as it is commonly related, being in some cases very improbable, may be seen in the margin (K). However, according to our author °, it did not take

* De hoc, vid. sup. vol. v. p. 420, & seq. ° Hist. of the three impostors, p. 114.

parts, and may have easily settled themselves there *, as they are commonly given to traffic, and have many good physicians and astronomers among them; tho' some of them may, thro' length of time, and variety of changes, have so far forgot their religion, as to have adopted all these fables.

(K) *Shâh Abbas* having granted great privileges to all strangers to settle in his depopulated dominions, the *Jews* came in such shoals, and so soon engross'd the commerce and riches from the rest, that complaint was made of it to that prince.

But he being afraid lest his severity to them should make others retire from his dominions, found a lucky pretence to persecute them by the authority of the *Koran*; where it is said, that they

were to embrace the *Moslem* faith, 600 years after its publication; and would have destroy'd them accordingly, on refusal, if the mufti had not prevented it. However, their chakhams, or doctors, were summoned, and closely examined concerning several parts of their religion; such as the abolition of their sacrifices, and other rites, at the coming of *Isai* (*Jesus Christ*), their refusing to believe in him, tho' the *Koran* speaks honourably of him, and what they thought of *Mohammed* and his book; and not being able to give satisfactory answers, had recourse to prayers for mercy, and to protestations that they only settled in his dominions with a design to serve him (28).

After several bitter reproaches, *Abbas* insist'd that they should fix a time for the coming

* See before, vol. viii. p. 124, & seq. (28) Hist. of the three impostors, p. 114. Kipper's demonstration of the Messiah, part iii. c. 2. p. 435.

take place till an. 1642, in the reign of *Abbas II.* who having a more peaceable reign, began to search into the register of the palace, and among others, found that of his father's contract with them, mentioned in the last note; and was so much more surpris'd at it, because *Zabbathai Tzevi* made then a great noise, and was looked upon by the *Jews* as the *Messiah*, who came to disengage them from it.

ACCORDINGLY *Abbas II.* called a great council to deliberate on that important affair, where it was unanimously agreed that the *Jewish* nation ought to be destroyed without delay; which encouraged so many cheats, who aimed at nothing but to oppress the rest of mankind. The order was accordingly issued out, both to the *Persians* and strangers, to butcher them without exception of age or sex, or of any but those that turned *Moslems*. The massacre began at *Massacred Isfahan*, the capital of the kingdom, and was carried on with at *Isfahan* the same severity in the provinces of *Schiras*, *Ghelan*, *Hama-* *han*, &c. *dan*, *Ardan*, and *Tauris*, where the *Jews* were settled, and lasted three years, or from *A. C.* 1663 to 1666, without intermission or pity; insomuch that there was not one of them left in all those provinces, where they had gained immense wealth. Some few found indeed means to flee into the *Turkish* dominions, and others into *India*; and many saved

A. C.
1666.

of their expected *Messiah*; and promised that they should be tolerated till then; and that if he came accordingly, he and his successors would embrace his religion; but that if he did not, they should either turn *Moslems*, or suffer the loss of their lives, children, and effects: they had some time granted to make their answer; and after mature deliberation, told the *Shâh* that the *Messiah* was to appear in 70 years, reckoning from the day on which they had been summoned before him; by which they at least procrastinated the threatened punishment till after his death. *Abbas*, who was avaricious, as well as cruel, made them pay dear for their tolera-

tion, caused the agreement to be registered, and signed on both sides; and taxed the *Jews* at two millions of gold. *Abbas* died in the 63d year of his age (*A. C.* 1620)*; and 115 years elapsed from his reign, before the contract above-mentioned was thought on; the *Persian* kingdom being all that time distracted with wars against the *Turks*. *Amurat IV.* who, *A. C.* 1638, made himself master of *Bagdad*, found great numbers of *Jews* in it; but tho' he massacred the *Persians*, contrary to his promise, yet he shewed favour to the *Jews*, in hopes they would prove serviceable to him (29).

* See before, vol. v. p. 452, & seq. (29) Dom. Miguel de Barrios Hist. Universal Judæic. p. 4. Basnag. lib. ix. c. 26. §. 9.

Obtain liberty of conscience. their lives, &c. by abjuring *Judaism* (L). But as he afterwards observed that most of those conversions were feigned and forced, it is not improbable that they might disgust him from proceeding farther, and induce him to restore to them the full liberty of their religion, as was the custom of the *Persians* to do to all strangers. And we read accordingly that they enjoyed it a long time after, that is, till one of the Shāh's ministers, either out of hatred to them, or with a design to enrich himself by their spoil, prevailed upon his master to persecute them afresh ^P. He spared neither fair nor violent means to gain his end, and even obtained an order from him to forbid the exercise of the *Jewish* religion, in order to make them turn *Mohammedans*. He caused them to be closely watched; and found upon the whole, that whatever shew they might make of a change, they still continued in their old religion; which at length obliged him to let them still remain bad *Jews*, since he could not make them good *Moslems*. However, continues our author, those that are at *Ispahan* are very poor, and in small number, and are obliged to pay a sequin ^{per} head to the king, and to wear a piece of cloth on their breasts, of about two or three inches, and of a different colour, upon their upper garment, by way of distinction. It is plain moreover, from the traveller who

Their shew conversion.

Distinction of dress in Persia.

^P THEVENOT, Voyag. Engl. part ii. lib. ii. c. 14. p. 110.

(L) It is no less difficult to reconcile our author's chronology above-mentioned with the reign of *Abbas I.* than to reconcile the above contract with the character of that haughty monarch. He did not put his brother to death till *an.* 1586, 16 months after his father's death; and from his mounting the throne to the last year of this massacre (1666), could elapse but 80, instead of 115 years. Besides, he could not presently make such a treaty with the *Jews*, from the beginning of his reign; nor the *Jews* themselves be grown so wealthy in so short a time. So that the most that can be supposed to have elapsed between the one and the other, is about 60, or at most 70 years. Wherefore it is absurd to say the execution of the contract was suppressed for so long a time, either on account of this *Turkish* war, or of a toleration by virtue of this imaginary treaty with them: for who can imagine that so despotic a prince would treat with his slaves on such terms, and engage to be of their religion, if their promise about the *Messiah* proved true? It is therefore more likely that he at first persecuted them, to make as many proselytes of them as he could to his own religion; a piece of zeal which all the *Moslem* princes glory in; and in case of recusancy, the confiscation of their riches might be no less powerful a motive to his avarice.

was in those parts from an. 1663 to 1665; that is, some years before the time of the *Jewish* massacre, that, upon his coming thither, they enjoyed full liberty of conscience; since he adds, that the *Persians* thought it strange, that one *Eatemad Doulet* should have taken it into his head some time before, to oblige them to turn *Mohammedans*,

THE tribe of *Levi* pretend to have maintained themselves in *Shiras*, where the *Persians* have a famed academy; and we are told, that there are a greater number of *Jews* in it than in *Isfahan*; but how the *Levitical* tribe, whether it be the descendants of those that staid in *Babylon*, or of those that returned with *Ezra* †, should have maintained itself there, and ingrossed the wine and glass trade (for that is what they are chiefly employed in) is not easy to guess. They are still more numerous at *Lar*, the metropolis of one of those provinces; and have a quarter peculiar to them at the foot of the mountain between the town and the castle; and extend themselves into the country, on the side of *Ormuz* and *Bender Abassi*, in order to get some part of the *Indian* trade into their hands, which was once carried on by their brethren, who were formerly very numerous in those parts (M). But to return to *Persia*, and the provinces depending on it.

*Tribe of
Levi at
Shiras.*

*Jews at
Lar, &c.,*

† De his vid. *Anc. Hist.* vol. x. p. 181, & seq. † *THEVENOT*, voyag. Engl. part ii. lib. iii. c. 4. p. p. 131.

(M) There was a manifest difference made there between those who were born *Indians*, and had embraced *Judaism*; and those that were descended from *Abraham*. And the king of *Portugal*, who had banished them out of his kingdom, suffered them to live at *Goa*, and other places, where they were allowed the exercise of their religion (30). But, at length, an impostor having appeared there, an. 1639, who was believed by them to be the *Messiah*; and whose fame had reached even to *Portugal*, where some of the *Jewish* converts betrayed their old leaven, on the hopes of him, the

inquisition took such care to suppress them, that they were all forced either to flee or to turn *Christians* (31), in those eastern parts that were under him.

They were moreover accused there of sacrificing, like the *Indians*, to the devil, to prevent his hurting them; but, though that accusation may be false, they have learned from them the doctrine of transmigration, and set up for great foretellers of things to come; which they pretend to do by their cabalistical art, and by the motions of the planets, which the *Indians* are highly pleased with.

(30) *Mandello's Voyage into India*, lib. ii. p. 272. (31) *Bisnag. ubi sup.* c. 27. §. 14.

at Bagdad ;

in Armenia ;

persecuted.

Their number in Media ;

BAGHDAD, once the residence of the princes of the captivity, is so gradually dwindled, since its being taken by *Amurat IV.* an. 1638, that it hath not above 15,000 inhabitants ; and among them a good number of *Jews*, who have their synagogue in it, and increase yearly by the concourse of pilgrims, who visit the tomb of *Ezekiel* formerly mentioned ; but still they are hated by the *Persians*, and kept very poor, though they enjoy the free exercise of their religion. They are said to live more peaceably in *Armenia* ; though their own writers own no such thing ; but tell us, that those of *Masfa* having accused them of having killed a Christian, because he was seen to go into a *Jewish* house, and not to come out of it again, an information was immediately lodged against them ; and the murder being confessed by the accused, they crucified some, and burnt others, not even sparing *Abiob*, a celebrated physician, whom they cast into the flames. Three days after the Christian appeared, the accusation was found to have been laid out of hatred to them, and the confession to have been extorted by torture. Complaint being made of it to *Suliman II.* the *Armenian* magistrates were forbidden, from thenceforth, to take cognisance of such criminal cases, and ordered to bring them before the *Sultan*. This story, if true, which is taken from an anonymous writer who lived in *Egypt*, and is intitled, *The Sufferings of the Jews*, shews plainly, that, if they live quietly among the *Armenians*, it is rather owing to the protection of the *Porte*, than to any good liking or conformity between them, hinted at by the author last quoted.

THEY are still numerous in *Media*, whither they had been transplanted by *Sennacherib* † ; but whether they kept footing there ever-since, as they pretend, is hard to guess (N). How-

† Vjd. 2 Kings, c. xix. & seq. † HERBERT'S Voy. into Persia, an. 1677.

(N) Whether *Tauris* be the ancient *Ecbatane*, or rather a new one near it, here is a considerable commerce carried on by the *Jews*. The same may be said of *Chasbin*, which some geographers believe to be the ancient *Ragesh* of *Media*,* where the *Jews* had been transported, and where *Gabael* lived, whom *Tobit* had intrusted with his ten

talents (32). It is still a rich trading place, and advantageously situate to link the commerce between *Hircania*, *Iberia*, and *Media*, with the other parts of the empire. Insomuch, that it was made the capital of *Persia*, and the royal residence for the winter, by *Thahamasp*, and continued so till *Abbas I.* removed it to *Ispahan**.

(32) *Tobit* iv. 20. da bac, v. d. sup. vol. I. p. 379.

ever, they are said to have one hundred families against forty of Christians. They are not suffered to settle at *Scamachia*, a trading city on the *Caspian Sea*; but the *Tartars*, who bring thither boys, girls, and horses, to sell, are obliged to tolerate, and intermix with them for the sake of that commerce. They spread themselves as far as the foot of mount *Caucasus*; and we are told, that the prince of *Mingrelia*, as well as that of *Imiretta*, pretend to be descended from king *David*. The ancient monarchs of *Georgia* boasted the same in *Georgia*; and the *Cham* of that country, among his other titles, takes that of a descendant from that *Jewish* king by his son *Solomon* *. They give indeed no solid proof of it, tho' there is a great mixture of *Judaism* among them; and there is the small city situate at the foot of *Caucasus* called *Alakzike*, in which they had formerly a synagogue built by the *Georgians*; but which the *Turks* have since taken from them †. This is the state of the *Jews* in *Perſia*, *Media*, *Armenia*, and other provinces of this large part of the East. They have their synagogues, and are very numerous, since they are found in all the trading cities from *Bassora* and the *Indies*, quite to *Mingrelia*, *Georgia*, &c. But their tribes have long since been so confounded and blended, that they are no longer distinguished. What is still worse, they are very poor and ignorant; and, for the most part, get a miserable living by the lowest and meanest services in life; they have neither commerce nor correspondence with their brethren in the West, and hardly know any thing of them. But it is now time to see how they fare in other provinces of the East.

AND here one would naturally expect, that *Judea*, their once delightful country, should have a greater number of *Jews* in them than either *Syria*, *Egypt*, &c.; but, as all its noble streams of milk and honey have been long since dried up, their love for it hath cooled in proportion. It is indeed frequently visited by their devotees, who go thither in pilgrimage, as well as the Christians; but few of either sort care to settle in it, since they find it so difficult not only to grow rich, but even to get a tolerable subsistence in it.

SAPHETA, or, as the *Jews* commonly call it, *Sephet*, *The acana*—or rather *Tzepheth*, a city in *Galilee*, is the most populous and the most noted that the *Jews* have in this province. It enjoys several advantages above the rest (O); and they are used with

* CHARDIN'S Voyage into Persia, p. 107, & seq. † Ibid. p. 168.

(O) It is situate in the tribe of *Bethsaiadab*, and built on a mountain with three heads, of *Naphtali*, about nine miles and

Learned
men.

Rabbies.

with greater mildness than in any other part of the *Ottoman* empire^u. A traveller of the last century affirms, that none but *Jews* were in it; but he was misinformed, having only rode by the foot of it^w; for it hath about one-third *Mohammedans*, and the rest all *Jews*. It hath an academy which is still famous, and much resorted to, and hath had some learned professors in it; and, though the *Jewish* nation have for a good while lost their relish for learning, yet they send their children to be instructed in the *Hebrew* tongue; for it is their notion, that it can be no-where taught in its purity so well as there; and *Sapheta* is now become what *Tiberias* was once. The reader may see in the margin an account of their most celebrated rabbies and professors (P). All that we need

^u FULLER'S *Pisgah sight*, p. 111.
the *Levant*, p. 342.

STOCHOVE'S *Voy. of*

and difficult of access; and consequently more free from the incursions of the plundering *Arabs*.

(P) It is plain, from *Benjamin de Tudela's* not mentioning it, that it must have been founded since he was in *Judea*; that is, since the twelfth century. Accordingly, we do not find any persons to have flourished in it till the latter^o end of the thirteenth. The first, and one of the most celebrated, was *Moses*, surnamed *Cordova* and *Cordubensis*, from the city of *Cordova*, his native place, who left it, and retired to this city; and was perhaps one of the first founders of that academy. He was reckoned the most learned cabbalist that hath been since *Simeon Joabides*, formerly mentioned. He hath left a work in that kind, intitled, *The Garden of Pomgranates* (33); wherein the paradise or garden in-

cludes the four different senses of the Old Testament; the P is the literal, R the mystical, D the enigmatical, and S the hidden or concealed (34).

The next was *Dominic of Jerusalem*, who taught some time, and had been dubbed *Rav*, or doctor, in it after he had finished his studies and lectures on the thalmud. But he was still more famed for his skill in physic; for which he was sent for to *Constantinople*, and became the *Sultan's* physician. He lived till the beginning of the last century; and, having embraced Christianity, translated the New Testament into *Hebrew*, and answered some objections which the *Jewish* rabbies made against the martyrdom of St. *Stephen*. *Mursius* seems to mention two of the same name, both *Jews* by birth, both physicians to the *Sultan*, and both new converts to Christianity; but, in all

(33) See *Canticles*, chap. iv. ver. 13. tom. ii. p. 282.

(34) *Bartoloc*, ubi sup. tom. iv. p. 230.

need add, is, that there is not a city in *Palestine*, where they have subsisted so long, and even to this day, and with so much credit and safety. They had likewise set up here a printing-house for *Hebrew* books, as they had likewise at *Thessa-*

likelihood, they have been split into two without any reason (35).

But those who have done most credit to this academy, were the learned *Mosés Trani* and *Joseph Karo*, who presided in it about the middle of the 16th century. The former was a native of *Trani*, a city in *Puglia*, and taught here with such success, that he was stiled, *The Light of Israel*, *the Sinaite of Mount Sinai*, and *the Rooter up of Mountains*: because he takes off all the difficulties that occur in the law. His work is not a set of sermons, as *Buxtorf* hath imagined; for the title of it shews it to be a body of *Jewish* laws, wherein that author goes back to their fountain-head, and distinguishes between those penned by *Moses*, those which have been transmitted by oral tradition, and those which are only founded on the decisions of their *Jewish* doctors (36). *Joseph Karo* was a native of *Spain*, whence he retired into *Galilee*, where he died, an. 1575. He wrote so well on the rights of the *Jewish* nation, that he was called, *The Prodigy of the World* (37).

Besides those doctors which were strangers, *Sapheta* was not without some others that were bred up in her bosom. *Mosés Alsheh* was a native of it, a d

distinguished himself in the seventeenth century, not only by his eloquent sermons, but by his learned commentaries upon some part of the law. All the titles of his works are metaphorical. One is called, *The Eye of Moses*; another, *The Rose of Sharon*; a 3d, *The Lily of the Valley*; 4th, *Good Words*; 5th, *Comforting Words*; 6th, *The Portion of the Lawgiver*; 7th, *Hundred Gates*; 8th, *Moses's Burden*; 9th, *The Warrior's Looking glass*; 10th, *The Voice of the Weepers*; 11th, *The Law of Moses*; and some others of the like nature. He is much admired for aiming still at something new in his expositions of Scripture, and for his fondness for ancient writers above the moderns; and fairly relates their sentiments, even when they favour the Christians. He doth not, for instance, disguise that the Messiah was to be a man of sorrows, &c. (38). On the contrary, he proves it, by the three-fold distinction which the ancients have made of those afflictions, viz. 1. Of those which related to the patriarchs: 2. Those that related to the people of God: and 3. Those that related to the Messiah. But he is not so exact and uniform in the application of these prophecies; seeing some of them, he absurdly refers back quite

(35) *Nic. Murf. Relazione della città de Constantinopoli, con. Riti, &c. Del. Ottomano Imperio*, p. 34. *Basn. ubi sup. c. xxviii. §. 4.* (36) *Bartol. tom. iv. p. 31.* (37) *Ibid. tom. iii. p. 819.* *Vid. Wolf. Basnag.* (38) *Isaiab lxi.*

Theſſalonica and *Conſtantinople*, which were afterwards ſuppreſſed by the *Porte* *.

Few Jews THE *Jews* are ſtill in much ſmaller numbers at *Jeruſalem*, where there are reckoned only about 100 families, who live moſtly upon *Mount Sion*, and a few of them are employed in the cuſtoms, or by the governor as ſecretaries and clerks; and all the reſt are poor beggars, who live chiefly upon alms ſent to them from their richer brethren in the Eaſt and Weſt (Q). Theſe have hammered out a ſtrange excuſe for their

* De his vid. MAITTAIR'S Annal. Typogr. ORLANDI ORIG. della Stampa. PALMER'S Hiſt. of Printing.

to *Moses*, which plainly belong Chriſt (39).

R. Samuel Ozida was likewiſe born at *Sapheta*, and was a celebrated preacher. He wrote a commentary on the Lamentations of *Jeremy*, which he ſtiles, *The Bread of Tears*. *Moses Nagaira* was another native of *Galilee*; though ſome make him a *Portugueze*, on account of his name. He likewiſe taught at *Sapheta*, and hath left a commentary on the *Pentateuch*, which is much eſteemed by the *Jews*.

The laſt we ſhall mention was the famed R. *Judah Jona*, a native of the place, and maſter of our *Bartolucci*, and who inſpired him with the deſign of writing his *Bibliotheca Rabbiniſca*, ſo often quoted in this chapter. *Judah Jona* was deſcended from a *Spaniſh* family, which retired into *Tuſcany* upon the edict of king *Ferdinand*; and being thence again expelled by pope *Pius V.* paſſed into the Eaſt, and ſome of them at *Sapheta*, where *Jona* was born. Here he finiſhed his ſtudies, and

took the degree of doctor; and then came to *Amſterdam*, where he rendered himſelf famous for the judgment which he paſſed on the validity of a will in favour of a baſtard ſon, which was afterwards ratified by eighty ſeven rabbies of *Germany* and *Theſſalonica*. He was afterwards choſen judge by the *Jews* of *Hamburgh*; and ſoon after paſſed into *Poland*, where he turned Chriſtian, and became jeweller to *Sigismund III.* He was afterwards ſent by him to *Conſtantinople*, under pretence of buying precious ſtones, and was there ſeized as a ſpy; and would have loſt his life, had not the *Venetian* ambaffador redeemed him. He ſettled next at *Rome*, where he taught *Bartolucci* the *Hebrew* tongue; and is ſaid to have had ſuch a tenacious memory, that, if the *thalmud* had been loſt, he could have recovered it. He died an. 1668 (40).

(Q) Nothing can be a greater proof of their extreme poverty, than the frequent deputations they ſend to make

(39) R. M. Alſeb. In *Iſai.* ex verſ. *Conſtant.* l'Emperour preſat. & p. 232, 238, 240. Baſnag. ubi ſup. ſ. 6. Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. N. 1523, p. 308, & ſeq. (40) Bartoloc. ubi ſup. tom. iii. Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. N. 720. p. 430.

their want of zeal, and their averfeness to fettle in that holy city. They tell us, that it is to be reduced to afhes at the coming of the Mefiah, by a fire from Heaven, which is to be immediately followed by a miraculous rain that fhall extinguifh it; to the end that the holy place may be purified by fire and water, from the pollutions which the Chriftians and *Mohammedans* have committed in it; their fear therefore of being involved in that dreadful conflagration, they tell you, is the motive that keeps them from dwelling near it. They would doubtlefs fpeak more fincerely, if they owned, that the little traffic, that is carried on there, the heavy imposts laid on them by the *Turks*, the extreme poverty which reigns among them that live in it, and the infults and mortifications they are expofed to from the *Mohammedans*, who have an equal, if not a greater, veneration for that city, and many Santons living in it, are the real difcouragements that keep them from fettling there.

THERE was the famed *Rabbi Jacob* in this city at the time that *Selim* took it, at the beginning of the fixteenth century, who compiled a learned work, called, *The eye of Ifrael*, which was a collection of the various expofitions of the law which are found in the thalmud. Several docters had already compiled all that concerns the queftions of *Jewifh* rights and rites; but *Jacob* collected thofe that relate to the law, and are fcattered in that large volume. He did not live to finifh his defign, but left it to his fon *Levi*, who was no lefs learned than his father; and who completed, published, and prefaced it with lively tokens of forrow for his father's untimely death. And it was on account of this work, that a violent rupture happened among the contemplative profefors of *Sapheta*, which lafted during *Levi's* whole life. But, after his death, the jealoufy, which his learning had raifed, began to cool, his memory to be revered, and his book, which faved the reading of feveral large volumes, was received with great applaufe (R).

WE

collections in other parts for their maintenance. It was upon this errand, that *Jacob Ternerita* paffed through *Franckford, Germany*, and *Holland*, in 1684. His father was one of thofe, who, on his leaving of *Portugal*, had retired to a fmall town in *Judea* called *Tomer*, not far from *Sapheta*. The

Jews there having deputed him to beg fome relief for them from thefe parts; and it was, upon his return thither, that Mr. *Ludolph* fent fome letters by him to the *Samaritans* of *Mount Garizzim*, to whom he was known.

(R) *Leg de Modena*, a learned Italian rabbi of the laft century, afterwards

A great
cheat
there.

Confesses
his dissimu-
lation.

Jews at
Damas-
cus ;

WE read of another learned *Jew* of this city, whose avarice or ambition induced him to make such a fair profession of Christianity, that he, by degrees, raised himself to the dignity of patriarch of *Jerusalem* (S), after having gone thro' all the inferior ones with great applause. Not yet satisfied with his good fortune, he removed thence to *Constantinople*, in hopes of obtaining the patriarchate of it, which was then vacant ; but being there seized with a dangerous sickness, which made him think himself near his end, he sent for several bishops, and a much greater number of *Jewish* doctors, to his bed-side, to whom he openly declared, that he had always believed the *Jewish* religion to be the best ; that he renounced his bishoprick of *Jerusalem*, in order to die in his old faith, which he had never forsaken but in word ^v, to the great astonishment of those that heard him ; especially of all those whom he had so long deceived in a church, where the intention of the priest is declared necessary for the administering and efficacy of the sacraments.

THE *Jews* in *Syria* are much more numerous and flourishing than in *Judea* ! They have always had their synagogues, chakams, and learned men at *Damascus* ². Besides which, they have got from the Christians a celebrated spot of ground, pretended to be that where *Elijah* the prophet called *Elisba* to be his servant ⁴, and where they have reared a sumptuous synagogue instead of the church which the Christians had built. They have likewise a public burying-ground near the city, which is only parted by an alley from

^v HIERAR. continuat. Phil. Cypr. Chron. Eccl. Græc. p. 497, & seq. AP. BASNAG. ub. sup. c. 28. §. ult. ² THEVENOT'S Voyage of the Levant, lib. i. tom. iv. p. 50. * 1 Kings xix. 19, & seq.

afterwards gave that work the finishing stroke, by adding to it the sentiments of several learned rabbies that were wanting in it, and a table of the chief matters, for the more readily finding them. He intitled his additions, *The House of Judah* ; and his table, *The Bread of the House of Judah* ; and published both an. 1635.

(S) As this patriarch was no friend to the Jesuits, it is still doubtful, whether he was really guilty of such enormous dissimu-

lation, or whether they have not charged him with it only to tarnish his memory. It is not indeed easy, at this distance, to come at the truth of it : however, supposing the fact true, he is not the only *Jew* by a great number that hath done so ; witness what we have said of those in *Spain* and *Portugal*, who still follow this dissimulation, though they have not so much honesty as to confess it at their deaths.

that

that of the Christians ^b. They are no less numerous at *Alep- at Aleppo*, which is the ancient *Berea*, and where they have stately ^{po} synagogues, drive a considerable traffic, and signalize themselves in an uncommon manner on all public shows and festivals, especially on the birth of young princes, in order to ingratiate themselves with the *Ottoman* court, and with the governor of the place ^c.

It was in this city that the infamous *Zabathai Tzevi*, an- *The false* other false Messiah, was born; and, notwithstanding his mean *Messiah* extract and education (T), formed the design of setting up for *Zabathai* the *Tzevi*,

^b Стоков. Voy. of the Levant, p. 314. ^c Id. *ibid.* an. 1638.

(T) Some make him a native of *Smyrna*, but more of *Aleppo*. He was a poulterer's son, and was scarcely come from school, before he began to preach in the streets and fields, even before the *Turks*, who only laugh'd at him, whilst his disciples highly admired him. He married a young *Jewess* in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and divorced her immediately after, without having touched her. He took a second, with whom he lived in abstinence, probably to dazzle the eyes of the multitude, by his pretended love of chastity. He conversed so long with the writings of the prophets, that it is supposed to have in some measure turned his brains, by endeavouring to apply them to himself; insomuch that he fancied he could fly up into the air, and blamed his followers for not having perceived him mounted on the clouds. He also pretended to do other miracles by the power of the name *Jehovah*; for which some of the wiser sort summoned him before the synagogue, and condemned him to death. But, as they could not get any to exe-

cute their sentence, they contented themselves with banishing him.

He passed over to *Thessalonica*, a city where the *Jews* were very numerous; and which, consequently, appeared a very fit place to play his tricks in; but he was soon banished out of it, and from *Athens* and other *Greek* towns, and retired to *Alexandria*. He had by this time taken for his third wife, a young *Jewish* woman that had been debauched, and whom her parents had left in *Poland* under the care of a Christian nobleman. *Tzevi* gave out, that the soul of her father, loosed from the body, had passed from *Asia* into *Poland*, to transport her stark naked into his house; and married her after she had travelled with him through *Germany* and *Italy*; and he found credit enough among those of his nation to have her looked upon as the queen of his future empire. His brother, who was a tobacconist at *Frankfort*, left his shop to go to him, in hopes to get some of the best posts under him; and had the comfort to be added to the vast

A. C. 1666. the great deliverer of *Israel*. As this imposture exceeds any thing we have met with of that kind among the many false messiahs that have appeared hitherto, both as to its circumstances and consequences, and is, notwithstanding; so little known, the reader will be glad, no doubt, of an account of what is most material in this whole transaction.

His precursor

Jews him to them.

Condemned to death.

WE have seen in the last note both his extract, and the method he took to gain credit among those of his nation, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the best and most learned of them. To make his character most conspicuous and agreeable to the predictions of the prophets, there was a necessity that it should be ushered in by an *Elijah*, or forerunner; and he made choice accordingly of a very noted Jew at *Gaza*, named *Nathan Levi*, or, according to others, *Benjamin*, a very fit person to promote his design; and who gave the more easily into it, because, according to the interpretation of the cabbalists on a passage of *Daniel*, the Messiah was to appear on or about the year 1675. His first step was to assemble all the Jews at *Jerusalem*, and to abolish the fast which was there celebrated in the month of *June* following, because it was now inconsistent with the coming of the Messiah. After which, he shewed *Tzevi* to them, and told them, that he was the miraculous person who was to be their deliverer, and to destroy the *Ottoman* empire, on *November* following. He met however with fresh opposition from the wiser sort, who plainly foresaw, that this intended insurrection would go near to cause the ruin of their nation in that empire; upon which they pronounced him an impostor, anathematized, and condemned him to death, alleging, that he neither had the characteristics of a Messiah, nor *Levi* those of his forerunner (U).

TZEVI,

number of the fools he had already made. So well had the cheat hitherto succeeded thro' the credulity of the Jews.

(U) He was thereupon forced to leave *Jerusalem*, and to go to *Smyrna* and *Constantinople*; in which last he expected a plentiful harvest of disciples; but the Jews there had already been informed by letters from the twenty-five rabbies, who had excommunicated him, of the sentence passed against him; in

which they pronounced him an impious wretch, and that whoever killed him, would do an acceptable service to God, and gain many souls to him. This obliged him to post away back to *Smyrna*, where his presence was necessary upon another account; viz. to receive four ambassadors sent him by his pretended precursor to acknowledge him for the Messiah. This embassy imposed still more upon the people; insomuch that several

of

T Z E V I, however, who found his party much more numerous than that of his opposers, caused them to assemble in the great synagogue of *Smyrna*, where he several times pronounced the name *Jehovah*, and made some few alterations in their liturgy; whilst the audience not only acknowledged his authority, but pretended to behold something divine in his person. A fresh sentence of anathema and death, pronounced against him by the rabbies, did not in the least intimidate him; because he knew that none would dare to put it in execution against him. He went however to the *Bribes the Kadi*, whom his friends had found means to gain, and put *Kadi*; himself under his protection; the giddy multitude giving out, that they had seen fire come out of his mouth like a pillar, which had obliged them to protect instead of putting him to death; upon which he was brought back in triumph, accompanied with shouts out of *Psalm cxviii. ver. 16, The right hand of the LORD is exalted, &c.*

As he wanted now nothing but a throne to complete his *erects his* character, he caused one to be raised for himself, from which *throne.* he spoke to his subjects; and another for his queen, as he stiled her. He gave them likewise a new set form of faith, which all the world was to receive as from the mouth of the Messiah. Some of those who opposed it, were forced to save themselves by flight; others, who had been incredulous till then, owned themselves convinced, being either really *Imposes on* so, or borne away by the torrent; and were industrious in *the Jews.* applying to him the accomplishment of the divine oracles. When he found himself raised to this height of authority, he ordered the *Sultan's* name to be erased out of the *Jewish* liturgy, and his own to be written in its stead. After which he began to dispense the high dignities of his future kingdom among his most staunch favourites, stiling himself the king *His title.* of kings of *Israel*, and his brother *Joseph Tzevi*, king of kings of *Judah*. He embarked at length for *Constantinople*, in a small vessel, whilst the rest of his followers went thither by land, and was nine-and-thirty days at sea; by which time *Appre-* the Grand Signor, being informed of his coming, sent or- *bentled and* ders to his Visir *Azem* to apprehend him, and have him se- *bastona-* verely bastonadoed, which was accordingly done. *doed.*

of their doctors were caught by it. What added still more weight to it, was his affected humility, his frequent washings, his being the first at their synagogues; but especially his pa-
thetic sermons to them there, which had such an effect upon them, that they could no longer resist acknowledging him for their king, and making suitable presents to him.

The blindness of his followers.

THE *Jews* were not at all surpris'd at this accident, but began to recollect, that, according to *Levi's* prediction, the Messiah was to be concealed 'nine months, during which he was to be a great sufferer; so that they looked upon this misfortune as an accomplishment of that prediction. *Tzevi*, on the other hand, being asked, why he had taken upon himself the title of king? answered, that it was done against his will, and to avoid the resentment of the *Jews*, who forced

Confined in the Dardanel.

him to it. This answer obliged the visir, who was then preparing for his departure into *Candia*, to use him more mildly, and to confine him in the *Dardanel*, which was looked upon as a new miracle; and the *Jews* began to give out, that it was out of the *Sultan's* power to put him to death, seeing he had not done it. There came, immediately after,

Sends ambassadors to the Jews.

a vast concourse of them to the *Dardanel*, where, having by dint of presents bribed the governor, they went and made much richer ones to their messiah, who, being thereby greatly puffed up, gave orders to have his birth-day celebrated; and sent ambassadors to all the *Jews* to declare to them, that he was the Messiah, and to acquaint them with the miracles which he pretended to have wrought, and was still to work. He gave at the same time, a plenary indulgence to those that should go and offer their devotions at his mother's tomb; and the *Jews*, on their part, came in shoals to pay their homage to him in his prison. Even those of the *Portugueze* synagogue at *Amsterdam*, composed a form of prayer, which was to be used by those who went to *Adriano-*

Opposed in his prison.

ple to see this pretended Messiah^d. But, in the height of all his success, came one *Nehemiah Cohen*, a *Polish Jew*, to his very prison to prove him an impostor; and, the more effectually to ruin him, turned *Mohammedan*, and revealed the whole mystery to the *Kaimakan*. The *Mufti* being also acquainted with it, was highly exasperated that such a man should be suffered to live, who disgraced the *Mohammedan* religion by pretending to be the Messiah. Application was thereupon made to the *Sultan*, who ordered the impostor to be brought to him at *Adrianople*, and that he should be pierced through with a sword or dart to try whether he was invulnerable.

Brought to the Sultan.

Turns Mohammedan;

SEVI, alarmed at this, found no other way to escape than by turning *Mohammedan*, by the advice, and after the example, of the *Sultan's* physician, who had done so before. His wife turned likewise, and all the *Jews* hearing of it, were greatly surpris'd and disheartened. But his cabbalistical

^d SIMON. Letters, tom. ii. p. 19.

friends

friends found means to keep up their hopes by affirming, that the Messiah was to be for some time among the *Turks*, as *Esther* had formerly been with king *Ahasuerus*; but all the wiser *Jews* were covered with shame at his apostacy and imposture (W). Nevertheless, such was the credulity of the greatest part of them, that, though *Tzevi* was afterwards *and is be-* beheaded, by order of the *Grand Seigneur*, the generality of *beheaded.* them believe him to be still alive, another impostor being *Pretended* since risen, as it were out of his tomb, who persuaded *to be still* them, that that was the real Messiah; and that he should ap- *alive.* pear again in the world in a glorious manner. This new event being still more singular, and little known, we shall give it now to our readers, as it was communicated by Mr. *Hochepied*, the then consul at *Smyrna*, to the late Mr. *Cuper*, an. 1703, and by him of Mr. *Basnage*, author to the history of the *Jews*. The letter is to the following purport:

"*TZEVI* being beheaded by order of the *Sultan*, was *A new im-* in a manner forgot, when a *Jew*, named *Daniel Israel*, *postor pro-* who had dwelt in that city (*Smyrna*) six or seven years, *claims his* took it into his head to persuade his nation that he is still *second* alive, and concealed in some corner, where he is to con- *coming.* tinue about forty-five years: after which, said he, he will appear again, according to *Daniel's* prophecy, to this purpose: *And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination of the desolation set up, shall elapse one thousand two hundred and ninety days: blessed is he that watcheth and cometh to the 1335 days! when he shall appear and deliver his people.* These days are prophetic years; the accomplishment of which he makes to fall precisely to the term of forty-five years after the death (or, as that new impostor words it), the retreat of *Sabbathai Tzevi*.

"THIS *Daniel*," continues the consul, "is neither rabbi nor *Some sur-* doctor, but one that reads the law in the synagogue, and *prising* uses divers artifices to deceive those that hear him; and it *tricks per-* is hard to guess by what means he doth them. Being

• Letter of Mr. HOCHÉPIED, conf. of Smyrn. to Mr. Cuper, January 6th, 1703. ^f Chap. xii. ver. 11, 12.

(W) This was, it seems, what gave birth to the book, intituled, *The three Impostors*, different from another of the same title, much talked of, but, probably, never seen, or compiled.

The three impostors mentioned by this we are speaking of, were *Sabbathai Tzevi*, *Mahomed Bey*, alias *John Cigala*, and *Padre Ottomano* (41).

(41) *Vid. Basnag ubi sup. lib. ix. c. 27, §. 25.*

formed by
him.

“ seated at table, he pronounces these words in *Hebrew* with a loud voice, *I have heard, and my entrails were troubled*; and at once rises up with such velocity, that one would imagine he was carried off by some superior force. As he moves farther, one sees in the air behind him a globe of fire, which seems to follow all his motions, until he turns his face about towards the beholders; and as he tacks about, he is heard to pronounce these words, *The Lord is king, the Lord is king, the Lord shall reign for ever and ever*; at which time the fiery globe is seen to remove itself upon his breast, where the word *Jehovah* appears written upon it; but presently after disappears.”

Great
Jews taken
with them.

THESE prodigies (with some other juggling and surprising tricks, which the above letter mentions, but which we omit for brevity's sake ²) have astonished a great number of *Jews*; and among them the famed *Abraham Michael Raphael Cardoso*, who dwells in *Candia*. They will not believe *Daniel* to be a magician, but a real prophet, who acts by the power of God; and that, as he affirms it, *Sabathai Tzevi* is still alive, and wait with impatience for his appearing; and, in the mean time, celebrate the 26th of *Kaslew*, or 18th of *December*, which is his birth-day, with great solemnity.

The cheat
discovered.

NEITHER the Christians, nor the *Kadi*, would have known any thing of this imposture, had there not happened a rupture among the *Jews*; for to do the wiser sort of them justice, they strenuously opposed the impostor; so that of necessity the matter broke out, and was brought before that judge, to whom they offered a sum of 175 rixdollars, to cause him to be expelled the city, in order to wipe off themselves the shame of such a cheat. *Daniel's* friends at the same time offered a much larger sum to save him; and, though these officers commonly turn the scale to the heaviest side, yet the *Kadi*, fearing lest he should be called to an account for having protected one of *Tzevi's* disciples, who was raising a man from the dead, whom the *Porte* had caused to be executed, actually banished him; and he continued some time at the small town of *Cassaba*, in the valley of *Magnesia*, near the river *Ornus*, and still pretended to return to *Smyrna* with all his followers; because the government of the *Kadi* was to expire within six months.

Kadi banishes him.

The end of
that imposture.

SINCE then, Mr. *Cuper*, willing to know how the matter was ended, received a letter from Mr. *Heyman*, minister of the *Flemish* church at *Smyrna*, which gave him an account, That the death of *Cardoso*, who maintained the impostor, and had been murdered by his son-in-law at *Grand Caire*,

² See BASNAG: lib. ix. c. 27. §. 19, & seq.

had put a final end to the cheat; that the murderer fled into a *Turkish* mosque, and turned *Moslem*, but doth not tell us what became of *Daniel Israel*. *Cardoso* was, it seems, a great admirer of *Nostradamus's* predictions, which he had read at *Salamanca*, whilst he was a student there^b. We need not here observe, from what has been related above, how numerous, powerful, and flourishing, they are in all these *Turkish* dominions; and, indeed, they have found means, though despised by all the *Mohammedans*, to make themselves so useful to them, that there is hardly any traffic carried on without them, but especially with the Christians, with whom they scorn to deal without a *Jewish* go-between, or broker; and as the *Turks* are commonly honest and well-meaning, they seldom fail of being made the dupes of both, and the *Jews* of being well paid for their knavery: so that they would of course grow vastly rich, if the government did not load them with heavy taxes for the liberty they enjoy. But let us now pass on to those in *Ethiopia*, *Egypt*, and the rest of *Africa*, during these three last centuries.

WE begin with *Ethiopia*, where they live more peaceably, and more easily maintain themselves by the conformity there is between their religion and customs, and those of the *Ethiopians* (X), who boast themselves to be sprung from the same stock. Those that live here never received the thalmud, nor any of that heap of traditions under which their religion is buried in other places. Upon the inundation of the *Saracens* into that country, they went and sheltered themselves in *Abyssinia*, where they met with a very kind reception¹; and

^b HEYMAN'S Let. to Mr. Cuper, 29th Jan. 1707. LUDOLPH'S Hist. Ethiop. l. ii. c. 1.

(X) We shall have occasion, to speak more fully of the religion of the *Abyssinians* in their history, and shall here content ourselves with observing, that they not only agree with the *Jews* in several customs, such as circumcision, strict observance of the Sabbath, and abstaining from swine's flesh, but their kings boast themselves to be descended from those of the ancient *Jews*, and bear for their arms a lion holding a cross, with this motto; *The Lion, of Judah hath conquered*. We find likewise

their king *David*, in the letter he sent to pope *Clement vii.* taking the following titles upon him; *David, beloved of God, the pillar of faith, sprung from the tribe of Judah, the son of David, the son of Solomon, the son of the pillar of Sion, and of the seed of Jaacob*. Mr. *Ludolph* (42) doth indeed think, that that prince swelled those titles on this occasion above the common standard; but that doth not hinder their believing themselves to be descended from those *Jewish* monarchs.

(42) *Ludolph's Hist.*

l. ii. c. 1.

they

they still pretend to be very numerous and powerful there, and to have been masters of some considerable kingdoms in it (Y). It is not easy to guess how early they were settled in this country; but if we may believe a modern traveller, who hath been in those parts, there were not any to be found in any part of *Ethiopia*, except upon a vast high and

(Y) An *Arabian* author, who has written a panegyric on the *Ethiopians*, tells us, that the massacre of all the inhabitants having been resolved on, they applied themselves to the *Arabian* king, and begged, that they might be treated like the people of the Scripture, which, in the *Arabic* stile, signifies the *Jews*. They are called by *Mohammed*, the people of the book, meaning the Old Testament (43); so that the *Ethiopians* only desired to have the same treatment with the *Jews* (44); which the *Arabian* prince granted to them, on condition they should wear a scar on their face, by way of distinction.

We pass by here the pretended embassy sent by the king of *Ethiopia* to pope *Clement VII.* mentioned by *R. Gedaliah* (45), and by *Peritsol* (46), of which a little swarthy *Jewish* rabbi was the chief, and came to beg his holiness's assistance; and that he would send his master cannons, bombs, and other ammunition, together with engineers, and other proper persons, to defend his kingdom against the incursions of the *Arabs*, and other bad neighbours; in return for which, the king his master was to send his holiness spices of all sorts from his coun-

try, and go and conquer the *Holy Land*, and put it under his government.

Peritsol says, that the pope granted him his request, and sent him home in a vessel loaded with cannon and other warlike engines, and a proper number of engineers. He adds, that, during his eight months stay at *Rome*, the cardinals and persons of distinction invited him, and offered to visit him, but that he refused both. He was wont to ride on a mule about the streets, to observe all the curiosities of the place; and went so far one day as to ride a good way up into the church of *St. Peter*; and when he was bid to come down, he only answered, *Do well, O God, unto Israel!* The reader may see a fuller account of this embassy in the three authors last quoted, as well as a confutation of it in *Bartolacci* (47), and *Basnage* (48), which we omit for want of room; and, for the same reason, we shall pass by likewise all the fabulous stories about this country being the true *Prester John's*, and of the sabbation, or sabbatic river, which never flows during the Sabbath, and others of the like kind, which are foreign to the design of this chapter.

(43) *Koran. sur.* iii. p. 38. (44) *Hottinger. Hist. Orient. lib. i. c. 2. p. 214. Bajneg. lib. ix. c. 39. §. 2.* (45) *Schalbeletb Hakkabala, sub. An. Chr. 1524.* (46) *Peritsol Cosmogr. c. xiv. p. 93. & seq. Vid. G. Ludolph, ubi sup. & lib. iii. c. 9. comm. 5.* (47) *Bibl. Rabb. tom. i. p. 43.* (48) *Elst. des Juifs. lib. ix. c. 29. §. 7. & seq.*

spacious mountain in the heart of it, and inaccessible on all *Their high* sides but one, and that very rocky, difficult, and dangerous; *situation.* and where it was that our author tells us they were seated ^k, the top of it having a most delicious plain, of vast extent, full of small brooks, fine fruits, and excellent pasturage, where they live in plenty of all things, without ever coming down, or having any communication with the inhabitants of *Abyssinia*. Here it was that *Claude*, the son of *David*, mentioned in *Fidelity* the last note, being driven by his brother, and *Goranha* to king king of *Adel*, took refuge, and was received by the *Jews*, *Claude*, with open arms, and defended by them with such bravery and *A. C.* faithfulness, against the forces of the latter, that they obliged *1540.* them to retire, for which brave action they enjoyed his protection and friendship, after he had mounted the throne, during his whole reign.

OVIEDO, sent thither patriarch by pope *Julius III.* confirms their living only in such high and inaccessible mountains; and adds, that they had stripped the Christians of many tracts of land upon them. He adds, that the kings of *Ethiopia* cannot bring them into subjection, by reason of the difficulty of coming at them; so that they live in a manner independent, and form a kind of republic of their own. They still maintained themselves in the same independency towards the beginning of the last century; infomuch that they were sometimes dreaded by the *Abyssinian* kings, and were masters of near three provinces of theirs. *Sufneus* *al Sultan Saged*, a bold and successful prince, who had gained several victories over the *Gallas*, or *Gallani*, and died afterwards, *an. 1632*, came at length against them with a powerful army, and attacked them on their inaccessible rocks, and forced them to dislodge thence, and to disperse themselves thro' the kingdom ¹. Upon which some of them retired quite up to the springs *Driven* of the *Nile*, and among the *Cassres*; others are still in the pro- *from their* vince of *Demba*, where they apply themselves to the iron and *strong* woollen manufactures; which being odious to the *Abyssinians*, *holds.* are left wholly to them, on condition that they shall furnish them with all the necessary implements of war. They have their synagogues and free exercise of religion, in which they make use of the thalmudic *Hebrew*, tho' they have not adopted that book. They are likewise very numerous at the court of the *Abyssinian* princes, infomuch, that an *Arabian* who had been there, told *Mr. Ludolph* that there were no less than

^k *JOH. DE CASTRO* Sinus Arab. seu Maris Rubr. Itinerar. p. 32. ¹ *PAULI V. Epist. ad Sufneum*, ap. *Ludolph. Comm. ad Hist. Æthiop.* p. 491.

Live quietly. 60,000 attending their camp^m. They trade with the Christians as well as the *Ethiopians*, and live in perfect friendship with them.

Great deliverance in Egypt, A. C. 1524. THOSE of *Egypt* were like to have undergone a more severe fate, when *Achmed*, governor of it, revolted against *Soliman II.* and laid a tax on them of 200 talents; and because they pleaded insolvency, and had brought but 15 talents into the treasury, gave orders that all who had not paid should be imprisonedⁿ. But here providence proved on their side,

Vast number, A. C. 1673. *Achmed* was seized and put to death, and tranquility restored to the city of *Cairo*, where they celebrated a feast in memory of their deliverance, and called it *Nassimo*, which signifies both a miracle, and the post on which *Achmed's* head was affixed^o. That city was very full of *Jews*, most of them very rich merchants; but the liberty that was granted to their nation, invited the rest to disperse themselves all over that country, where they exercised a great variety of trades, and carried on some considerable manufactures; and they pretend to have been there more numerous about this time than ever they were in *Moses's* days, but their number, we are assured, is since very much dwindled,^p they having hardly any settlements except at *Cairo*, and some of the maritime towns, but so far from having any in the country, that they were obliged to go disguised, whenever trade, or any other occasion, called them thither, to prevent being insulted or abused by peasants and common people^p.

lessened.

R. Moses Alefcar, A. C. 1555. ABOUT the middle of the 16th century flourished the famed *Moses Alefcar*, or the red (Z), who wrote a learned defence of *Maimonides*, in which he confuted all that had been objected against that learned rabbi.

Jews in Afric, MOST other known parts of *Afric* not only protect but encourage the *Jewish* nation; and they are the principal traders into the inland provinces, whence they bring not

^m Ap. LUDOLPH. lib. ii. c. 7. lib. iv. c. 5. N. 12. ⁿ SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 402. ^o GANTZ TZEMACH, sub. an. ^p VANSLEB Relat. of Egypt, p. 15.

(Z) Supposed from that surname to be descended from the noble family *de Rubens* in that country. He wrote some other small treatises, besides *Maimonides's* defence, against *R. Shem denfis* (50). *Tob* (49). *Buxtorf* mentions one of them intitled *Sepher Haggeulah*, or, a *Treatise on redemption*, which was more probably wrote by *R. Moses Gerundensis* (50).

(49) *G'daliab Sbalbeletb.* p. 63. *Burloloc. ub. sup. tom. iv. p. 59, & 61.*
(50) *Wof, ub. sup. N. 1517. p. 303.*

only slaves and gold-dust, but abundance of other commodities, especially gums and physical drugs. The misfortune is, that they adulterate every thing that comes thro' their hands. And so rich some of them are, that it was by the bare *rich and powerful* spoil of one of them that *Muley Archey*, king of *Taphilet*, was enabled to seize on the province of *Quiviana*, and to dispossess his brother, then king of *Morocco* and *Fez*; in gratitude for which he granted the *Jews* all their former privileges, and made *Josuah Ben Hamo* prince of that nation^a. His brother *Ishmael*, who succeeded him, favoured them still more, and as an acknowledgement for the great services which he had received from *Dom. Joseph de Toledo*, during his disgrace at *Miquenez*, not only made him one of the principal officers of his household, but sent him envoy into divers courts of *Europe*, and he was the person who concluded the peace with the *United Provinces*, *an. 1684*^b. His son had all the same dignities confirmed to him.

THEY had likewise been a long while settled at *Oran*, and *Betray* were intrusted in some of the highest places in that city, yet *Oran to the Spaniards* such was their fidelity to the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the ill treatment they had received from them, that they were the people who betrayed it to them, if it was not rather their avarice, and the great sums with which cardinal *Ximenes* bought their perfidy. However that be, they have continued very faithful to them ever since; and when it was in great danger from their neighbours, of being re-taken, the *Jews* resolved to lose their lives in its defence; and when the garrison threatened to revolt, at another time, for want of pay and provisions, they suppressed it by a timely supply of both. All this *Banished from it* did not prevent their being banished from the place, *an. 1669*^c, on what account is not easy to guess (A). Since which, they have not been able to get footing into it. *A. C. 1669.*

THEY have likewise been very numerous and flourishing *Numerous* in the province of *Suz*, which formerly depended on the *at Suz*, kingdom of *Morocco*, but has been since dismembered from it. They had in the capital of that principality a very rich *A. C. 1535* and sumptuous synagogue, which was served by several *& seq.*

^a Hist. of Taphilet. ^b Histor. general de Barrios. BASNAG. ub. sup. §. 17. ^c Hist. universal Judaic, de Miguel, de Bagrios..

(A) They do indeed accuse which had been of long date the marquis *de las Voles* to have hereditary in a *Jewish* family: used several artifices at court, to but could not that have been obtain this edict of banishment, done with less bustle and in- in order to bestow on an am- justice to all the rest? bitious favourite woman a post

priests and officers. They had their judges and interpreters of the law, who were maintained at the charge of the people, and these get their living by traffic and labour. There are great numbers of them in the mountains of *Marocco*, who are employed in the iron manufacture, building, and other such laborious employments, to which the inhabitants are averse. But this doth not hinder others from trying their fortunes at court, and raising themselves to eminent posts. It was one of that nation, named *Pacheco*, who was sent ambassador to the *United Provinces*, and died at the *Hague*, an.

Synagogues
re-built,

A. C.
1660.

Jews in
Turkey
and Con-
stantino-
ple.

1604, and was buried there with great pomp. Some time after, their synagogues having been demolished in the kingdom of *Fez*, *Muley Mohammed* not only caused them to be rebuilt as soon as he came to the throne, but made one of that nation his high treasurer and prime-minister.

BUT of all other countries the *Turkish* dominions have the greatest number of, and favour them most, and *Constantinople* above all other places; inasmuch that there is neither lord or merchant, *Moslem* or Christian, but hath one of them in pay, who is the chief steward of the household, makes all his bargains, takes care of affairs both at home and abroad; besides which they are employed by the ambassadors, as well as the inhabitants, as couriers, in all their negotiations (B). We formerly took notice that they had their quarter in the suburb of *Galata*, called from thence the *Jewry*; but it hath been since removed to the sea-side, where they have their synagogue, houses, and shops, and have the privilege of selling of wine, of which they make a considerable gain, because theirs is preferred to that of the *Armenians*, on account of the *Jewish* law forbidding all mixtures; so that they reckon theirs the purest and best. They carry on likewise a great

Trade and
privileges:

Capita-
tion.

commerce, and are brokers between the *Turks* and Christians, and lend money on usury, as they do in most other countries (C). For all these privileges they pay a capitation to the *Porte*,

* *CARIO Marochens. Regn. Descript. p. 308—341.*

(B) They are accordingly distinguished by their dress into two different orders; those that belong to foreign princes, or to their ministers there, wear the livery of those they serve: the rest wear a high crown'd hat without a brim, with a bluish turban and slippers; which is no

mark of ignominy to them, because every nation hath its particular distinction.

(C) A vast number of them are employed likewise as porters; but with this disadvantage, that they are forbid the use of knots or of a bag filled with hay under their burdens, which is only allowed

Porte, but instead of its being levied on them by the officer of the empire, they have agreed with him for a certain sum, which is brought to him by the chief of each synagogue, who lays it on them according to every man's worth, by which the poorer sort are relieved from too heavy imposts ^u.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, they have a great many *Poverty*. among them, whom extreme misery obliges to turn *Moslems* ^w, in which no other ceremony is required than an examination of the motives of their change, and their pronouncing the following words, *La Illah Illalah Mohammed Refoul Allah*; *that is, *There is no other God, but God, and Mohammed is his prophet* (D); but for the generality, they are very thriving and in great credit. The Christians accuse one of them that was physician to *Bajazet* II. of having been bribed by his son *Selim*, to *Bajazet* poison him in his flight to *Demoticha*; which he had no sooner *poisoned*. done, than *Selim* caused him to be put to death ^x. But neither *Selim* nor the *Jew* are charged by the *Turks* with that black deed; *Bajazet's* death being looked upon by them to have been natural. However that be, it was a *Jew* named *Michses*, who out of spite to the *Venetians*, inspired *Selim* II. with the first notion of conquering the fair island of *Cyprus*; which he soon after did, and granted the *Jewish* nation very *Cyprus* great privileges in it (E); and not long afterwards sent another *taken by* ther

A. C.
1472.

^u SMITH Notitia vii. Eccles. p. 116. RICAUT, HILL, THEVENOT, & al. ^w THEVENOT's voyag. into the Levant, lib. i. ch. 32. ^x D'HISBELOT. Bibl. Orient. p. 104.

allowed to the *Turkish* ones. And we are told of one of the former, who having met *Mabomet* IV. straying in a wood (where he had been hunting, and must in all likelihood have staid all night) and conducted him to his capital, was bid to ask what reward he would have for his service; and only begged that he might be permitted the use of the *Turkish* knot; which was granted him as a singular favour.

(D) These words are esteemed so sacred among them, that whoever pronounces them, must either turn *Moslem*, or is condemned to the flames.

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There is a common notion, that a *Jew* cannot be received into the *Turkish* mosk unless he first turn Christian, and is baptized; but that is a raillery rather than a truth. And as for circumcision, they never repeat it, because their old one is reckoned sufficient.

(E) Among other encomiums which *Michses* gave of that island to the *Sultan*, for which it was justly stiled *Macaria*, or the abode of the blessed, he commended its excellent wines, and *Selim*, who was very fond of that liquor, promised, in a drunken fit, to make him king of it. He did not, however, keep his

C c

word

Selim II. ther Jew, called *Solomon Rephe*, to Venice, to negotiate a peace with that republic.

A. C. 1579. THEY obtained soon after a much greater privilege from Printing set up at Constantinople. A. C. 1576. him, viz. that of setting up printing both in his metropolis and in *Theſſalonica*, by which their books, eſpecially the ſacred ones, which were then very ſcarce and dear, came to be diſperſed every-where, and were bought at ſuch an eaſy rate, that people applied themſelves more cloſely and univerſally to the ſtudy of them. The conſequence was that there appeared ſoon after ſeveral eminent rabbies, and chiefs of the ſynagogues there. *Solomon* the ſon of *Japhe*, who had left *Germany* to ſettle in that capital, read his expoſitions on the *Jeruſalem* thalmud, and rendered it much eaſier and clearer by them (F). *R. Gedaliah*, another learned doctör, who boated himſelf deſcended from king *David*, and likewise leave *Liſbon*, his native place, to ſettle there as a phyſician, and at the ſame time taught the rites of the *Jewiſh* nation. He became afterwards chief of the ſynagogue, and laboured much to re-unite the *Caraites* and rabbiniſts, but found both ſides too ſtiff to yield; ſo that the former only took the advantage of their mutual conferences to print and publiſh ſeveral of their own books (G). The laſt of note we ſhall mention, is *Mordecai*, the ſon of *Ehezer*, who called himſelf the *Conſtantiopolitan*; tho' he commonly reſided at *Adriano-ple*, and there expounded the grammar of *Aben-Ezra*, intitled, *Jeſſod Morah*, or, *The Foundation of Fear* (H).

word with him, but recompenſed him in ſome other way; and gave ſuch encouragement to thoſe of his nation in that iſland, that they became very numerous and rich in it, and continue ſo to this day.

(F) He printed ſeveral other works, one of which he ſtiled *The beauty of the eyes*; and another, *The fair look*, alluding to his ſurname of *Japhe*, which ſignifies fair or beautiful: the one contained a ſet of ſermons, and the other an expoſition of the *Middraſh Rabbab*, or larger comment on the Pentateuch (1).

(G) *Gedaliah* likewise printed his treatiſe of *Sibbha Enajim*,

or ſeven eyes, alluding to *Zachariah's* viſion (2); and ſome others which are not known. He muſt not, however, be confounded with a relation of his of the ſame name, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel.

(H) There hath been ſince diſcovered another work of his; viz. a MS. comment on the Pentateuch, the expoſitions of which are ſo literal, that he hath been thought a *Caraites*: but whether he was really ſo or not, this work hath been much commended by a learned author, who had thoroughly examined it (3).

(1) *Bartoloc. ub. ſup. tom. iv. p. 395 & 549.* (2) *Zachar' 3 v. 9.* (3) *Frey's Baſilens. Excerpt. Aarons. Vid. Baſnag. ub. ſup. c. 39. §. 9.*

THERE are some places indeed in *Greece*, out of which they have been expelled, particularly the city of *Salona*, whose inhabitants, *Turks* as well as *Greeks*, mortally hate them. The same may be said of *Athens*, where they had been fixed ever since the apostles time, but are since forbid to settle in it; which may be perhaps owing to the *Christians* being by far more numerous there than the *Turks*, there being between 8 and 9,000 of the former, and but about a fourth part of the latter, in it. But there are others, in which they are numerous and powerful; especially at *Patras*, where they have four synagogues, chuse their own judges from among themselves, and have a spacious burying-place on a neighbouring mountain, which at a distance looks like a large city (I). They are settled at *Lepanto*, *Livadia*, *Corinth*, and other cities of *Greece*, and live by their commerce; but that country is in so sad and desolate a condition, thro' the heavy taxes they are obliged to pay to the *Porte*, and its more ravenous officers, that they are for the most part very poor. They fare much better at *Theffalonica*, where we find them settled ever since the time of *St. Paul*; and have had a considerable academy for some centuries, as well as a printing-house; which last was since taken from them. Here flourished likewise several eminent rabbies, whose names and works the reader will find in the margin (K); and hitherto it is that the

Jews

† Acts xvii. 17. * Sr. G. WHEELER voy. tom. i. p. 398.

(I) This hill, it seems, is full of little houses, which serve for a repository for their dead; and have a kind of marble door, at which they are conveyed in, and whereon are the epitaphs of the dead, and of the family to which each doth belong.

(K) Among them was the famed *R. Moses Abelda*, whom *Plantavitus* mistook for a *Sicilian* (4), on account of his being stiled *Salonichi*, which is the name by which that city, and not *Sicily*, is called. He published several works there, particularly his *Derafs Moseh*, or mystical expositions, or sermons on the Pentateuch; and his

Shahare Dimbeh, or gates of tears; which is a moral treatise on the vanity and miseries of this life, written to comfort those of his nation under their frequent disasters (5), and some others of less note.

Here flourished likewise *R. Joseph* the son of *Levi*, who taught in it, an. 1490, and published a treatise on the use of the *Gemarrab*. He was at once chief of the synagogue of *Constantinople*, and of this academy; and this last it was that the false *Messiah Zabbathai Levi*, lately mentioned, chose for the scene of his imposture; not doubting but if he could im-

(4) *Plantavii Bibl. Rab. p. 136.*

(5) *Wolf, ub. sup. N. 1518. p. 824.*

Jews do still send their children from *Constantinople*, and other parts, to be taught the *Hebrew* tongue.

We read of about 6000 being settled at *Gallipoli*, a city in the *Thracean Chersonesus*, near the mouth of the *Propontis*, and a much greater number at *Prusia*, on the *Myſian* coast, near *Mount Olympus*; there being reckoned near 12,000 living within the walls of it, whilst the *Christians* are forced to dwell in the suburbs^a. They had formerly also a settlement at *Rhodes*, near one of the walls of the city, which was thence called the wall and quarter of the *Jews*^b; but soon after the raising of the siege by the *Turks*, the master of the *Rhodian* knights proposed to their council the banishing of them; which was readily agreed to, not only out of the whole island, but out of all the places under their dominions. It was likewise there resolved that the *Jews* not having the same natural right over their children that other parents have, they should baptise and educate them at the public charge, lest they in time should go out of the island, and return to their old religion. As for their parents, they were ordered to sell their effects, and depart within the space of forty days, but were forbid to go and settle in the *Levant*, lest they should serve as spies to the *Porte*. However, upon that island being re-taken by the *Turks*, the *Jews* returned and settled in it, and are used with greater mildness than the *Christians*^c, who are obliged to leave their shops and warehouses at night, and go and lie in the suburbs, and villages adjacent, which the

Rhodes
re-taken by
the *Turks*,

A. C.
1652.

^a St. G. WHEELER id. ib. p. 185. ^b SPON. voy. tom. i. p. 209.

^c STROCHOV. voy. of the *Levant*, p. 227. THEVENOT, ubi sup. tom. i.

pose on the doctors of so famed an academy, he should find it easy to do so on all the rest.

This was also the place where the apostate *Vicior Pardo* retired from the university of *Marpurg*, where he had been professor; and, upon his turning *Jew*, on pretence that he could not believe the mystery of the Trinity, took the name of *Moses Pardo*, A. C. 1614. Being here grown very poor, he wrote a letter to his quondam friend *Hertman*, in which he told him, among

other things, that all the bibles were sadly corrupted, except those of the original *Hebrew*, which he said he had closely studied since his coming to *Salonichi*. He moreover declared himself a firm adherent to the *Jewish* religion, which, he said, was allowed on all hands to be of divine original; whereas mankind was much divided about Christianity, and in that faith he died, tho' very poor and troubled in mind (6).

(6) *Epist. Mos. Pardo, ap. Skud Compen. Hist. Jud. lib. iii. c. 1. Vid. Basnag. lib. sup. §. 13.*

Jews are not. These, however, do not amount to above 200; but they are more numerous at *Smyrna*, where they are reckoned about 6000, and have a good number of synagogues^d. Upon the whole, there is hardly any considerable city or town in the *Ottoman* empire in which there are not some of them, tho' every-where oppressed by the *Sultan's* officers, in which they only fare as the rest of his subjects do.

THUS much may suffice for their history in the eastern *Jews in* parts, during the three last centuries; it is now time to return *Italy, &c.* into *Europe*, and take a view of them thro' all those Christian *during the* states wherein they are still tolerated. But here we hope our *three last* readers will gladly permit us to be more brief than we have *centuries.* been, with respect to the sufferings and horrid persecutions they have been forced to undergo, especially during the 15th and 16th centuries, and beyond, on false accusations of crucifying Christian children, stealing consecrated wafers, to use them in their conjurations, and the various miracles by which their pretended crimes have been brought to light, and exposed them to the barbarous fury of a zealous populace, and subjected them to such dreadful punishments, as can hardly be read without horror. These, we say, have been so frequent, and in so many parts of *Europe*, during this epocha, that a bare narrative of them would more than fill one of these volumes; for which reason we shall content ourselves with mentioning some of the most considerable instances of this zealous cruelty, and the year and place where they have happened, without descending into the many shocking particulars that attend them. As for matters of a different nature, and which we think worth a curious reader's notice, we shall gladly impart them to him, as they come in course.

WE begin with *Italy*, where, tho' we have seen them hitherto protected and favoured for the most part by the popes, yet their writers open this 15th century with a dreadful persecution, which the then warlike pontiff *John XXIII.* raised *Persecuted* by his several edicts against them; and not content to persecute them in his dominions, wrote a letter to the then queen *John* *XXIII.* *A. C.* *1412.* regent of *Spain*, during the minority of her son *John II.* desiring her to act in concert with him; which she did accordingly, and with such severity, that she obliged 16000 of them to renounce *Judaism*, whilst of those who persisted in it, one part were condemned to the flames and other cruel deaths, and the rest were massacred by the peasants in their flight, except some few who bought their lives by dint of money^e. This calamity, however, proved but of short duration, at least

^d SMITH Sept. Eccl. notit. • SOLOM BEN VIRG. p. 312.

Protected
by pope
Nicholas
II. A. C.
1447.

in Italy; and the Jews had the pleasure soon after to hear that their persecutor was himself reduced to a more desperate state than they (L). Nicholas II. being come to the papal chair, began not only to comfort and protect those within his dominions, but to suppress the inquisitors that plagued them. He likewise sent letters into Spain, to prevent their forcing them to abjure their religion; and as to those who did it with a good will, he affirmed that they had a right to be admitted into the public posts, from which the city of Toledo had unjustly excluded them, as hath been hinted before.

A new,
storm a-
gainst
them, A.
C. 1472.

THEY had not enjoyed the fruits of that pontiff's patronage many years, before a new storm arose against them from another quarter; but whether designedly or no, we will not affirm. Sextus IV. had been prevailed upon to canonize the little Simon, who had been murdered, or pretended to have been so, by the Jews (M), in the city of Trent, ever since the year 1276; but, for what reason may be better guessed than told, had not been fainted till now, that is, near 200 years after his pretended martyrdom. This at once revived the hatred and zeal of the people against them, not only in that city and bishopric, but in the territories of the city of Venice. The preachers, under pretence of some special miracle, excited them to such a degree, that they plundered and killed all the Jews that fell in their way; insomuch that the doge and senate were obliged to interpose their authority, to sup-

(L) The dire change of fortune of that haughty pontiff is elegantly set forth in the following distichs:

*Qui mox summus eram gaudens & nomine præsul
Tristis & abjectus nunc mea fata gemo.
Excelsus Soli nuper versabar in alto
Cunctaque gens pedibus oscula prope dabat;
Nunc ego pœnarum fundo devolvor in imo,
Vultum deformem quemquæ videre piget.
Omnibus ex terris aurum mibi sponte ferebant;
Sed, nec Gama juvat, nec quis amicus adest (7).*

(M) The Jews are accused of having murdered that youth, who was a tradesman's son, in a most cruel manner. They shew you still in that city a knife, a pair of pincers, and four large needles, with which they had let out his blood; and

two silver tumblers, out of which they had drank it. The whole story of that butchery is painted at full length in one of the churches of that city, in a chapel dedicated to the little saint (8).

(7) Vid. Buss. lib. ix. c. 31. §. 1.

(8) *Reliquæ, ubi sup. Bussag. ubi sup.*

prels the disaster ; and in their order to the magistrates of *Senate of Padua*, commanded them to be treated like their other sub-*Venice's*jects, and to prevent their being ill used by the populace ; *be-order in* cause the rumour spread at Trent appeared to them to be false, *their sa-*and artfully invented, for some ends which the senate did not care *vour* to dive into¹. However, this did not hinder the less equitable magistrates of Trent from banishing them, tho' some *Banished* time after they obtained leave to tarry there three days, *out of* because they drove a considerable commerce in that city. *Trent*. We learn since, that those three days were shortened into three hours, on account of their so strenuously defending the city of *Buda* against the Christians, in the last war with the *Turks*.

POPE Alexander VI. not only received those whom the kings of *Spain* and *Portugal* had banished, but observing that those that came to *Rome* met but with a sorry reception from their unnatural brethren there, (inasmuch, that they must have perished with hunger and misery, if he had not assisted them) sent express orders to the rest to alter their conduct *Some come* towards them, and, to supply those poor refugees with means *to Naples,* to settle themselves in his dominions, and threatened to banish *and are* them if they did not comply. To those that staid in his ter-*persecuted,*ritories he gave the same privileges as the ancient Jews had *A. C.* enjoyed, and endeavoured to procure the same for the rest *1510.* from the other states of *Italy*, which soon brought vast numbers thither (N). Another part went and settled in the kingdom

¹ See the order of the doge Moceningo, dated April 22, indication viii. an. 1475, ap. CARDOSO's *Las Excellencias*, p. 27. *Misson's* journey into Italy.

(N) Among those whom that pontiff's kindness had invited to *Rome*, was the learned *R. Jochanan*, a German, who had been lately settled at *Constantinople*, and became afterwards the master of the famed *Picus* of *Mirandula* a prince who had already betrayed an extraordinary fondness for the cabbalistical writings (9), and was so confirmed in it by that Jew, that he is reported to have declared, that those who dived

into them, dived in the true head spring; whereas those rivulets that had flowed thence into *Greece*, were no better than corrupt and stagnated waters. He likewise affirmed that *Ezra* had caused certain cabbalistical books to be written, which he had then in his possession, and had purchased at a vast price, and which *Sixtus IV.* had ordered to be translated into *Latin*.

Picus hath been much censured

(9) *Ap. Manasse. de Fragilit. prefat.*

A. C. dom of *Naples**, where they met with such severe usage from
 1539. the inquisitors, that the people mutinied, and the viceroy re-
 solved to banish them all out of that kingdom, that he might
 be at once rid both of them and of the plague of those in-
 quisitors. *Charles V.* soon after authorised his viceroy's con-
 duct, by refusing to grant them any toleration either in that
 Hated by kingdom or in *Sicily*. And indeed his whole behaviour to-
 Charles wards them shows that he really hated them, on account of
 V. A. C. some impostures he had found them guilty of, and which they
 1534. seem too much to have deserved of him: the reader may see
 an instance or two in the margin (Q). This did not, however,
 discourage

* DACHERII Specil. tom. ix. p. 162.

for his too great esteem of them; in answer to which he took God to witness (10) that he had found in them the mystery of the Trinity; and all the other mysteries of Christianity; so that there was not the least controversy or difference between them and the writings of *St. Paul* or *St. Jerom*; but that he had by them converted a vey learned cabalist, named *Dattilius*. No wonder then that a prince of that character should prove so

kind a friend and patron to the persecuted *Jews*.

About the same time one *Bonis de Latis*, a native of *Provence*, dedicated to pope *Alexander VI.* his treatise on the usefulness of an astronomical ring, which he had invented. He wrote it in tolerable good *Latin*, tho' he thought himself obliged to make an apology for it in the following distich prefixed to it.

*Parce, precor, quæ sunt rudibus errata Latino.
 Lex Hæbræa mihi est, lingua Latina minus* (11).

(O) One of them had, it seems, been so impudent before him, as to affirm himself to be the *Messiah*; and *Charles*, being convinced that he was a cheat, had caused him to be burnt alive, an. 1534. This did not deter two others from attempting the like imposture; only they acted their parts with more caution. The one was originally a *Jew*, but had been brought up a Christian, and had already got some small employment at the court of

Portugal, when the other named *David Lemlein* came thither from *Rome*, and resolved to make him act in concert with him. *David* gave himself out to be the chief of the army of *Israel*, and had done the same at *Rome* before *Clement VII.* and being arrived at *Lisbon*, persuaded the young convert to return to his *Judaism*, and gave him the name of *Solomon Malcho*.

He set him immediately upon studying the rabbinic writings; in which he made so swift

(10) *Pic. Mirand. apolog. p. 82.*

(11) *Baïnag. ut. sup. f. 4.*

discourage one *Ricci*, a converted Jew, from dedicating to that monarch his celebrated treatise on, what he stiled, celestial agriculture. He was a physician in *Germany*, and a most profound cabbalist, and pretended to prove all the mysteries of Christianity from the *Cabbalah*; but whoever reads that work, or his 50 theorems and expositions on the *Sephiroths*, &c. will own that they did not deserve those encomiums which some learned men have made on them (P); and that some of them, especially his

a progress, that the *Italic Jews* affirmed that some angel dictated his sermons. • Not content with preaching, he compiled several curious treatises, which still added to his fame. All this while *David* distinguished himself by his long fasting, being sometimes six whole days without taking any sustenance; insomuch, that those who were witnesses of it, looked upon him as something more than human. Neither he nor *Malcho*, however, had dared to assume the title of Messiah, but contented themselves with that of his forerunner. At length *Malcho* was imprudent enough to desire an audience of *Charles V.* then at *Mantua*, which he readily granted; but as soon as he was got out of his presence, that prince caused him to be arrested, and burnt alive; and *David Lemelein* was sent prisoner into *Spain*, and died there a few days after his confinement. Yet such was the stupidity of the *Italian Jews*, that they would not believe, for a good while, but that he was still alive there, and that he came constantly once a week to pay a private visit to his wife, who was still in *Italy* (12).

(P) *Erasmus*, who was commonly as lavish of his praises as of his satyrs, and was intimately acquainted with him, cries him up to the skies, as a good philosopher, and profound divine: he knew him professor of philosophy in *Pavia*, and was charmed with him. But he still more admired the simplicity of his manners, which shewed him to be a guileless *Israelite*, who had no other pleasure or exercise but the study of the scriptures; on which account he was extremely solicitous to procure him some honourable employment, by the help of which he might make the best advantage of his talents (13).

But besides what we have observed above of his writings, he displays but an indifferent judgment in the parallel he makes in his theorems of the writings of *Dionysius* the areopagite, and the book of *Zohar*, formerly mentioned †; as well by his unskilfulness in his chronology, and making those two authors to have been contemporaries, and to have lived about the time of the destruction of *Jerusalem*,

(12) *Imbonat. Bibliot. Rabb. tom. v. Gantz Tzemach sub an. 293. Shalheleth, p. 41, & 48. Wolf, Bibl. Rabb. N. 2004. p. 1076. Perispol Itinerar, c. 14. p. 91, & seq. & al.* (13) *Erasm. Epist. lib. i. epist. 37. p. 33.* † *De hoc, vid. sup. p. 227, & seq.*

dialogue on the Apostle's creed, are far below the dignity of a sound and reasoning divine ^b.

Jews powerful under Paul III. THE *Jews* were become so powerful under pope *Paul III.* that cardinal *Sadolet*, bishop of *Carpentras* (R), grew quite out of patience with them and their protector, against whom

A. C. 1539. he bitterly inveighs, as being kinder to them than to the Christians, who lived amongst them as sheep among wolves.

Opposed by cardinal Sadolet.

His letter, which was written to cardinal *Farnese*¹, is full of the severest reflections against that pontif and his partial fondness for those enemies of *Christ*; and that none could be raised to either civil or ecclesiastical dignities but thro' their favour and interest, whilst he scrupled not to persecute the *Lutherans*, &c. He concludes with discovering the true motives of it, the great profit they helped to bring into his finances and treasury. This complaint, if it had not quite the desired effect, procured at least a redress of the most flagrant abuses; whilst those that were of a more profitable nature, were palliated and winked at.

Thalmud burnt,

A. C. 1554. SOME time after this, pope *Julius III.* being of opinion that all the allegorical interpretations of the *Gemarrah* were dangerous ^k, caused the thalmud to be burnt; so that according to the *Jewish* writers, all the *Gemarras* in *Italy* were destroyed^l. And it was under the same pontiff, that one *Joseph Tzarphati*, a celebrated rabbi, after having taught a considerable time at *Rome*, embraced Christianity, and in honour of that pope, took the surname *de Monte* (S), and proved that pontif, by

^b BASNAG. ub. sup. c. 31. §. 7, & seq. ¹ SADOLET, lib. xii. epist. 5 & 6. ^k BULLAR. tom. i. Const. Paul IV. p. 19. & 24. ^l GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 153.

(R) This city [which is in the county of *Avignon*, and had been sold to the pope, by *Joan* queen of *Sicily*] had ever since that time had a *Jewish* synagogue, as well as that of *Avignon*, and the *Jews* protected by those pontiffs, have ever since then enjoyed the full liberty of their religion. Only they are forced to live in a quarter by themselves, and to wear, the men yellow hats, and the women a yellow bit of silk or stuff on their upper head garment.

(S) He was born in *France*,

but of *Fexan* extract; but finding that the *Jewish* learning flourished more at *Rome*, he removed thither, and expounded the thalmud both in the synagogue and in their academy. After his conversion he wrote a peaceful letter to the *Jews* there, *An. C.* 1582, in which he prayed to them that the *Messiah* was really come, and was made soon after to preach both to them and to the new converts; but his defection had rendered him so odious to the former, that they complained of it to cardinal

by the help of the *Gemarrab*, to have been mentioned in the sacred text. But of all the learned *Jews* that flourished at *Rome* about this time, *Elias Levita*, author of several excellent *Elias Le-treatises*, deserves the first rank. Some make him a native of *vita, his Padua*, and say that some of his relations were still settled at *extradit, Rome*, particularly *Abraham Aschenazi*, chief of that family, and one of the judges of the synagogue^m. Not considering that the word *Aschenazi* is the appellative which all the *German Jews* take, from *Alkenaz*, the son of *Gomer*ⁿ, whom they suppose to have peopled *Germany*†, and is accordingly affirmed by others, with more probability, to have been born at the small town of *Eysch*, near *Nuremberg*^o. Some have likewise imagined that he turned Christian, because he was very conversant among them; but that is a mistake, for he died a *Jew*; and in one of his works gives God thanks that *learned* he was born one (T). However, he was a very moderate *works, &c.* one,

^m BARToloc. ub. sup. tom. i. p. 135. ⁿ Genes. x. 3. † See before, vol. vi. p. 1, & seq. ^o GENÈBR. BUXTORF. WOLF, Bib. Rab. Num. 249. p. 153.

cardinal *Sirlet*; upon which that employment was taken from him. He wrote afterwards a treatise, stiled, *The confusion of the Jews*, in which he pretended to prove that all the mysteries of Christianity are found in the Old Testament (14): but as it was not printed, an *Italian* writer, author of the *Dialogo di Fede*, hath taken the liberty to plunder what he thought fit for his purpose out of it.

(1) *Elias* was no less unfortunate than learned; and this obliged him, having been totally ruined at *Padua*, when that city was taken and plundered, to teach *Hebrew*, to maintain himself and family, particularly to cardinal *Gilles*, who proved a generous patron to him. But for this, his whole nation cried him down at a severe rate,

some charging him with apostasy, and others with exposing the divine mysteries and oracles to the Christians; whereas, according to the words of the psalmist (16), *He gave his laws unto Jacob, and his statutes unto Israel: he hath not done so to any nation, &c.* they said, that he ought not to have instructed any strangers in that sacred language. And this might be the reason of his having been looked upon as a convert to Christianity, unless we will suppose this notion to have arisen from a grandson's of his, of the same name, having afterwards embraced Christianity, and become a Jesuit, under that of *J. Baptista Elianus*.

However that be, *Elias* easily disculpated himself from those slanders, partly in the preface

(14) *Fabian Fiochi. Bartoloc. Bibliot. Rabb. tom. iii. p. 818. Basnag. ub. sup. §. 12. (16) Ps. cxlvii. 19, 20.*

one, and free from that rancour and gall against the Christians that one meets with in the writings of those of his nation. The rest of his character and works the reader may see in the last note. There flourished likewise at Rome a celebrated Jewish poetess, named *Deborah*, who began to make herself famous, by her poetic and other works, about the year 1560, and lived to the beginning of the 17th century^p. She was wife to *Joseph Ascariel*, a learned rabbi, commonly known by the name of *Ascarellus Romanus*.

Paul IV's *two edicts against* THE Jews fared much worse under Paul IV. who really hated them, and from the beginning of his pontificate issued out two severe bulls against them; by the first of which, every

GENEVR. BUXTORF, WOLF, Bibl. Rab. N. 465. p. 287

to his book *בבבב*, *Bachur*, or *The chosen*, and partly in a poetical preface prefixed to an other work of his, intituled, *Massoreth Hamassoreth*, in which he owns that the narrowness of his circumstances had obliged him to teach the Hebrew tongue, but at the same time declares, that he never explained or betrayed any of the mysteries of the Jewish faith, no, not even the first verse of *Genesis*.

He was again seduced to such extreme poverty, by the plundering of Rome by the high constable of Bourbon, that, to use his own words, he had neither bread to eat, fire to warm himself, nor cloaths to cover his nakedness. This obliged him to retire to Venice, and thence into Germany, to seek his bread; but being by this time very old and unable to bear the coldness of that country, he was forced to cross the Alps once more, and died in the 80th year of his age (17).

His chief works are as follows:

An exposition of *Kimebi's* grammar. His own grammar,

or *Bachur*, divided into four parts or treatises: the first of which treats of the conjugations; the second of verbs regular and irregular; the third of perfect names; and, the fourth of imperfect ones: with rules for the true pronunciation of the Hebrew tongue. His treatise on composition is another grammatical book. His *Sepher Zichronoth*, or book of remembrances; or a collection of *Massoretic* observations, from ancient authors. His *Tob Tatham*, (Ps. cxix. 66.) or treatise on Hebrew accents. His *Massoreth Hamassoreth*, or critical art on the Hebrew text. His *Nieturgeman*, or *Chaldaic*, targumic, and rabbinic lexicon His *Pirke Eliahu*, or grammatical rules in verse. His *Skibre Luchoth*, or breaking of the tables, a grammatical treatise on true reading, &c. His *Thibshby*, or dictionary. Some other poetical performances, in praise of certain books and authors, with some others of inferior note, the reader may see a fuller account of, in the authors last quoted.

(17) Vid. *Baj'ag. ub. sup.* *Bartoloc. Wolf, ub. sup.*

synagogue within his dominions, was to pay ten crowns *per them*, A. an. for the instruction of the catechumens who were willing C. 1555. to embrace Christianity; and by the second they were obliged to wear, the men yellow hats, and the women yellow hoods, to live separate from the rest of the Christians, and to have their quarter shut up every night. They were moreover deprived of all society, places, merchandize or commerce with the Christians, except that of cloth-brokage, which was the only traffic allowed to them. They were limited to one synagogue in every city, and ordered to sell all their lands in six months; which so lowered the price of them, that they did not get the fifth part of their value, which yet amounted to 500,000 crowns ⁹. He issued likewise an ordinance against their books; not indeed like that of his predecessor *Julian* III. who caused them all to be burnt in the lump; for this distinguished between those that contained blasphemies against *Christ*, and those which only taught or expounded the *Jewish* religion; the latter of which were tolerated, and the former flung into the flames (U).

⁹ BASNAG. ub. sup. §. 17, & seq.

(U) They were likely to have fared much worse, on an information of 89 women converts from *Judaism*, who pretended to be possessed; and, upon being exorcised, answered, that the *Jews* had sent those devils into them out of spite and revenge. The pope, who hated them, and was no great divine, was, on hearing of it, resolving to banish them all, when a Jesuit diverted him from it, by representing to him the absurdity of the accusation, and the necessity of making a stricter enquiry into it. The pretended demoniacs were accordingly ordered to be examined by scourging; and upon receiving the first strokes, confessed that they had been drawn into this imposture by some courtiers, who hoped to enrich themselves by the spoils of the

Jews, whether they were banished or put to death. Those courtiers were thereupon put to death that night; and the pontif, being informed of it, cried out, *I might have been damned, for unjustly putting the Jews to death, had not my good Jesuit prevented it. I will pray God to convert them; but whilst I live will I never hate nor molest them as I have done.* This story we have from an author (18) who lived pretty near this time, and who tells us he had it from his own brother, who was chaplain to cardinal *Granville*; and, if true, may be a good caution against giving too easy a credit to such kinds of accusations against the *Jews*, as well as to the notion of possessions and witchcraft (19).

(18) *Lewis Guion divers. l'eff. n. rom. vi. lib. iii. c. 9.* (19) *Basnag ub. sup. §. 18.*

Council of Milan's edit against them, A. C. 1565. THE cardinal *Charles de Borromeo*, bishop of *Milan*, and since canonized, not only enacted several canons against them, in the first council he held in that metropolis, which were much of the same kind with those of *Paul IV.* above-mentioned; but desired all the Christian princes to do the same; and all this in order to promote as much as possible their conversion. But that edict shews at the same time that they were become so numerous and powerful, as well as interspersed with the Christians, that there was some reason to fear them, not only at *Milan*, but in other places of *Italy*, unless they were confined to their own separate quarters, and interdicted as much as possible all kind of converse and dealings with the Christians.

Pius V's edit against them, A. C. 1569. POPE *Pius V.* was still more severe to them, not only laying them under the same harsh restrictions, but charging them in his bull against them with treachery and falsehood; with encouraging theft, lewdness, and other vices; with dealing in magic, sorcery, and fortune-telling; and with every thing that could render them odious to the Christians: on which account they were ordered to be banished out of all places of his dominions, excepting the cities of *Rome* and *Ancona* (W).

Sextus V's grant, A. C. 1587. *Sextus V.* acted with more frankness towards them, and fairly owned that the profit he reaped from them was the chief motive of his tolerating them. A certain rabbi named *Meir*, or *Magin*, of *French* extract, but who had resided some time at *Venice*, came about this time to *Rome*, and being a man of learning and address, dedicated a book to him, with some verses in his commendation; and presently after petitioned him for the sole privilege of settling there a silk manufactory; pretending that he had an excellent secret for multiplying of silk-worms. *Sextus* not only granted his request, but revoked all bulls and edicts of his predecessors to the contrary,

* Concil. Mediolan. I. an. 1565. cap. 14. * De Judæis Conc. tom. xv. p. 333. ap. eund.

(W) It is somewhat surprising, that if they were really guilty of those crimes, they should be suffered to stay in any place, much more in his capital; but that pontiff had his reasons for it; tho' those he gives in his edict will hardly be deemed serious; viz. that he indulged them to live there, to put the people in mind of *Christ's*

sufferings: that he might have a more watchful eye over them; that the sanctity of the place, and example of the Christians, might encourage their conversion, &c. But the true motive was the promoting commerce with the eastern parts, and the great advantage accruing to the holy chamber from it.

— — —
tho'

tho' confirmed by oath, or backed with sentence of excommunication^t. His view was to enrich himself by laying a good heavy tax on every pound of silk; tho' his granting the monopoly to him could not but prove prejudicial to all that dealt in that commodity.

CLEMENT VIII. confirmed the bull of Pius V. against Clement them^u, by which they were banished out of the ecclesiastical states; but added the city of *Avignon* to those of *Rome* and *Ancona*, where they have been settled ever since, with full liberty of their religion. He gave much the same reason for his indulgence that his predecessor Pius had done, viz. the promoting their conversion. However, they did not make him a suitable acknowledgement for it, but, on the contrary, applied to him that prophecy of *Zechariah*, *Smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered* (X); which made *Abraham Echelenfis* tax them with horrid ingratitude, for cursing, like *Shimei*, a prince from whom they had received such singular favours. But it is time to take a view of them in other parts of *Italy*, where they had likewise very considerable settlements.

THEY are tolerated in all the *Venetian* territories^x, and claim in part their protection from that republic, on account of some eminent services they did to it in the wars with the *Turks*, particularly at the siege of *Candia*. But they are still more numerous and flourishing in its capital, whither the great printer, *Daniel Bomberg*, came from *Antwerp*, and began for the first time to print *Hebrew* bibles^y; for the correcting of which he kept several, some say above 100, learned

^t BULLAR, tom. ii. Pii V. Constitut. 80. SPOND, ann. sub. an. 1569. ^u See his Privilege in BARTOLOC. Bibl. Rabb. tom. iv. p. 20. BASNAG. ub. sub. §. 22. ^x LUZAT CARDOZO, ap. BASNAG. ibid. c. 32. §. 1. ^y GANTZ TZEMACH, sub. an. 1271. p. 151.

(X) This prophecy (20) was variously applied by them; by some to the grand signor, under whom they lived a miserable life, as we have lately seen, and whose empire being destroyed, the Jews were to conquer the *Holy Land*, and afterwards the world. *R. Solomon Jarchi* applied it to the *Roman* emperors. But the famed *Manasse ben Israel* hath fixed it upon the *Roman* pontif, who styles himself the great shepherd, the head-shepherd next to God, and his vicar upon earth. And it was this his comment on the prophet which filled *Echelenfis* with such indignation against them.

R. David
de Pomis.

His Tze-
mach Da-
vid.

Jews in pay ² (Y). *Bomberg* was likewise desirous to print some good *Hebrew* grammar, and *R. Abraham de Balmis* was ordered to compile one accordingly; but dying before it was finished, it was afterwards compleated by *R. Calonymos*, a learned *Jew*, then at *Venice*. Besides those two books, he printed a great number of other works of the *Jewish* rabbies, for which his memory is still dear to the learned world, especially to the *Jews*. Here likewise lived *R. David*, the son of *Isaac de Pomis*, who, in gratitude to this republic, wrote a book to prove that its laws were of divine original, and that God had promised by his prophet to preserve so holy a commonwealth. This learned rabbi boasted himself to be descended from some of those *Jewish* families, whom *Titus* had transported from *Jerusalem* to *Rome*; and mentions two of his ancestors; viz. *Isaac Rich*, and *Elijah Hakkodesh*, or the saint, over the tombs of which two miraculous fires had been observed to shine during the space of seven nights. *David* must have been a prodigy of learning even from his infancy, if, as *Bartolocci* affirms ⁴, he wrote his *Tzemach David*, the sprout or branch of *David*, but different from that often quoted in this chapter, at the age of seven years. But this is a mistake of that author (Z); and he only

² Vid. MAITTAIR annal. Typogr. Orlandi. Orig. della Stampa. PALMER's History of Printing, &c. ³ BARTOL. ub. sup. tom. ii. p. 40.

(Y) *Felix Pratensis* had the care of that impression of the bible, with the *Chaldee* paraphrase, and the commentaries of several learned rabbies, and dedicated it to pope *Leo X*. But the edition is far from being the best, thro' the difficulty of ranging the various *Massoretic* readings in a right order. He printed a second, in which the inquisitors retrenched several things, which they thought injurious to Christianity; the preference is therefore given to a third in folio, printed ann. 1548, at the head of which is a preface of *R. Jaacch Ckajim*, formerly mentioned.

(Z) *Bartolocci* seems quite to have mistaken his meaning, where he tells us, that being at

Bruggna (whither his father and he had retired from *Spoleta*, and having been plundered of all their effects on their journey, were reduced to the greatest poverty) he found the book of *R. Nathan*, and having read it attentively, formed the design of abridging it. Sometime after, the *Meturgaman* and *Thibshy* of *Elias Levita* being fallen into his hands, together with *Kimchi's Roots*, from all these he compiled his *Tzemach*, at his leisure, and called it by that name, because he wrote it by little and little; and it is plain that he did not publish it till the year 1587, that is, after some others of his works.

He was invited into several places where he practised physic, with great success; but the bishop

only compiled it at his leisure, from a MS. dictionary in *Hebrew*, written by one of his ancestors, about the beginning of the 12th century, which he enriched with every thing valuable in those of rabbi *Nathan*, *Elias Levita*, and *D. Kimchi*; so that it hath all the *Hebrew* words, and all the rabbinic terms, in an alphabetical order, together with the *Latin* and *Italian* explanation of them.

HERE flourished likewise *R. Shimsha*, since named *Simeon R. Shim-Luzati*, who published his *Socrates*, in which he shews that sha, A. C. the greatest geniuses are weak, and apt to err, when they are 1613. not guided by revelation^b. He published likewise another treatise on the present state of his nation, of which we shall have a more proper occasion to speak in the close of this chapter. *R. Samuel Nachmiah*, a native of *Theſſalonica*, also Samuel settled in this metropolis; and, with his son *David*, and some Nachmi- of his family, abjured *Judaism*, and took the name of *Moroſi-* ah, A. C. *ni*. *Samuel*, to shew the sincerity of his conversion, wrote the 1649. book called *Derek Emtunah*, or, *The way to the faith*, in *Italian*; wherein he shews the uselessness of the *Jewish* ceremonies; that the 613 precepts taken from the law †, are observed by no *Jew*, and explodes all the sects and superstitions of the *Jews*. He retired to *Rome*, where he died in a good old age, an. 1637^c. *R. Mordecai Korkos*, who taught R. Mor- at *Venice*, and was a native of it, did an action no less bold decai and odious to those of his nation, in writing a treatise against Korkos's the *Cabbalah*, and even against the ten *Sephiroth*, the most sub- book a- lime part of it, which shews his excellent taste for true gainst the found divinity, as well as his courage in exposing himself to the Cabba- hatred, resentment, and anathema of the cabbalistic tribe- lah, A. C. 1672. For so high is their esteem of that science, that they look A. C. upon every such attempt against it; as levelled against the 1674. fundamentals of religion; for which reason their doctors would not suffer it to be printed.

^b FRA. PAULO. *Histor. Dégli. Uscocchi*. * † De his vid. sup. vol. iii. p. 6. & (C). ^c BARToloc. ub. sup. tom. iv. p. 404.

bishop of *Chiusi* caused the gates of that city to be shut up against him, tho' he was very much wanted there. He passed from thence to *Rome*, and thence to *Venice*, where he ended his days; and there, to comfort himself in some measure for the great mis-

fortunes he had gone thro', he wrote his *Treatise on the miseries of human life*; which he interspersed with some of the brightest texts in *Ecclesiastes*, and is rather a comment in *Italian* on that sacred book, with his notes upon it (21).

(21) Vid. Bartoloc. ub. sup. Wolf, *Bibl. Rabb. N.* 499. *Basnag. ub. sup* &c.

Printing
at Soncino,
no, A. C
1490, &
seq.

MUCH about the time that *Bomberg* set up his printing-house at *Venice*, some *Jews*, come from *Spire* in *Germany*, were doing the same at *Soncino*, a small town in the duchy of *Milan*, near the river *Oglio*, and began to print *Hebrew* books there, about the end of the 15th century; by which means many considerable manuscripts were preserved, which had lain so long buried in the dust, that they were scarcely legible. These printers exchanged the name of their family for that of the town of *Soncino*, and became celebrated under the name of *Soncinates*; and as they were the first that did their nation so great a service, they became very rich and famous. They spread themselves from that into other parts of *Italy*, and have had some learned men among them; particularly *R. Asber*, who was a native of that place, and descended from that family. The reader may see a list of the books they there published, in the authors quoted in the margin. *R. Jacob Tzephulon*, born at *Rome*, an. 1630, where he had also taken his degree of doctor in physic, came and taught at *Ferrara*, and became one of the principal rabbies of the last century. The nearness of that city to *Venice* gave him an opportunity of printing several learned books, the chief of which may be seen in the margin (A).

Jacob
Tzephulon.

R. Gedaliah.

THE *Jews* had likewise a synagogue at *Imola*, where the celebrated *R. Gedaliah*, of *Portuguese* extract, was born, and wrote afterwards his genealogical work, stiled by him *Shalsheleth Hakkabalah*, or the *Chain of the Cabbalah*, often quoted in this chapter, which he wrote an. 1539, and is the only work of his that we know of that hath been printed, tho' he wrote above twenty more, on other subjects (B). And tho' that

MAITTAIR, ORLANDI, PALMER, CHEVILIER, & al.

(A) The first was a book of precious prayers and meditations; in which there is in particular a long prayer, to be said by physicians when they go to visit their patients. It seems this good *Jew* thought it necessary to implore the blessing of heaven, before he went to prescribe to the sick; and did not, like the greatest part of those of his profession, depend wholly on the natural efficacy of the medicines.

He wrote some other works,

one of which is called *the Light of Jacob*; and another, *the Light of the Preachers*. A third he files *the Stage of Life*, which is a physical treatise of fevers, and diseases peculiar to every part of the human body, of their cures, of simple poisons, &c.

(B) He was the son of *R. Joseph Jacobijab*, who was forced to retire to *Imola*, upon the banishment of his nation out of *Portugal*. His family boasts itself descended in a direct line from *Jesse*, the father of *David*, king

that work is very erroneous, both in its chronology and facts, and for the greater part taken from another of the same nature, yet is owned by *Bartolucci*, and others, to have been of great use to them; and is more especially so to those who are fond of the chain of oral tradition, and of the personal succession of its doctors. We refer our readers, for the rest of his works in manuscript, to the authors quoted below *.

THE synagogue of *Modena* produced several learned men, particularly *R. Samuel*, who was chief of it, and published his *R. Sam- judgments of Samuel, an. 1550*; which is a collection of thal- mudic and rabbinic decisions; to which he hath added some *Modena.* of his own, which are much esteemed † (C). That of *Padua* *Ar Padua,* had also a good number of great rabbies; and there the *R. Meir,* *Jews* received the title of Doctors of Physic, and are thereby *A. C.* authorised to practise it in all the dominions of the republic of *Venice*. They have there three synagogues, and about 800 *Jews*, and a very handsome *Ghetto*, or quarter, with three gates, which are shut up every night. Over one of them one reads an inscription, which begins with these words, *Ne populo celestis regni Hæredi usus cum ex exherede esset, &c.* ‡; alluding to *Sarah's* words to *Abraham* §. In this synagogue flourished the great *R. Meir*, who was chief of it. *R. Joseph de Padua*, so called from that city, his native place; *R. Isaac Phea*, author of the way to faith, a treatise which gained him great reputation; *R. Menahem Rabba*, whose sermons on the four seasons of the year have been since printed by his son: he was still alive in the beginning of the last century, 1605.

THE synagogue and academy of *Mantua* have been long since famed; but a dissention having been unhappily raised

* *BARTOLOCC. ub. sup. tom. i. p. 722, & seq. WOLF, ub. sup. N. 451. p. 277, & seq.* † *Id. ibid. N. 2137.*

‡ *MISSON'S journey into Italy.* § *Conf. Gen. xxi. 10. & Galat. iv. 30.*

king of *Israel*. But in his deducing this genealogy, he is grossly out in his chronology (22). He was a much better preacher, and published 180 sermons, which he dedicated to his son *Moses*, besides other works; an account of which may be seen

in *Wolf's Bibliotheca Rabbinica* above quoted,

(C) This book is by a mistake called the *Judgments of Solomon*, by Mr. *Basnage* (23), and was published at *Venice* by *Dan. Saneti*, in folio, an. 1599 (24).

(22) *De hoc vid. Basnage. lib. ix. c. 32. § 9.* (23) *Ibid. §. 17.* (24) *Vid. Wolf, ub. sup. N. 2137. p. 1120.*

A dissension at Mantua,
A. C.
1460.

between *R. Messer Leone de Mantua* and *R. Kaloa*, the two chiefs there, towards the end of the 15th century, thro' their mutual ambition and jealousy; the *Mantuan Jews* divided themselves, and called the Christians to their help; and the dispute ran so high, that they came to take up arms one party against the other. *Lewis de Gonzaga*, then marquis of *Mantua*, strove in vain to pacify them; and was at length forced to take the most effectual means of suppressing the uproar, by banishing those two chiefs that had caused it. After which, both synagogue and academy resumed their ancient tranquility, and were governed by several eminent chiefs and learned doctors, particularly by *Mose Vecchio*, or *Moses the Elder*, who gained a great reputation by his corrections on *Alphetz*, and his commentators. The small city of *Pesaro*, in the duchy of *Urbino*, had likewise a synagogue of the Jews; till that duchy falling into the pope's hands, they were obliged to go out of it, by the pope's edict lately mentioned (D). They have, generally speaking, upheld themselves in most cities of *Italy*; and have had many learned rabbies during the foregoing century; the most celebrated of whom were those that follow:

Mose Vecchio,
A. C.
1580.

Leo de Modena's works.

R. JEHUDAH ARIE, more commonly known by the name of *Leo de Modena*, the place of his nativity, as that of *Leo* (*Lion*) answered to his Hebrew name *Arie*. He was a learned man, though a professed enemy to the Christians, against whom he hath, out of his cabbalistical head, forged many dishonourable anagrams, and numerical devices and puns, not worthy his learned pen¹. But he hath given the world a treatise of the *Ceremonies of the Jews*, which is highly esteemed by the learned of all nations. His book intituled, *The Mouth of the Lion*, is another useful work, wherein he

¹ De his, vid. BASNAG. ub. sup. c. 32. §. 15.

(D) *Pesaro* was the native place of *R. Jehiel*, who took his surname from it. He went thence to *Florence*; where having heard for some time the sermons of an inquisitor, he went thence to *Rome*, to abjure Judaism. Pope Gregory XIII. assisted at the numerous assembly, where he made his speech of recantation; and, at his coming down from the chair, received him with these words, *Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord*. He was baptized by him some days after, and became a preacher; and some of the *Italian sermons*, which he preached against the Jews at *Florence*, where they were very numerous, were printed, an. 1585 (25).

(25) Bartoloc. ex Schedis Magliabek, Bibl. Rabb. tom. iv. p. 564.

hath

hath judiciously collected and explained all the words used by the rabbies, which are neither altogether *Hebrew*, nor altogether *Chaldee*; and hath endeavoured to fix the pronunciation of them so as to be understood by *Jews* of all nations (E). He was for a considerable time chief of the synagogue, and reckoned a good poet, both in *Hebrew* and *Italian*; and hath written several other treatises, and designed to have translated the Old Testament into *Italian*; but was forbid to go on by the inquisitors; instead of which, he wrote his lexicon above-mentioned. He died at *Venice*, in the year 1654, being almost *His death*. eighty years old *.

* BASNAG. lib. ix. c. 32 §. 15, & seq. WOLF. Bibl. Hæbr. N. 692. p. 412, & seq.

(E) The *Jews* having no *Italic* version of the sacred books, caused a great confusion in the pronunciation of the *Hebrew* words, according to the different masters they had been taught by: to prevent which, our rabbi compiled this work in *Italian*, and added to it a grammar. Both were esteemed very useful, and bore a double impression: the last of which, viz. that of *Padua*, an. 1640, tho' very scarce, is reckoned the best.

There is a poetic piece, wrote by him in the fourteenth year of his age, which is much cried up; though it shews rather the patience and laboriousness, than the genius or judgment, of its author; and wherein he hath, with much hammering doubtless, so associated the *Hebrew* and *Italic* tongues, though so vastly different, that one finds in the former the same syllables that run in the *Italian* verses. One line will suffice to give an idea of it:

Cbi nasce inuor. Oi me che pass' acerbo é. That is,

He that is born dies. Ah me, how bitter is that step!

Now those syllables are found in the following *Hebrew* words, though of a quite different signification;

Kinah scemor aimek cepas aotzor bo.

There can be nothing said in favour of such a laborious piece, but its being written by such a juvenile hand.

His other works are, *The captivity of Juda*, or *Pesher dabar*, the interpretation of words. His historical narrative of the Passover in *Italian*, but in *Hebrew* characters. His *Leb Aric*, or *Lion's heart*, in *Hebrew*; which is a treatise on artificial memory, adapted to all sorts of learning. His *Sol Jeschurun*, *Secret of the Righteous*, a treatise of the secrets of nature. His *Sur Merab*, *Depart from evil*, a dialogue between *Eldad* and *Medad* about the game of dice, wherein one defends and the other condemns it. His *Tzemach Tzadik*, or *Branch of the Righteous*; a moral treatise by way of fables and apologues; with some few others of less note (26).

R. JEHUDAH-AZ AEL was no less famous for his sermons preached at *Ferrara* in the last century; inasmuch that the Christians went also to hear him. He was the author of a cabbalistical treatise, intituled, *The Thrones of the House of David* (F); and died at *Ferrara*, an. 1677¹. About the same time flourished R. *Jehosbua Menahem* at *Rome*, where he was chief of the academy; and another famed doctor named *Jacob Dattillo Delli Piatelli*, who was esteemed one of the best masters to breed up their youth in learning. Here was also, about the middle of the last century, one *Nathaniel Tribotti*, who wrote a treatise on womens bathing, wherein he advanced some propositions which raised a number of antagonists against him. The synagogue and academy of that city were, at length, obliged to, interpose their authority, to prevent the multiplication of books on that subject, by declaring for *Tribotti*, and obliging the opposing doctors to submit to their decision^m.

Tribotti
upheld by
the syna-
gogues,
A. C.
1644.

Jews nu-
merous at
Rome;

their go-
vernment,
&c.

THE Jews at *Rome* are reckoned to amount to between 12 and 15,000. They have nine synagogues, and an academy which they stile *Thalmud Thorah*, the study of the law, and their learned professors in it; among whom was, about the latter end of the last century, the famed *Joseph Kimchi*. They seem to have a kind of superiority here over the rest of those in *Italy*; for they consult them in doubtful cases, and pay a singular regard to their decisions. They are governed in this city by their triumvirs, whom they stile *Memmonim*, or governors, who decide all quarrels and disputes between private men, and take care of the privileges granted to them by the popes. They are changed every year, lest they should abuse their authority; and live in so great friendship with the Christians, that they made no scruple to go into their syna-

¹ WOLF, Eibl. Hæbr. N. 766. p. 452. ^m Id. ibid. N. 1742. p. 728.

(F) He is however shrewdly suspected to have stolen it from his father R. *Eliezer*, commonly called, *Leone del Bene*, who taught also at *Ferrara*, and had compiled and intituled it, *Hir David, the City of David* (27). However that be, the book is divided, according to the cabbalistical cant, into ten houses, to each of which are assigned

fifty doors. Each chapter and section having its argument at the head, and at the end an index of the author's. It was printed at *Verona*, an. 1646 (28).

He wrote another book called, *Jehudah Mechokehi*; *Judah is my lawgiver*, Ps. 118. 7. which consists partly of poetical pieces, and partly of epistles, both elegant in their kind.

(27) *Bartoloc. sub an.*

(28) *Wolf, ubi sup. N. 766. p. 452.*

gogues in such numbers, that pope *Innocent XI* was obliged *Christians* to threaten them with excommunication, and to lay a fine of *forbid their* twenty crowns on every one that goes into them ^a. The *Jews synagogues* were heretofore wont to be employed by the popes, as we have had occasion to observe; but, as it was apt to give offence, it hath been since left off ^o.

POPE *Innocent XI.* gave them several marks of his favour; *Innocent* particularly when the *Venetian general Morosini*, after his *XI. a* successful war in the *Morea*, brought back a good number of *friend to* Jewish and Christian captives, and gave liberty to the latter, *the Jews*, but would have kept the former under slavery; that pontif, *A. C.* being applied to by their brethren, who are there very numerous (G), ordered a congregation to take cognisance of their case, and censured the conduct of the *Venetians*; whereupon these gave them their liberty, without suffering the pope's ministers to intermeddle farther in that matter ^b. *Means to* The same pontif strove much to promote their conversion, *promote* and built seminaries for the maintenance of these new converts, hospitals for their sick, and caused sermons to be *their conversion,* preached, to prove that the Messiah was come, and that *Jesus Christ* was that Messiah; but little benefit was reaped from it; because the *Jews* either absented from them, or only came to ridicule them; and sometimes committed shameful indecencies in the churches, where they were preached, tho' there were proper officers to punish them for it. As a farther encouragement to new converts, some cardinal, or great person, was commonly their godfather, and made them some handsome present after baptism; they were dressed in white satin, and carried about the city in a fine coach during a fortnight, to be seen and congratulated by the spectators; after which they appeared in a common dress; and, to prevent their apostatising, all that were found guilty of it were condemned to the flames [†]. But, after all these pains and cost, one sees *prove ineffectual.* plainly enough, that the far greater part still remain in their unbelief; and as for those few converts they make, cardinal *Barberini*, who had bestowed great pains and sums towards

^a LA ROCQUE's Memoirs de l'Eglise, lib. v. p. 605. ^o NAUDEANA, p. 54. ^b LA ROCQUE, ubi sup. [†] NAUDEANA.

(G) They are reckoned to amount to about 2000 in that capital, where they enjoy full liberty of conscience, have their synagogues, academy, and burying-ground, with many handsome monuments and pompous epitaphs (29).

(29) La Rocque's Memoirs, ubi sup. ^o See also the Description of the city of Venice.

that work, was forced to own, a little before his death, that such conversions were only feigned and insignificant ⁹.

Their homage to the new popes. IT must be owned, however, notwithstanding their tenaciousness for their old religion, that they are not over scrupulous whenever their interest clashes with it; since they oblige themselves to celebrate the inauguration of every new pontif, and to wait on him in the way to the *Lateran* church, to pay their homage to him. They do indeed endeavour to disculpate themselves, by pretending, that they pay it to him only as to a temporal prince; but they cannot be ignorant that the inauguration of a pope is a mere act of religion, by which he is raised to the dignity of head of the church, and vicar of Christ upon earth. After all, it is hard to say who are most to blame; the *Jews*, for paying such an homage to the vicar or representative of Christ, whom they abhor; or the popes, for exacting that homage to be paid to themselves, whilst they suffer them to refuse it to their divine master (H).

Jews in Piedmont. THE *Jews* have been settled a long time at *Turin*, the capital of *Piedmont* or *Pignerot*, and some other places of that principality, by an edict of grant, which secures to them a plenary liberty of conscience; and, though' they now-and-then meet with some disaster from the zealous populace, yet they live more quietly and friendly than in other places of *Italy*. They had indeed an accident happened to them, *an.* 1671, which was like to have been attended with some ill consequences (I), but was by some means compromised, for

⁹ WAGENSEIL'S *Tela Ignea præfat.*

(H) There is another ceremony performed at *Rome*, which, though they have no hand in it, is very mortifying to them. It is the custom for the pope and priests to pray for their conversion in all churches, on *Good Friday*; in doing which, instead of kneeling, as they do at the rest of the prayers, they stand up whilst that collect is said, to testify their abhorrence for the indignities they offered to Christ on that day, in mocking him with their bended knees (30).

(I) A *Jewish* boy going by some water, a Christian boy took some of it, and threw it over his head, pronouncing the form of baptism over him; whereupon the grand vicar of *Turin*, being informed of it, caused him to be taken from his parents, pretending he now belonged to the church (31). The doctors of *Sorbon*, and other universities, were consulted upon it, but differed in their opinion. At length the *Jews* appealed to the pope; but we have not been able to learn how that pontif decided the matter.

(30) *Missal. Rom. Ferr. in parasce:* p. 182. *Cajetan. ordo Roman.* xiv. p. 368, *apud Basneg. ubi sup.* t. 30. §. 23. (31) *Ibid.* §. 24. —

we have heard no more of it since ^r. And thus much shall suffice for the history of the *Jews in Italy* down to the end of the last century. Those who desire to have a fuller account of their number, wealth, and the present state of their synagogues, may consult the tax of those that are in the ecclesiastic territories; of which they reckon nine at *Rome*, nineteen in *Campania*, thirty-six in the *Marcha D'Ancona*, twelve in the patrimony of *St. Peter*, eleven at *Bologna*, and thirteen in *Romandiola*; for all which, besides what may be extorted from them by vexatious suits, they are obliged to pay a yearly tax of 700 crowns and upwards to the holy see ^s (K).

We come now to speak of those of *Germany*, and the more northern regions, during the three last centuries, where they were very numerous, though much poorer than those of *Italy*, as well as worse treated by the priests and populace. The fifteenth century opened upon them with a very melancholy prospect. Great numbers had settled themselves in *Thuringia* and *Misnia*, where the *Landgraves*, whether thro' avarice or need, made them pay dear for the quiet and liberty they enjoyed, and were still exacting vast sums from them. Particularly at the very entrance of this century, such a large one was imposed on them as they refused to pay; upon which they were all arrested and imprisoned, and could not be discharged till they had complied ^t. They had however some learned men among them; particularly the famed *R. Jaacob Men, Movilin*, who was no less eminent for the number of his disciples, than for his judicious answers which he wrote to the

Total of their synagogues in Italy.
Oppressive A. C.
1401.

Learned A. C.
1427.

^r Sanctiones ceremonial. Roman. lib. i. sect. 2. pag. 26.

^s BASNAG. ubi sup. c. 32, §. 25, & seq. ^t Id. ibid. chap. 33, §. 1.

(K) The reader may further consult the last will of *Zachariah a Porto*, a rich Jewish merchant of *Urbino*, that died at *Florence*, an. 1671, after he had compiled a concordance on the comments of the thalmud, which he left at his death to the rabbies at *Rome*, and his library to the academy of it. He bequeathed moreover 24,000 piastres to his nation; one-fourth part of which was to be divided between the academies of *Leg-*

born, Venice, Jerusalem, and of the Holy Land. The other 18,000 piastres were to be distributed to serve for dowry to the Jewish daughters of the synagogues of *Rome, Ferrara, Ancona, Urbino* which was his native place, *Pesaro, Cesano, Venice, Padua, Verona, Rovigo, Florence, Siena, Pisa, Lghorn, Mantua, Modena, and Reggio*; which shews how numerous they are still in *Italy* (32).

(32) Id. ibid. Tuls. Wolf, Bibl. Heb. N. 573. p. 358.

questions that had been proposed to him ^u (L). About this time the title of doctor came to be in vogue among the *German* rabbies; the occasion of which may be seen in the margin (M). And *Movilin* was one of the first who took it upon himself, instead of the old one of *rabbi*, which was become despicable.

Council of
Basil's de-
cree a-
gainst
them.

THEY received soon after a new mortification from the council of *Basil*; which, finding them very numerous in that city and elsewhere, issued out a decree, by which all the prelates, where-ever any *Jews* were, should be obliged to have ser-

^u GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 147.

(L) It is supposed to be about this time, that the famed concordance, intituled, *Meir Nelib*, or, *The Enlightener of the Way*, was compiled. The learned are indeed divided about its genuine author, though it is universally allowed that his name was *R. Nathan*, who flourished soon after the beginning of this fifteenth century. However that be, *Reuchlinus* caused it to be printed; since which there have been several editions of that work; the most approved of which is that of *Marius Calasio*, a learned monk, who made some considerable additions to it, particularly a concordance of the books of *Ezra* and *Daniel*, and an explanation of sundry *Chaldaic* terms, and of whatever relates to the description of the places mentioned in Holy Writ.

Calasio died at *Rome*, an. 1602, and his book was printed, an. 1622 (†), but was become so scarce, that a new edition was greatly wished for by the learned; and this is what the Rev. Dr. *Romain* hath lately obliged them with, with very considerable improvements.

(M) There was about this time a strong dispute among the *Jewish* rabbies concerning divorce; some young and unlearned fellows among them, having taken upon them to write these bills or instruments, had committed such faults in wording them, for want of being well versed in the *Jewish* rites, as rendered them null and ineffectual. To prevent which therefore, the old ones made an order, that none of those bills should be valid, but such as were drawn by persons that had been dubbed doctors. And in imitation of the *Germans*, who bestowed that title on theirs with great ceremony, they began likewise to use some formality in it: and hence is supposed that change to have been owing here, as those in *Spain* and *Portugal* had done by assuming that of *Dem.* instead of the worn-out one of *Rabbi*. *Abrahamer* however was not a little surpris'd to see the ceremony performed, and the title of *Morena*, our doctor or teacher, given to those men; but his wonder ceased, when he found the same done in *Italy* (33).

(†) *Vid. Imbonat. Bibl. Rabb. tom. p. 156.*

(33) *Basnag. ubi sup. c. 33.*

mons preached against them, and oblige them to assist at them, under severe penalties. They were likewise excluded from having any commerce with Christians, to be used for servants, nurses, farmers, or even physicians, or to have any houses near the churches, or towards the centre of cities. They were farther obliged to wear a different habit, by way of distinction; and condemned to lose whatever sums they lent on church-books, utensils, and ornaments * (N). All this struggle, however, produced little or no change in Germany; except that about twenty years after, Lewis X. duke of Bavaria, banished them out of his dominions, in spite of all remonstrances from them or their friends, as well as against his own interest. He even ordered them to march out of forty towns, and as many boroughs as they were settled in, at one and the same day and hour, confiscated all their goods, and built gaols, and other public edifices, in the places where they had lived *.

A. C.
1434.

Banished
Bavaria,
A. C.
1454.

THERE was a dreadful execution made of thirty of them in Mecklenburgh, who were condemned to the flames, together with a priest, accused to have sold them an host, which they had pierced, and was found bloody. Some women and children being of the number of the condemned, a mother in despair killed two of her daughters with her own hand; and was going to kill a third, but she was snatched out of her hands to be made to undergo a severer fate *. Two years after, some others were accused at Tirnaw, in Hungary, to

Burnt at
Meck-
lenburgh,
A. C.
1492.

A. C.
1494.

* Concil. Basil. sess. 19. art. 5 & 6. c. 2. p. 547. * AVENTINE's Annal. Bojor. lib. vii. p. 513. Status Europ. sub Frederick III. c. 32. ap. FREHER's Hist. Germ. tom. vi. p. 79. † NAUCLER. Chronogr. gener. tom. ii. p. 1110.

(N) The same council made likewise sundry regulations for the encouragement of new converts; such as their being allowed to enjoy all their wealth, except what they had got by usury, which they were obliged to refund to the owners or their heirs. They were likewise allowed to be chosen to offices and places in those cities where they received baptism; but, lest they should corrupt each other, as they often did, they were

forbid to converse with each other frequently, to bury their dead after the Jewish manner, or to observe the Sabbaths, or any other Jewish rites; and, if they complied with those orders, they were to be married into some of the richest Christian families; but, if they apostatised, they were to be turned over to the secular power, and punished with the utmost rigour (34).

Banished
out of Nu-
mberg,
A. C.
1499.

have drank the blood of a Christian whom they had murdered. The accused were put to the torture, to find out whether the whole nation were not guilty of the crime; if not, perhaps to extort such a confession from them (O). However, those only were punished who had a hand in it *. About five years after, those of *Nuremberg*, who were both numerous and wealthy, were all banished out of that city; and went and settled in a small town in the neighbourhood of it, where they built a synagogue. The citizens laid several crimes to their charge, in order to palliate their severity to them; but the true motive seems to have been their wealth, which made them insolent, their great number, which made them appear dangerous, and their usuries, which helped to debauch their youth, and rendered them at length so odious, that they resolved to rid themselves of them (P).

NOT

* See WOLF, ubi sup. N. 1145. p. 641.

(O) Nothing more plainly shews the falshood of those murders, than the reasons which that writer and others give for their committing them; and which, for that reason, we shall here subjoin, that our readers may judge of one by the other (35): he tells us, 1. That human blood hath a peculiar virtue for healing and consolidating the scar of circumcision. 2. That they have a *fluor sanguinis*, like the women: some say every *Friday*, others, every moon, which was inflicted on them, on account of their meddling that of Christ's; and that a dose of it gives those in this way great relief. 3. That it is likewise of singular efficacy to excite love, and promote conception: and, 4. That they are bound by a vow, in all parts of the world, to sacrifice a Christian, to wipe off the infamy they are under: which sacrifice they call, *Joel*, or, *Coming from God*; or,

perhaps, rather *Goel*, Redeemer, in derision of Christ the Redeemer of the world (36).

(P) Another motive for their banishment might be the appearing of the impostor *David Icazeiri*, about this time. He did not indeed declare himself the Messiah, but assured them with such confidence, that he was to appear in the year 1500, that the credulous Jews were even prevailed upon to pull down their ovens, in which they used to bake their unleavened bread, which were now become useless, since they were to eat it on the next year at *Jerusalem* (37).

As they were preparing themselves for the voyage, *David*, who perceived that he had set too short a time for their pretended deliverance, was obliged to declare, that the sins of the nation had retarded the coming of the Messiah; which set them all on fasting, and praying to

(35) *Bonif. rerum Hungaric. decad. iv. lib. v.* (36) *Spondan. Annal. sub A. C. 1494. N. 10. p. 217. Bajnaq. ubi sup. §. 7.* (37) *Id. ibid. §. 9.*

NOT long after the bishop of *Cologne* followed the example, and Co- and banished them out of his diocese; on which account, one logn. *Viſtor a Carbe*, who renounced *Judaism* to become a priest, *Viſtor a* wrote some books against them, wherein he highly compli- Carbe's mented that prelate, for having thus happily plucked up the books a- tares from among the wheat in the Lord's field, and cleared gainst the his bishoprick from them. He affirmed at the same time, Jews, that Christians ought never to enter into disputes with the A. C. Jews, who are used to them from their infancy, but that 1509- they must be overcome by violence, or, as he words it, by the quiver and arrows (Q).

God to hasten that happy time. All these things were sufficient to alarm the jealous *Nurbergers* fears, lest they should hatch some other design against them; and they were not the only ones that took that method to rid themselves of them, as we shall see presently.

(Q) *Bartolucci* mentions four books written by him on that subject; and Mr. *Basnage* and Dr. *Wolf* a fifth, intitled, *The manners of the Jews*; of which the former gives an extract, to which we refer the reader (38). There is still an inscription to be seen over the church of *St. Ursula*, at *Cologne* importing, "That *Viſtor*, formerly a Jew, wrote four books against the manners of the Jews, an. 1509."

He was fifty years of age when he turned Christian; and it is from him that we learn, that the Jews had been persecuted in that diocese, about the beginning of the fifteenth century.

About the same time flourished, in the neighbourhood of that city, the great *R. Simeon*, an eloquent preacher, and author of the famed book *Talkut* (*Pouch*); which is a judicious collection of such interpretations of the

ancient Jewish doctors on the sacred books, as were the best and easiest to be understood. It was presently printed at *Thessalonica*. Soon after which one *Abraham*, another rabbi of the family of the learned *Gedaliah*, who had retired to *Jerusalem*, wrote a long comment upon the *Pouch*; and, not being able to pay the charges of printing it, one *Dias Mokato*, a rich Spanish Jew, defrayed them; and the *Pouch* was printed with his notes at *Leghorn*, an. 1638; the corrector of it, named *Abraham Ben Solomon Chajim*, dedicating it to duke *Ferdinand II*.

There hath been since a new edition of it printed at *Amsterdam*, an. 1678, with the title of *Talkut Chadaſh*, or, *The new Pouch*; wherein the anonymous editor hath digested all the literal and mystical interpretations in an alphabetical order: whereas that of *R. Simeon* followed the order of the sacred books, and only took in the allegorical sense. There is still a third *Pouch*, written by *R. Reuben*, and printed also at *Amsterdam*, an. 1700, which is only a collection of notes on the *Pentateuch* (39).

(38) *Basnag. ubi sup.* §. 10. *Vid.* *Wolf, ubi sup.* N. 565. p. 355. (39) *Id. ibi d.* §. 11.

Pfeffer
Corn's ad-
vice a-
gainst the
Jews,
A. C.
1509.

Reuchli-
nus pleads
against
burning
their books.

SOME years after, another profelyte, named *Pfeffer Corn*, kindled a war among the learned of this century, by endeavouring to persuade the emperor *Maximilian*, that all the *Jewish* books ought to be burned; because they were full of fables, lies, and blasphemies, against Christ. He had written, some years before, a book on the manner of the *Jews* celebrating the Passover, wherein he charged them with heresy, and to be apostates from the Old, and enemies to the New, Testament. In another book, intituled, *The Enemy of the Jews*, he discovered all their usuries and imprecations against the Christians; by which means he had drawn so many divines to his opinion, that that monarch was almost inclined to grant his petition. However, being willing to hear both sides, the famed *Campion*, or *Reuchlinus*, a man well versed in all the *Jewish* and other learning, and who had been employed in several important matters, opposed it; and alleged, that such only ought to be burnt, as contained any blasphemies against Christ (R). But declared against

(R) These were more particularly the *Nitzachon of R. Lipman*, a poetical book full of the bitterest investives against Christ and his Gospel; and which we have had frequent occasion to confute in the second part of the history of the *Jews* (†). We shall find a more proper place to speak both of it and its author by-and-by, and the *Yholeloth Jesu*, or, *Generations of Jesus*, a blasphemous piece, which makes Christ to have been an idolater, born in adultery, and guilty of the blackest crimes, for which he was put to death. And, as *Reuchlinus* was so well acquainted with the thalmud, and all the *Jewish* books, and was at that time so well known, by all the learned, to be a proper judge of the merit or demerit of them, it was no wonder he should be consulted about the fate of them.

On the other hand, *Pfeffer*

Corn's conversion and zeal were very much suspected; and he hath been accused of a design of seizing upon all these books, with no other view than to oblige the *Jews* to redeem them at an extravagant price. He was likewise openly charged with several enormous crimes, and represented as a vile dissembler, who only assumed the name of a Christian, to sow the more easily the seeds of discord among them; on which account some authors have confounded him with one *Jacob Melfinski*, another *Jewish* counterfeit, who was burnt at *Hall* in *Saxony*, an. 1515; and who confessed, his death, that he had exercised the priestly office twenty years; and then, turning physician, had administered a deadly poison to the elector of *Brandenburg*, and to his brother the bishop of *Magdeburg*. But they plainly appear to have been two

(†) *Sup. vol. x. p. 455; & seq.*

against doing the same by those which only treated of the tenets, morals, and rites of the *Jews*. He likewise rightly observed the impossibility there was of suppressing books, by an imperial decree, which were dispersed all over the world, and which might be easily reprinted in any other part.

THE prosecutions which this equitable judgment drew upon *Profecuted;* that great man, and the warm contests of the divines on that *and acquit-* subject, being foreign to the subject of this chapter, may be *ted.* seen in the history of those times. It will be sufficient to say,

that the matter was brought by an appeal to *Rome*, whither *Hochstrate*, one of his most violent enemies, halted, backed with recommendations from several princes to bias, with money to bribe, and with threatenings to intimidate, that court; all which could neither hinder *Reuchlin* from being absolved, nor himself from being condemned; and all he could obtain was a *Supersedeas* from the pope, just as judgment was going to be pronounced against him. *Reuchlinus* *Jews since* returned again victorious; but this did not prevent the oppo- *the refor-* site party from being very vexatious to him; insomuch that *mation.* he said, he did not doubt but *Martin Luther*, who began then to make some figure in *Germany*, would cut them out so much work, that they should be glad to let him end his days in peace; and it happened so accordingly; for the *Jewish* books were not only spared, but began to be read, and confuted with better success; so that it is hard to decide, whether the *Jews* have gained or lost by the reformation that ensued, and introduced the study of their books, and hath enabled Christians to beat them at their own weapons (S). Though Protestants do indeed claim the merit of this, especially those of *Germany*, where many of their doctors have

different persons, whatever likeness there may be found in their characters. And it is mostly agreed that *Pfiffer Corn* died a natural death (40).

(S) It is plain *Luther* was no lover of the *Jews*, nor they of him. He accused them of divers cheats (†); particularly, that one of them had pretended, by his art, to have rendered the *duke* of *Saxony* invulnerable. On the other hand, they gave out, that he had promised to

the *Jews* of *Frankfort*, on consideration of a good sum of money, to preach and write in praise and vindication of their nation; and that their refusal was the cause of his spleen against them (41). This last appears a mere forgery; and the true reason of their hatred against him was, his having, by his credit, prevented several princes of *Germany* from protecting and tolerating them.

(40) Vid. *Basnag. ibid.* §. 16. Et aut. ab eo citat. (†) See his little book *De Judæorum mendaciis.* (¶) *Ciruso's Las Escollencias.*

proved the truth of the Christian Religion, in a manner not only new and unanswerable, but likewise vastly different from what had been formerly done by those of the church of *Rome*; but it must be also owned, that these have since produced a vast number of divines, equally excellent and thoroughly versed in *Jewish* learning. However, the *Jews* have reaped one singular benefit from the reformation, that it hath, in a great measure, suppressed those prosecutions usually raised against them, on account of crucifying Christian children, stealing and piercing of consecrated wafers, and such-like black accusations, upon the authority of pretended miracles, which have since lost all their credit.

Became
more wary
and learn-
ed. ON the other hand, the *Jews*, being more closely pressed by the Christians than usual, were obliged to steer a better course in their own defence; and it must be owned, that they have produced some learned champions on their side; at the head of whom we may reckon *R. Isaac Ben Abraham*, supposed to be by nation a *Polander*; but he tells us himself, that he had spent most of his time in the courts of *Germany*, and had been in great credit with several princes. He it was that wrote a most virulent and dangerous book (T) against the

(T) This book, which the author intitles *חוק אמונה*, *Chafuk Emunah*, and the Latin translator, *Munimen fidei*, shews the author to have lived about the beginning of the seventeenth century. Its editor *Joseph*, the son of *Mordecai*, published it, an. 1616, after it had remained a long while in manuscript, and was become very scarce. The *Portuguese Jews* did indeed get it translated into *Spanish*, and dispersed it about in all the neighbouring kingdoms; and it was also in high esteem among the *African Jews*; and it is from thence that the learned *Wagenfeil* brought it into *Germany*; and, having translated it into *Latin*, inserted it into his *Tela Ignea Satanae*. It were to be wished he had likewise answered him paragraph by paragraph,

in the same clear and nervous manner with which he hath the *Nitzachon of Lipman*, of which more hereafter; for his author doth in the preface make great parade of proving the truth of the *Jewish* religion, and confuting the Christian, by the clearest and strongest reasoning, by the most theological, powerful, and convincing arguments. And it must be owned, that he argues more judiciously and warily than the rest of the rabbies; and the *Jews* have still an high opinion of this work, that they look upon it as unanswerable. And yet he often blunders in his historical facts; as when he makes *Julian* the apostate to have been an *Arian* emperor, and gives him a grandson, who was also a great stickler for that heretical sect. However, that doth

the Christian religion, wherein he runs through all the Gospel, endeavours to explode all the proofs of it, raises all the difficulties he can against it, and presses them with all possible vigour and bitterness; and, with the same heat, confutes the objections of Christians against the *Jews*. This book he composed against the disciples of *Luther*, with whom he had had frequent conferences and disputes; and it was not long before that piece was followed by another equally, if not more, virulent; viz.

THE *Nitzachon*, or *Victories*, commonly ascribed to *R. Jom Tob Lipman*, and published and answered by *Mr. Wagenfeil*, as was lately hinted, and by *Sebastian Munster*, in his *Hebrew* version of *St. Matthew's Gospel*. The reader may see a farther account of that virulent book, and its author, in the margin (U).

IN

doth not hinder his book from being one of the strongest that have been written against Christianity. It hath had some editions since that, of *Wagenfeil* above-mentioned, and hath been as learnedly confuted by eminent divines; for both which, we refer the reader to *Dr. Wolf* above quoted (42).

(U) It is not unlikely, as some authors have observed against *Bartolucci* (who hath not distinguished here with his usual exactness), that there have been some other books printed under the name of *Nitzachon* (victories or triumphs); the rabbies being, as we have observed more than once, very fond of such pompous titles; one of them seems to have appeared in the twelfth century, from his quoting no authors below but all above it. Another, which is attributed to one *R. Mattathias*, appeared, A. C. 1399; it was written by him against *St. Peter*, who had renounced

Judaism, and had been baptised by that name. This is supposed to be the book which the learned *Skikard* had designed to confute; but which *Mr. Hucksan*, having with great difficulty procured from a *Jewish* rabbi, an. 1643, caused to be printed at *Altorf* the very next year, in *Hebrew*; and was since reprinted with much greater correctness by *Mr. Wagenfeil*, and with proper notes.

Since then *R. Lipman*, who flourished towards the end of the fifteenth century, wrote two books with the same title; the one in confutation of the proofs which Christians urge against the *Jews*, from *Jaacob's* prophecy, *That the scripture shall not depart from Judah*, &c. (43). The other, which was only an abridgment of that, he reduced into verse, that it might be the more easily learned by heart by the *Jewish* youth; and it is this that *Wagenfeil* hath thought so dangerous, as well as worth

(42) *Bibl. Hebr. N.* 1145. p. 641. (43) *Genesis* xlix. 10. *De hoc, vid. Anc. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 317 (*G.* vol. x. p. 629).

In the mean time these disputes between the *Jews* and Christians seem to have produced some new sects among the latter, which were called in contempt *Judaizers*, or half *Jews*. Of that sort was *Seideliu*s, who maintained, that the Messiah regarded only the *Jews*, to whom he had been promised in the same manner as the land of *Canaan*; and that the heathen had no more share in the promise of the former than of the latter. He further affirmed, that the whole of religion was contained in the decalogue, and written in the hearts of men *. He was a native of *Silesia*, and there he di-

* MARTIN. SEIDELIUS, ad Cæt. G. . . . v. ep. i. p. 806.

confuting. But that which *Munster* so often takes to task, in his *Hebrew* version of St. *Matthæw*'s Gospel, and sometimes quotes whole paragraphs out of, being written in prose, is, in all likelihood, the first of *Lipman*'s writing, of which more by and by.

There hath been a fifth published since under the same title, which must have been written since *Luther* and *Calvin*, as they are often quoted in it. But the *Jews* have been so fearful of its coming to light, that one of their rabbies, being informed that *Hackspan* had got one of them, and was translating it into *Latin*, stole it from him, so that it hath never appeared since (*).

Lipman, in that above mentioned in prose, not only strives to overturn all the proofs of Christ being the Messiah, but doth every-where express himself with the greatest bitterness against him and his religion, taking his Gospel to task in the most virulent manner; and descends even to the lowest puns, stiling it, in allusion to its *Greek* and *Latin* names, *Havon-gbshi-*

on, that is, *the Revelation of Iniquity*; and calling his blessed Virgin Mother by the filthy name of *Charia*, which will not bear englishing, instead of *Maria*. Those who desire to know more of that pestilent work, may consult the authors last quoted, and *Munster*'s notes to his *Hebrew* version of St. *Matthæw* above mentioned.

In the mean time, we hope the generality of our readers will not be displeased, if we tell them, that our present *Jews*, those especially of the higher class, are so far from following his example, or using his blasphemous expressions, against our divine *lawgiver*, that they make no scruple to own a deep admiration of his precepts, above those of *their own*, especially those that relate to universal charity, beneficence, meekness, humility, forgiveness, &c.; and how much deeper an impression they would make on them in his favour, were his professed disciples, like him, to display those excellent Gospel virtues; &c. &c. as they do in theory, every considerate reader may easily guess.

(*) See Wolf. ubi sup. N. 1364. p. 734. Basnag. ubi sup. c. 34. §. 5—10. Wagners Telé Ignea.

vulged his notions, but gained few disciples to them. Another, named *Francis David*, was called half a Jew, because he maintained it unlawful to pray to *Jesus Christ*, who had taught us to pray to the Father only; and being now in heaven, could know nothing either of our wants or of our prayers^b. Such was likewise reckoned *George de Novara*, who was burned at *Bolonia*, for denying that the Messiah was come; and such were also esteemed some other sectaries, who observed the Jewish Sabbath, abstained from blood and things strangled, &c.; several of whom also suffered as half Jews, in *England* and other parts.

ABOUT the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Jews of *Merzburch*, though they pretended to have been settled there ever since the destruction of *Jerusalem*, were nevertheless banished out of that city and diocese by the bishop of it. They did however find a safe retreat in other parts; and the emperor *Ferninand I.* not only protected them, but granted them the privilege of having a chief or prince of the captivity; and ordered, that the chief Rabbi of *Worms* should have that advantage above any other of his nation. They reckon in the number of them, the famed *R. Jakob*, a native of that city, and a man of great learning, who left four sons, who were all presidents of academies, princes of the dispersion, and highly admired by their nation. One of them taught chiefly at *Friburgh*, where they had an academy and synagogue, as well as in other cities of the empire, particularly at *Vienna*, where they had erected a magnificent building. This century did likewise produce a good number of learned doctors, both in *Germany* and *Poland* (W), who enjoyed very great privileges,

Jews banished from Merf-
burgh,
A. C.
1559-
Protected by Ferdi-
nand.
A. C.
1563.

^b FRANC. DAVID, defens. inter oper. Socini. tom. ii. p. 717. BASNAG. ubi sup. c. 34. §. 11, & seq. GANTZ. TZEMACH, p. 153.

(W) There flourished in *Austria* the famed *R. Solomon Luria*, who was esteemed even more learned than *Jakob* above-mentioned, and was stiled, according to their pompous way, *The crown of Israel, the wonder of his age; all people walked by his light, and all the Israelitish dispersions drank of his water; and his name was known in all the world.* He wrote a treatise, intituled, *The Sea of Solomon, Jam Sblo,* alluding to his name, wherein he pretended to dive into the greatest depths of the thalmud; and took a particular examen of its stile and phrases. He was, according to their stile, called up to the celestial council, that is, he died, an. 1573 (44).

(44.) Theod. Ebrt. in poetic. Hebr. Gantz, ubi sup.

as well as liberty and quiet, in the latter; insomuch, that at *Cracow* they had a synagogue, an academy, a house of judgment, and a great assembly. They were likewise dispersed in several other cities of that kingdom, and flourished under the protection of that government: only they were now-and-then liable to suffer by popular commotions. Thus, for instance, their houses were one day set all on fire in *Poznan*, without daring to quench it, being afraid lest the populace should fall on them if they attempted it. The people do indeed pretend, that a kind of supernatural terror had seized on them from above, which would not suffer them so much as to draw water to quench the flames, ~~remove~~ any thing out of them; so that they were forced to stand still, and see their houses, effects, and even the sacred books, reduced to ashes. But, excepting those popular disasters, learning, as well as traffic, flourished among them; and their academies were governed by men of great reputation (X).

CARDINAL *Commendon*, in his way into *Russia*, found likewise in the province of *Ukraina* a great number of *Jews*, in great credit, who did not enrich themselves, as they do every-where else, by usury, &c. but by a fair and honest commerce. They cultivated their lands, and applied themselves to the study of physic and astrology, and ~~also~~ ~~learned~~ ~~the~~ ~~customs~~ ~~and~~ ~~carriage~~ ~~of~~ ~~merchandise~~. They are not only

^d GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 37.

He wrote several other tracts of the same kind: such as his *Wisdom of Solomon*, *Curtains of Solomon*, *Crown of Solomon*, *Columns of Solomon*; together with some other expositions, his *Bircath Hammaxon*, or *Blessing of the food*, and his *Sheebitoh ubedicoh*, which is a kind of directory how to kill and examine beasts used for food (45).

About the same time flourished also R. *Samson de Guntzburg*, so called from his native place, who was a great master of geometry and architecture, gained immense wealth, and distributed it with the same liberality he got it. *Bartolocci*

says he published a treatise of architecture, but which was never printed (46).

(X) Among them was the celebrated R. *Ishidors*, who taught at *Cracow*, A. C. 1553. and was followed by a vast number of disciples, who flocked to him from all parts to hear his lectures. He was pious, perfect, and expounded the law during the space of twenty years (47).

Josiph Cets, born in the same city (48), was another learned professor, who is affirmed to have worn four crowns (viz. that of the priesthood, of the law, of the imperial dignity, and of a great reputation (49).

(45) *Wolf*, ubi sup. N. 2000. p. 1011. *Gantz*, ubi sup. *Wolf*, *Biblioth. ubi sup.* *Id. ibid.*

(46) *Id. ibid.* N. 2211. p. 1153. (47) 35. §. 15. & 19. (48) *Id. ibid.* (49)

exempt from wearing a mark of distinction, but are even allowed to wear a sword, and to enjoy the same posts and employments as the natives of the country ^e.

WE took notice a while ago, that they had been advantageously settled in *Bohemia* ever-since the tenth century, on account of great services they had done to the Christians there against the banditti. They not only built a noble synagogue, but erected afterwards an academy at *Prague*, of which *R. Falk* was chosen chief (Y); and enjoyed some singular privileges in that country. But they met likewise there with persecutions and disasters. A general conflagration having destroyed some part of that kingdom, they were accused, and found guilty of having caused it; so that those that escaped the flames, were all banished, ten only excepted, who obtained leave to continue at *Prague*. *Ferdinand* was not able to appease the tumultuous *Bohemians*, by any other means, than by their deaths or banishments, till the incendiaries were discovered towards the latter end of the year, when they were all recalled, and settled there afresh ^f.

It was not long before another storm was raised against them, on a suspicion that they had prayed at *Prague* against the Christians; whereupon all their books were immediately seized, and sent to *Vienna*. The loss of them was very afflictive, not only on account of their value, but because they were forced to officiate in the synagogue without them, and that by dint of memory. They were however so soon restored to them, that it looked as if they had been taken away with no other view but to force them to redeem them. But even then their happiness proved short-lived, since the emperor banished them all but ten families out of *Bohemia*, before that year was out. What his reasons were our author doth not tell us; but they were permitted at the same time to go and settle in any part of his other dominions; and it was

^e See the life of that prelate, written by FLECHIER, p. 270. BASNAGUI sup. §. 18. ^f GANTZ, ubi sup. p. 151, & seq. ^g RODOLPH. Imp. Decret. Posan. an. 1578. art. ii. ap. Verboz Corp. per Hungar. tom. i. p. 52. RODOLPH. ii. Decret. Posan. n. 595. art. x.

This rabbi took it into his head to introduce the Christian manner of disputing in his school; but soon found that it disgusted all their wisemen, and

that the Jewish theology is too mystical and abstruse to bear being canvassed by arguments and regular syllogisms.

Learned
men.

not long before they were resettled in that. What learned doctors flourished in it may be seen in the next note (Z).

THOSE

(Z) They had several here that maintained the glory of their nation, among whom was the famed *Isaac Mebeling*, who taught in that academy about the end of the sixteenth century, and, at his death, left the chair to his son *Charav*. Here likewise flourished the celebrated *Liwa Ritzler*, who conversed with the emperor *Rodolphus*; and of whom the Jews say, that all Israel drank of his waters, and walked by his light (50). He founded the academy called *Klaufe*, an. 1592, which became so famous in his time, that it drew a vast concourse of disciples to him. He was chosen at last superintendent of all the synagogues in Poland.

Jehudah Betzael, or, *Leo Progenfis*, a native of *Bokemia*, likewise flourished in it, an. 1553, and was chief of the *Moravian* academies, and judge of the nation in that country. He went thence to *Prague*, an. 1573, and there founded a new school, in which he taught eleven years with great applause, but left it at length to pass into Poland, where he died about the beginning of the seventeenth century. He left several learned works behind, among which is that, intituled, *The Redemption and Eternity of Israel*, wherein he assures the Jews of the certainty of the Messiah's coming, and of his settling them in a perpetual state of prosperity. Some time before him lived one

Abraham of Prague, who wrote a commentary on that of *R. Jarchi*; and who died, an. 1540, as his epitaph shews.

Mordechai Japhe, or *the Fair*, was likewise a native of *Prague*, and gained no small reputation among those of his nation for his great learning; but retired at last into *Poland*, where he died, an. 1611. He wrote several learned volumes; the principal one is that which he intituled, *The Royal Robe* (or *Apparel*); alluding, according to the rabbinic custom, to his namesake *Mordechai*, and the royal dress which King *Abasuerus* caused him to be clothed with (1). The reader will not be displeased, if we subjoin the order in which he ranges this treatise.

He divides it into ten different *Royal Habits*, though he finished but five of them, which contain an accurate comment on another work. The first part is stiled, *The purple Garment*, in which he treats of prayers and thanksgivings; the second is, *The white*, which treats of the Sabbath; the third is, *The golden Crown*, which treats of things permitted and forbid; the fourth is, *A Robe of fine Linen and scarlet*, in which are explained the ceremonies of marriage; and the last is, *The Garment of the city of Shushan*, and its rejoicing at the prosperity of the Jews.

The last we shall mention

(50) *Basnag. ubi sup. c. 34. §. 21. (1) Esther viii. 15. (2) Bartoloc. ubi sup. tom. iii. p. 40. Wolf. ubi sup. N. 1482, p. 792. Gantz, Basnag. &c.*

here

THOSE in Hungary were greatly diminished, towards the end of the sixteenth century, when the emperor *Rodolphus* laid a double tax on them, in order to oblige them to quit that country the quicker; and, at length, obliged them to pay a monthly fine of fifty denarii *per* head, which, it was thought, must have ruined them quite; but, notwithstanding, a good number of them made shift to maintain themselves in it, though a much greater was forced to seek their fortune elsewhere. The *Moravian* synagogues suffered a very severe persecution in the year 1574, a great number of Jews being

Oppressed
in Hun-
gary,
A. C.
1595.

Persecuted
in Mora-
via,

here is the *Jewish* historian *David Gantz*, so often quoted in this chapter, who was a native of that city, and there composed his *Tzemach David*, which is a chronology from the creation to the year 1492 of the Christian æra; and must not, consequently, be confounded with a dictionary of the same name, which we have elsewhere mentioned. He gave it that title, either as it was his first work, or to put his suffering nation in mind of the branch, *David* or *Messiah*, who was to redeem them from thralldom, and to induce them to pray the more fervently for the hastening of his coming.

There are three singularities in his history; viz. 1. That he begins at the creation, mentions the patriarchs and first temple; whereas the rest of the *Jewish* chronologers go no higher up than the æra of the *Greeks*. 2. That, though he follows the *Hebrews*, or *Pseudo Josephus*, and other *Jewish* rabbies that wrote before them, yet is much more exact; and often corrects them. 3. That he hath compiled his second part from Christian authors; and the first part not

been so happy in his choice, as he might have been, had he been a better judge of them, yet it is some merit in him that he hath so far departed from the method of his brethren, who despised the help of foreign authors, and thought it a dishonour to make any use of them.

Gantz closes his chronology with an encomium on one *Mordchai Meisel*, a very rich and liberal Jew, who not only contributed largely towards a synagogue, which was then building at *Prague*, and was not inferior to those of *Poland* and *Jerusalem*, but gave away vast sums to the relief of his poor brethren in *Bohemia* and *Possania*. He styles him, *the Basis and Wall of the School, the Chief of liberal Souls, the Father of the Poor, the Oak of his Nation, and the Love of his Brethren* (4).

His chronology hath been translated into, and continued in, the *German* rabbinic language, and in *Latin*; besides which he wrote two other treatises, one on arithmetic, styled, *The Shield of David*; and the other, *The Tower of David*, on geometry (5).

(4) *Bartoloc. ubi sup.* • *Wolf, ubi sup. N. 481. p. 292. Bohn. ubi sup. §. 24, 25, &c.* (5) *Ibid.*

A. C. burnt, and otherwise dispatched, before the emperor could
 1574. be applied to in their behalf, who was, at length, moved
 with pity towards them, and put an end to those massacres.
Plundered Those in *Franconia* were accused of having set fire to some
in Franco- houses in the town of *Bamberg*; for which they were plun-
 1573. dered of all their effects, in order to make good that loss,
At Bonn, but had their lives spared. They were served much in the
 1588. same way at *Bonn* on the *Rhine*, when that town was taken
 and plundered by the *Dutch* general *Schenk*; but were made
 ample amends for their loss, towards the close of the sixteenth
Settled in century, when *Henry*, then duke of *Brunswick*, permitted
Brun- them to settle in his dominions. At this time the princes
wick, of that illustrious house had been possessed with a notion, that
 A. C. the tolerating of them would prove detrimental to that state;
 1592. insomuch that they suffered none of them, not even those
 that were merchants, to pass through it; and if any were
 caught, they were plundered with impunity. At length,
 complaint having been made of it to prince *Henry Julius*,
 then duke of *Brunswick*, he not only granted them liberty of
 conscience in his territories, but appointed them a place in
Lower Saxony, to carry on their commerce: so that there
 were but few places in *Germany* where they were not allow-
 ed to traffic, towards the latter end of the sixteenth centu-
 ry. It is now time to see how they fared in the seventeenth,
 or last.

Jews in
Poland,
during the
last centu-
ry.

R. Solo-
mon con-
verted.

THERE is hardly any country in *Europe*, wherein the *Jews*
 enjoy greater liberty and privileges, than in *Poland*, though
 it grant none to the Protestants. They have their stately sy-
 nagogues and academies; and their house of judgment, or
 court of judicature, is endowed with singular authority, since
 it is allowed to judge of criminal, as well as civil, cases. It
 hath been even affirmed^h, that they had once the privilege of
 coining money; but both the shekels, and *Hebrew* inscrip-
 tion[†], and the tomb out of which they were taken, and on
 which that conjecture is founded, are too suspicious to per-
 suade one, that any crowned head would make them such a
 grant. However, *Poland* is looked upon as a nursery of
 learned rabbies, and the place where the *Jews* send all their
 youths to study the *Talmud*^k, and rites of their religion. At
 speaking of the preceding century, we mentioned some rab-

^h GANTZ Tzemach, ubi sup. Basn. ubi sup. Hist. Un.
 vers. Judaic. c. 3. † De his vid. vol. iii. p. 215 & (X), & seq.
^k Hist. Un. Jud. ibid. p. 18. VILLALFAND, tom. ii. p. 2 Juan.
 de la fuente conveniencia de las monarchias, ap. Basnag c. 35.
 §. 1, & seq.

bies there who were an honour to their nation ; this hath produced one who hath not only renounced *Judaism*, but wrote and published 37 demonstrations against it. But the condition he then was in, as well as the affected swollen stile in which he wrote, gives one reason to suspect the sincerity of his conversion (A).

A. C.
1656.

THE city of *Hamburgh* is called the *Lesser Jerusalem*, on *At Ham-* account of the many *Jews* that live and traffic in it. Their *burgh*. synagogue is indeed at *Altana*, a little city near it, under the king of *Denmark*, who protects them likewise at *Gluckstadt*, but that doth not hinder *Hamburgh* from entertaining a vast number of them ; some of whom are very rich, and others learned in various sciences, especially physic. They are observed to have been more tractable in that city than elsewhere ; and that a good number of them were converted in this century, by one *Esdra*s or *Edzar*, (whom some have mistaken for a converted *Jew*) and who made it his chief business to instruct and confirm them in the Christian faith. A divine of that city once imagined, that if those instructions were armed with some violence, they would become more numerous and effectual. But the senate being informed of it, soon cooled his untimely zeal, which tended only to lessen the number of their citizens, and had already caused some popular commotions.

WE have already observed that they were endowed with *Settled in* great privileges at *Prague*, for their great services at the siege *Prague*. of it, and glory so much in that piece of merit, that *R. Je-*

(A) His name was *Solomon* ; he had been bound for one of his brothers, and clapt into a jail, whence nothing could have redeemed him but his turning Christian, and this, and his readiness to yield to every argument of his instructor, made his conversion suspected. He readily owned that the Messiah was come, and that reason could not, ought not, to judge of the mysteries of faith, and that we ought to be wholly guided by revelation. Being told, that if God had given ~~such~~ ^{any} proofs of his divine presence in the holy ark of the covenant, which

was made of wood, how much more, now he was united to our flesh, of which the ark was but the type ? he cried out, “ these words are sweeter than honey, and pierce my, very heart.”

After his baptism he endeavoured to convert his brethren, and wrote his 37 demonstrations, in which he proved the Messiah was come, that he was a divine person, distinct from God the Father. He inscribed his book to king *Casimir*, in an elegant and pompous dedication (6).

(6) *Joban. Solomon, Demonstrat. et Hyst. Colloquii. cum Job. Botzaco, congressi. prol. v. p. 14, & seq. videt B. f. n. ut p. c. 35, §. 2.*

Their defence of that city. budah Leo compiled a history of that transaction, in which he highly extolls the fidelity and bravery of his nation; their indefatigable industry in mining and countermining, watching and defending the place, &c. but especially their piety in often assembling themselves in their synagogues, to interceed with heaven, and to recite a most pious litany, composed for that purpose, by *R. Simeon, whose head shines with bright lustre*. In a word, he seems to ascribe the preservation of that city to their prayers and merit; notwithstanding which, they had the mortification to hear that the enemy, after raising the siege, entered *Tabor*, and several other cities of *Bohemia*, and had plundered all the *Jews*. The author concludes with an exhortation to those of his nation, that shall read his history, to shout aloud, *Blessed be our God, who hath wrought all these wonders in our favour*. All this, however, hath not been capable of creating a tolerable good understanding between the citizens and them; on the contrary, they hate one another, and take all opportunities to shew it: and it must be owned that the *Jews* have now-and-then been guilty of such enormous deeds, as must render them not only suspected, but hateful to the Christians. The reader may see a few instances of it in the margin (B).

Hated by the Christians.

THEY

(B) *R. Chajim al Joachim*, openly owned that he had never put one of the greatest cheats and affronts on this city that ever was heard. He had committed some signal theft; to avoid the shame and punishment of which, he renounced *Judaism*, and wrote a severe censure against it. From thence he removed to *Vienna*, where he at first ingratiated himself with the court, and emperor *Ferdinand*; but finding his fortune beginning to sink, he associated himself with some other *Jews*, and robbed the treasury. They were soon discovered and condemned for it; and *Chajim*, who in his baptism had been named *Ferdinand Francis Engelberg*, dissembled, in hopes of a pardon, till he came to the place of execution; but there

been a Christian, but a *Jew* in heart, and did such. That he had received the sacrament a few hours before, which they would find in his ural, where he had thrown it; and breaking the crucifix he held in his hand, threw the pieces away (7), and was executed. *Bartolucci* suspects him to have been the author of the virulent book, lately mentioned, called *Tholoth Jesu*, or, *the Generations of Jesus*; but upon no probable grounds.

We have another instance of their hatred to the Christians, and their religion, in a *Jew* of this city, named *Lazarus*, an. 1694, finding his son inclined to receive baptism, fell upon and killed him. Being impi-

THEY had enjoyed in Hungary the privilege of farming the revenue, till Ferdinand II. took it from them, by an edict dated 1630¹: notwithstanding which, they found means, it seems, to preserve themselves in it, since Ferdinand III. was afterwards obliged to deprive them of it, by a new one, which condemned those to the loss of their places, who admitted the Jews into any of them; because, says this law, *they have neither conscience nor honesty, and are therefore unworthy to enjoy the privileges of the kingdom of Hungary*^m. This did not, however, prevent their being winked at, and keeping those employments, till that emperor sent once and again express commissioners to drive them out, and to punish those communities that had connived at it; the last of which commissions was in the year 1655ⁿ. However, they continue there still, not only under the protection of the Grand Seigneur, in those parts which are under his dominion, but in those of the empire. In this last, when they go to law against the Christians, there is a form of an oath prescribed to them,

Strip of their privileges in Hungary, A. C. 1630. & 1647.

1655.

A form of their oath.

¹ Vid. Ferd. II. imp. decret. art. xv. an. 1630. ap. VERBOZ Corp. jur. Hungar. tom. ii. p. 256. ^m Ferd. iii. decre. ii. Posonienf. an. 1647. art. ix. ap. eund. p. 344. ⁿ Ibid. sub an. 1649. p. 383. & decret. Poson. v. an. 1655. art. xxix. p. 402. vid. BASNAG. c. 35. §. 2 & 9.

soned for it, he fell into a fresh fit of despair, and by the help of another Jew, who was in the same place, strangled himself. This last was condemned to be broke upon the wheel; and in hopes to save his life, begged to be baptized; which was granted to him, but that did not prevent his being executed (8). On the other hand, the Christians are not wanting in means to spight and mortify them; and have, among other things, erected a brass crucifix on the bridge which parts the two cities; and in order to oblige them to pay homage to it, have engraven the names of God about it in Hebrew characters. But as they are brought

up to look upon all such things as idols, they pass by without taking notice of it, or of the names of God written upon it, which is often attended with vexatious consequences. For the scholars, who are there very numerous, seldom fail of abusing and drubbing them; whereupon a riot ensues, of which they are commonly obliged to pay the cost, as well as bear the blows and disgrace. All this doth not hinder their being so numerous, that they fill the third city of Prague; but they are mostly very poor and miserable, and forced to hire themselves to the meanest offices, both to the citizens and to strangers (9).

(8) Basnag. ub. sup. §. 5, & seq. (9) *Historic. remarks in a voyage from Italy to Holland, an. 1704. p. 130, & seq. Basnag. ub. sup.*

which

which is very singular, and which the reader may see in the margin (C).

*A great
assembly of
them held
in Hun-
gary about
the Mess-
iah.*

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the *Jews* made choice of this kingdom, preferably to all other countries, to hold their grand council, *an.* 1650, in which was to be debated the most important point of their religion; *viz.* whether the Messiah was come. A countryman of our own, who tells us he was present at it, hath given us the following account of it °. The *Jews* being in doubt about the great number of centuries which have elapsed since the time in which they expected him to appear, agreed to call a general assembly of all their rabbies, to clear up that point. *Hungary* appeared to them a proper place, because the *Turkish* wars had in a great measure depopulated it; and they made choice of the plain of *Agala*, about 30 leagues from *Buda*, and the princes then at war readily granted them that liberty. Three hundred of their most learned rabbies, out of different nations, met there accordingly, with a vast multitude of other *Jews*, who flocked thither from other countries. They all encamped under their tents; and one, larger than all the rest, was reared for the

° BRETT's narrative of the proceeding, &c. phoenix xv. tom. ii. p. 544.

(C) They are obliged to turn their faces towards the sun; to stand barefoot, their bodies covered with a cloak, and their heads with a *Jewish* hat; and laying their hand upon a roll or volume of their law, repeat the following words: "I, such-a-one, a *Jew*, do swear by the living God, the almighty God, who hath made the heavens and the earth, and all that is in them, that I am innocent of the crime of which that Christian accuses me. And if I am guilty of it, may the earth open itself and swallow me up, as it did *Dathan* and *Abiram*: may the palsy and leprosy, which

Elisba removed from *Naaman* upon *God's*, fall upon me: may the falling sickness, the bloody-flux, and gout, seize me in an instant: may a sudden death carry me off: may my body and soul perish: may my good fortune be overturned: I never get admittance into the bosom of *Abraham*: may the law given on *Mount-Sinai* blot me out (me delete): may all the holy writ contained in the five books of *Moses* confound me. And, if my present oath is not true and just, may *God* (*Adonai*), by his divine power, blot me out of the book of life (10).

(10) *Verboz. Corp. jur. Hungar. part. iii. titul. 36. tom. i. p. 139. ap. Bosnag. ub. sup. §. 10.*

grand council to sit in (D); and R. Zachariah, of the tribe of *Levi*, was chosen their president and speaker. He was seated before a large table, with his face towards the eastern door of the pavilion, and all the rest sat round him.

THE first day was spent in compliments and mutual congratulations, and in excluding those who could not prove their *Jewish* origin, which amounted to about 5 or 600. On *The result* the second day the president proposed the question, in words of it.

to this effect: "We are here met to examine whether the
"Messiah is come, or whether we must still wait for his
"coming?" Upon which some professed themselves inclined to believe *he was already come, seeing those great misfortunes and disasters which Providence had continued to send down amongst them, during such a series of centuries, could not be owing to their idolatry; a crime from which their nation had kept themselves wholly free, ever since their return from the Babylonish captivity. So that all those miseries which they had suffered since their dispersion, must be owing to some other cause.* This was rightly judged; and they might have justly added, that it was solely owing to their still rejecting of that Messiah whom God had sent at the appointed time, as we have elsewhere shewn†: but the majority of votes carried it against them, and it was agreed that the Messiah was not yet come, and that his delay was owing to their sins and impenitence.

THEY next debated in what manner the Messiah was to come, and easily agreed to these three particulars. 1st. That he would appear as a great conqueror, and deliver them from all foreign yokes. 2dly. That he would alter nothing in the *Mosaic* religion. And 3dly. That he was to be born of a virgin; and that this his miraculous birth was to be a characteristic by which he should be known to those who were strangers to the covenant. Some farther debates they had, the substance of which may be seen in the margin (E). •The congress

† See before, vol. x. p. 449, & seq. sub. not. & alib.

(D) In this vast assembly, and could make out their genealogies, should be admitted; (which consisted of some of the most considerable persons of which caused great numbers of their nation, who came thither from most countries of Europe, them to be excluded: and these were only admitted to stand if not likewise from the East, without, and at a certain distance from the great pavilion, and for which great plenty of provisions, and all other conveniences had been brought) it was resolved that none but those who spoke the *Hebrew* tongue, and among the strangers whom curiosity had brought thither also.

(E) They debated, among other

A new one
agreed on.

congress had lasted six days, when some ecclesiastics, sent thither from *Rome*, presented themselves before it; and not content to prove to them that *Jesus Christ* was the promised Messiah, began to extol the worship, ceremonies, and the authority of the church, whose head was the vicar of that divine Person. This declaration immediately caused a strange uproar in the council, among which nothing was now to be heard but a tumultuous outcry of *No Christ! no God-man! no intercession of saints! no worship of images! no prayers to the Virgin!* accompanied with loud clamours, rending of cloaths, stopping of ears, &c. and in this manner they parted for that day. On the next, which was the 21th, they only met to agree upon another council, which should be held three years after in *Syria*, where, our author tells us, there are still some of the ancient *Rechabites* *. He farther observes, that some of the *Jewish* doctors owned themselves not a little shaken at what had passed, and expressed a desire to converse with some protestant divines; but that the presence of so many monks, they said, deterred them, and made them fear some tragical conclusion to their assembly.

ABOUT 10 years after, they were in such high credit at *Vienna*, that *R. Zachariah* had obtained leave to build a stately synagogue, and academy, in order to revive learning among

* De his, vid. Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 436. (S).

other points, whether *Jesus Christ*, who had been crucified, might not be the Messiah; to which the Pharisees, who overruled the assembly, answered, on the following day, that he could not be that person, because he appeared in a low and despised state; whereas the Messiah was to appear in a glorious and triumphant manner. They likewise objected his being the son of a carpenter, and the aversion he had along shewn against the law of *Moses*.

Here a rabbi, named *Abraham*, who was still, unsatisfied with the pharisaic reasoning, strenuously insisted upon *Christ's* miracles; and asked them, by what power they thought he could work them? To this *Za-*

bedee, one of the chiefs of that sect, answered, that he wrought them by his magic art. *Abraham* objected, that no magic art could give sight, hearing, or speech, to those that were born blind, deaf, and dumb: to which the other replied, that those blind, deaf, and dumb had been so formed in the womb by magic art; and that he that cured them did nothing else but dissolve the charm by the same diabolical power. The *Sadducees*, tho' in other things opposite to them, agreed with them in this; and they more readily; as they denied the resurrection, which *Christ* had so strenuously defended against them.

them.

them. He had endowed the latter with a sufficient pension for twenty-four doctors, who were to read lectures on the thalmud night and day ; so that the school was to be always open, and some doctors teaching in it. The building, however, was scarcely finished, when the emperor banished all the Jews out of that capital, and turned their synagogue into a church^p. They complain, that the empress superstitiously ascribed her barrenness to their toleration ; for which God punished her soon after ; for that she was brought to-bed of a daughter, and died in child-bed. Not long after which, they were all recalled, and settled in that capital. That monarch did not a little resent the zeal with which those of Buda sustained the siege against him ; tho' in reality they did but their duty in it, seeing they were subjects of the Ottoman empire. However, they are not only tolerated at Vienna, but are admitted to several high posts, and titles of honour ; but the people, who begrudge them the wealth which they acquire under the government, sometimes raise vexatious commotions, in order to strip them of it. They were no less numerous and flourishing in most other large cities of the empire, as well as in the provinces of Servia, Croatia, Moldavia, Valantina, &c. and tho' they are banished out of the city of Nuremberg, yet they are settled in most of the neighbouring towns, and have a synagogue at Psurt, and are even permitted to enter that city, under a guide who stays with them all the time. The same may be said of the city of Aufburg, where they had formerly a synagogue and academy, and their doctors and disciples were maintained by the rich merchants of the place^q, but have been since banished from it, and must buy the liberty of coming into it at the price of a florin for every hour they stay in it.

High credit at Vienna,

A. C.

1660.

Banished,
1669.

Recalled,
1673.

Stripped by the populace, 1705.

Settled in other parts of the empire.

THE Jews of Ratiflon are accused of having stolen from the Christians there, one of their greatest saints, whom they call Ammeron, and affirm to have come from Poitou, and to have converted the Huns ; whereas the former affirm him to have been of their nation, and descended from Amram the father of Moses. It is not easy to decide the controversy ; only this may be said in favour of them, that they don't appear so fond of saints as to steal those of the Christians ; which is more than these can say for themselves. Those of Worms are also charged, by one who abjured Judaism, to have written the name of God on the top of their synagogue, out of a superstitious notion, that it was an effectual means of preserving

^p BARRIO's Hist. Judaic. ubi. sup. §. 20. ^q BENJAMIN DE TUDELA, Itinerar.

Numerous,
and dis-
perfed at
Francfort.

it to them; infomuch, that they fuffered it to be covered with spiders webs, rather than run the rifque of defacing it by brushing them off. But the *French* foon convinced them of the vanity of that notion, when they took that city, and demolifhed that building to the ground. A late traveller reckons 30,000 *Jews* in *Francfort*; yet they are but ill ufed there, being often plundered, fined, and made to carry water, where-ever any fire happens; and the citizens paint them in their houfes in all manner of ridiculous and other forms, on purpofe to render them defpicable and odious: and yet they feem fond of living, tho' in extreme poverty and contempt, in all thefe parts, and often produce fome very learned men among them (F).

We

* Historical remarks on a journey into Italy, ap. *Basnage*. ub. fup. §. 25.

(F) Among them was the famed cabbalift *Nathan de Spira*, who, about an. 1640, wrote a panegyric on the *Holy Land*, intitled *The Good of the Earth*; and another called *Megillath Humucoth*, or *Volume of the Profundities*; which is a cabbaliftical comment on fome verfes in the third chapter of *Deuteronomy*, wherein he hath difcovered fundry deep myfteries, which he there explains, and removes the difficulties which occur to him.

There flourifhed another famed one at *Ciferftadt*, about an. 1682, named *Mordechai*, who fet up at firft for a prophet; and finding the people ready to credit him, gave himfelf out to be the *Meffiah*. Thofe of *Italy* wrote letters to invite him thither, where he was according received with great refpect; but the
o. rabbi who conducted him thither having difcovered his impofture, began to cry him down; but was forced by the reft to retire, and obtained a certificate from them, upon condition that

he fhould fpeak no more againft him; but upon his breaking his word, was accufed of divers notorious crimes. However, the falfe *Meffiah* was found out, and forced to retire from *Italy* into *Poland*; and it is from the rabbi above-mentioned that we have this account, fo that it can hardly be called in queftion.

But the moft celebrated rabbi that *Germany* hath produced in the laft century, was the great *Ifaac Loria*, author of the metaphyfical introduction to the cabbalah, in which he examines the reafons which induced God to create the world. He was a native of *Jerufalem*, had his appellative of *Afkenafi* (*German*), was only given him on account of his long abode in that country; for he retired again into *Paleftine*, towards the latter end of his life, and was buried at *Sapheta* in upper *Gahlee*. He wrote feveral other treatifes, which the reader may fee in the authors quoted in the margin (11), but that above-mentioned

(11) *Narratiuncula Judæi cujusdam de R. Mordechai Pseudo-Meffia*, an. 1682. ap. *Buxtorf*. *Catalæcis*, p. 361.

WE come now to those that are settled in *Holland*, where, *Jews in* if we may believe one of their writers, they enjoy greater li- *Holland* berty and quietness, and are more flourishing and wealthy *numerous*. than in any other part of the world. They are here of two sorts; viz. those who come from *Germany*, and those who come from *Portugal* and *Spain*, and are so divided, on account of some difference in their ceremonies, that they heartily hate each other (G). *Zeigler* was once very considerable among the former, and came to *Amsterdam*, on purpose to delude them with the hopes of a messiah, whom he pretended to have already seen at *Straßburgh*, and who would appear immediately after their conversion and agreement were compleated (H), and soon after destroy Anti-Christ's and the *Turkish* empire, and extend his own from one end of the world to

*Deceived
by R.
Zeigler.*

DAN. LEVI DE BARRIOS, *Casa de Jacob*, p. 24.

was so highly admired by our great *Henry More*, that he thought it might be of singular service to convert not only the *Jews*, but the heathen, to Christianity (12).

(G) The true reason, however, of this extreme hatred, if we may believe the *Germans*, lies deeper, and is more justifiable; viz. the dissimulation and remissness of those of *Portugal* and *Spain*; who, as we have observed more than once, live in those countries, and conform in all things with the popish religion, for the sake of enriching themselves, and then retire into *Holland*, to enjoy with more safety the fruits of their hypocrisy. They charge them likewise with being too remiss in many things relating to their law, of which themselves are more scrupulous observers; and if we may judge of those in *Holland* by those in *England*, where one sort is tenacious, and the other remiss, to an extreme, if not to a fault, the charge will appear far from groundless.

(H) This messiah, whom he affirmed to be lineally descended from *David* king of *Israel*, by the line of *Nathan*, was then, he said, but fourteen years old. His ancestors had resided about 1000 years in the kingdom of *Tunis*, whence they passed afterwards into that of *Granada* in *Spain*, whence being expelled by king *Ferdinand*, they had settled themselves in *Germany*. He was then at *Straßburgh*, where *Zeigler* had seen him, and for whom he reserved a diadem and sword, to put into his hand, in order to bring all the world under his dominion. This was his fabulous account of him. However, this cheat must not be confounded with another rabbi of the same name, who was descended from the house of *Salme*, born at *Landau*, and was well versed in most sciences, for this last died about 70 years before (13), and was called *James*, and the other *Philip*.

(12) *Buxtorf & Wolf, Bibl. Rab. N. 1227, p. 674.* (13) *Portul disp. select.* vol. ii. p. 95, & seq.

the other. He was likewise to assemble a general council at *Constance*, which would last twelve years, and put an end to all their feuds about matters of religion. This messiah, however, did not appear; and the *Jews* found themselves vilely deluded by that impostor¹.

Of those who retired thither from *Portugal* and *Spain*, one *Accused of* of their chiefs, named *Michez*, of *Spanish* extract, is accused *intelli-* by *Strada*² of having promoted the wars in the *Low Countries*, *gence a-* by promising the magistrates of *Antwerp* a powerful succour; *gainst the* and wrote to them from *Constantinople*, that the Grand Seignior would, in a short time, find so much work for the king of *Spain*, that they would meet with no great obstruction from him. But tho' he did not keep his promise with them, it shews that the *Jews* were safer in those parts than in *Spain*, since he chose to shelter himself there so early. For it was not till about forty years after that those of *Portugal* and *Spain* came to settle in *Holland*. However, their first assembly at *Amsterdam* caused no small jealousy among the citizens, who took them at first for Roman-catholics in disguise; till, upon searching their houses, especially those where they met to worship, they found nothing but *Hebrew* books, and the volume of the *Mosaic* law: upon which they were only charged to pray for the preservation of the city, which they readily promised; and built soon after their first synagogue there, which they called *the House of Jacob*, because a rich *Jew* of that name was the founder of it³. They reared another not long after, which they styled *Neve Shalom*, *the Dwelling of peace*; and put it under the care of a famed rabbi, named *Judah Vega*, who was come from *Afric*; but left it, and retired to *Constantinople*; where he compiled a history of his nation, down to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, by *Titus*. He was succeeded by *R. Uziel*, who censured the faults and remissness of the *Jews*, in such severe terms, that he incurred their hatred; upon which a third synagogue was built, to which the schismatics repaired, under the conduct of another rabbi, named *Pardo*. This last was styled *Beth Israel*, *the House of Israel*. This schism lasted about 20 years, not without great heat on both sides; but was at length happily ended, and the three synagogues were reconciled, and united into one, to which they gave the name of *Thalmud Hathorath*, *i. e.* *The Study of the Law* (I).

The first synagogue in Amsterdam.

A second built.

A third, A. C. 1618.

Re-united, A. C. 1639.

¹ VORSTI disput. select. tom. ii. p. 95. ² STRADA de bel. Belg. lib. v. p. 214. ³ Vid. Silva del Anton. Alvares Sures.

(I) Since then they have well as synagogues; and one of taken care to found schools as them called *Kethr Hathorath*, or

R. MENASSE, author of several learned treatises, and R. Me-
 one of the ablest divines which the Jewish nation hath pro- nasse cho-
 duced these many centuries, was chosen to expound the thal-sen.
 mud there, at the age of eighteen; and gained such reputa-
 tion for his learning and application, that it raised the envy His high
 of the jealous rabbies, and created him many enemies. But he character.
 despised their calumnies, and pursued his studies with such
 assiduity, that at the age of twenty he published the first part
 of his *Conciliator* on the Pentateuch; wherein he endeavoured
 to reconcile the seeming contradictions of the sacred books,
 by the expositions of ancient and modern doctors, and by his
 own conjectures. And this work, which he afterwards finished,
 gained him the esteem and admiration of all the learned, both
 Jews and Christians *; and it must be owned, that no rabbi,
 either before or since, ever handled those difficult points with
 so much erudition and solidity (K).

BARTOLOCCI

* See the Epistle of R. ZACHUTH, prefixed to his *Conciliator*.

or the Crown of the Law, hath
 been still governed by some of
 their most learned men, and was
 founded an. 1643. But that
 which most displays the flourish-
 ing state of this nation, is the
 vast and noble synagogue which
 they consecrated an. 1673, and
 hath been so deservedly admir-
 ed by all the judges of archi-
 tecture, and so much cried
 up by their own preachers, that
 there has been a collection
 printed of the sermons preach-
 ed on that occasion (14), and
 may be rightly called pompous
 panegyrics in the swollen Jew-
 ish style: not but the Jews de-
 serve the greater commendation
 for that noble structure, because,
 tho' it was reared in time of
 war, which caused some ob-
 struction to the work, yet being
 begun in April 1671, it was
 completed in the short space
 four years (15).

(K) R. Manasse was of Jew-
 ish extract, and of the family of
 the famed *Abra vanel's*, but was
 so far from the morose conduct
 of the learned of his nation,
 who shun the company of
 Christians, that he made him-
 self many real friends among
 them. The great poet *Bar-*
laeus was one of them, who
 wrote in his praise, and protest-
 ed that no difference of opinions
 should lessen his esteem for so
 learned a man. Even the learn-
 ed *Gretius* often consulted him
 on difficult passages of scripture
 with good success, and encour-
 aged him to go on and publish
 his excellent works, and recom-
 mended them to the learned as
 of great service towards the
 right understanding of holy writ
 (16).

He had also many friends
 among those in power; all which
 raised the jealousy of some zealous

(14) *Sermones que pregaron, &c. De his, vid. Bapag. ub. sup. §. 5.* (15) *It. sub not. (B).* (16) *Gretii Epist. an. 1539. p. 564.*

Comes to
England,
A. C.
1656.

Death,
A. C.
1562.

BARTOLOCCI accused him of having taken the advantage of the civil-wars in *England*, to prevail upon *Oliver Cromwell* to permit the *Jews* to settle there. On the other hand, a *Jewish* historian affirms that *Cromwell*, and his parliament invited him over to treat about it. But without entering farther into the matter of fact, was it not natural for him to endeavour to procure such an advantageous settlement to his nation as that of *England*? But whether invited or no, it is plain he came over into *England* with that design, and was well received by *Cromwell* and the parliament, as well as his apology for the *Jews*, in which he exploded all the calumnies raised against his nation, especially those of their crucifying and using the blood of Christian children at their Pass-over; and pleaded their cause so well there, that, if we may believe some authors of those times, he obtained a much better settlement, and greater privileges for them, than ever they had enjoyed before in *England*. We shall speak of that apology in the account of his works. However, *Bartoloci* not only censures him for it, but charges him with other frivolous matters, tho' he represents them as crimes; such as his taking part with the remonstrants, in order to obtain their friendship and protection; and printing his works without the approbation or leave of the Christian divines, &c. from all which he hath been sufficiently cleared by Mr. *Basnage*. He died at *Amsterdam*, an. 1652, and left a son, who inherited his printing-house, and printed his father's works in it. His other works may be seen in the margin (L). R. Zachuth, a great

* BARRIOS Histor. univers. Judayc. * Id. ibid. vid. THOPHIL. SPIZEL. Coronid. Philologic. p. 382. & Pantheon Anabaptist. part ii. lib. iii. p. 234. WOLF, ub. sup. p. 783. * BARTOL. WOLF, BASNAG. &c.

lous divines to such a degree, that they condemned *Barleus's* verses in his praise; and a kind of paper war was begun among the learned, in which every one took what side he pleased (17). (L) Besides the *Conciliator* abovementioned, the 2d, 3d, and 4th parts of which took up the remainder of the Old Testament, he published, 1. A *Spanish* bible, an. 1630. 2. A *Hebrew* Pentateuch, with a *Spanish* version to it, an. 1646. 3. *Tesoro dos Dinim*, or treasury of rites, in *Portuguese*, an. 1645. 4. His *Oeconomia*, or collection of rites relating to women, children, servants, and goods. 5. A *Tragœdy* on the queen of *Sweden*. 6. His *Procyrides*, in *Spanish* verse. 7. His *Eben Jekara*, or precious stone, or comment on the statue of *Nebuchad-*

(17) See Wolf, Bibl. Hebr. N. 1463. p. 778. § 39.

great friend and panegyrist of *Menasse*^b, and who flourished at R. Za- the same place and time, was of *Portuguese* extract, and born *chuth's* at *Lisbon*, an. 1575. He was sent by his parent, who made *character;* outward profession of popery, to study physic at *Salamanca* and *Conimbra*; after which he returned and settled at his native place, where he gained no small reputation for his learning, and more so by the charitable cures he performed among the sick poor, and for some notable ones at court. He wrote several books, particularly an history of the chief physicians, which he dedicated to the pope's residuary there. And after having dissembled about 30 years, he retired to *Amsterdam*, where he was circumcised, and died a *Jew*, leaving *death,* several works unfinished, which he designed to print^c. Those *A. C.* he published were of the physical kind. 1642.

^b BARTOLUC. WOLF, BASNAG. &C. ^c See his Life, written by LUDOV. LEMOSO, prefixed to his book *De Calculorum Morbo*. WOLF, ub. sup. N. 568. BASNAG. c. 36. §. 13.

nazzar. 8. His treatise of the resurrection of the dead, and immortality of the soul. 9. Of Adam's fall, and frailty of human nature. 10. Of the hope of *Israel*; in which he endeavours to prove, from the relation of *Antonio Montezino*, that the ten *israelitish* tribes are settled chiefly in *America*, along the river *Sabbation*. This book was dedicated to the *English* parliament, and received the thanks of it from the chairman of the committee, in an epistle printed at *London*, an. 1650, in which the *... Giles Manasse his most dear brother*. 11. His 30 problems concerning the creation, in *Latin*, 8^{vo}. an. 1635. 12. His treatise on the certain term of life. His *Sepher Phene Rabbah*, or *Hebrew* index of places in scripture, which are explained in the *Middrash Rabbah* or large comment on the *... phabetically digested*. 13. His *Sod Ticharim*, or secret of the righteous, or treatise on the se-

crets of nature, or natural mag- 14. His *Nishmath Chojim*, or breath of life, on the immortality of the soul. 15. His *Shaphah Berurab*, or pure lip, on grammar. 16. His logic, his apology for the *Jews*, printed first in *English*, an. 1656, and since re-printed in the *Phanix*, 1707, and different from another, under the name of *Edward Nicholas*, who professes himself to be no *Jew*, but betrays himself such, by his stile and writing. To these we might add his epistles to the learned of his time, on various and difficult points, of which he takes notice in his second part of his *Conciliator*. His three editions of the *Hebrew* bible, from his own printing-house, and a much greater number of rabbinic books, which the reader may see in *Bartolacci, Wolf, Basnag, Hottinger*, and other writers, particularly, *Daniel Levi de Barrios's* universal *Jewish* history.

R. Abraham Pitzaro's works.

R. ABRAHAM ISRAEL PITZARO flourished like-wise at Amsterdam. He wrote a book intituled *the Sceptre of Judah*, which is an exposition of that prophecy of *Jaacob* ^d, in a most swollen stile, and dedicated it to the *pharnassim*, or judges of that synagogue, whom he stiles *the stars which enlighten the firmament, and the Atlases which bear up the people of Israel*. It is a virulent book against Christianity, in which he complains of the danger of confuting it, and of the unfair way of Christians expounding the scripture, of their unsuitness for such a task, and of their tyrannic way of using those *Jews* who expound them in a different way from them. And it is not improbable that this was the motive which inclined those *pharnassim* to suppress the publishing of that work, notwithstanding his great encomiums on them. Mr. *Basnage*, who saw it in manuscript, hath given a short account of it, and of his way of interpreting the words *Sceptre Shiloh*, &c. in that prophecy, in a manner quite different from that of the Christians, in order to confute the notion of the Messiah's being come, but for which we shall refer our readers to that author, to avoid running into too great a length ^e.

R. Mortera, A.C. 1645.

R. MORTERA was another celebrated doctor at Amsterdam, and a more subtle writer than Pitzaro; tho' his treatise *Of the truth of the Mosaic Law, and of the miraculous providence of God over his people*, be designed to prove that the law given to *Moses* was perfect; and that the Christians have injured it, by pretending to raise it to a higher perfection, by the addition of new precepts. He falls equally foul on the Protestants and Roman-catholics; and endeavours to explode the authority of the New Testament, the efficacy of the Sacraments, and the rewards and punishments of another life. The reader may see a sketch of his book in the author above-quoted ^f. The rest of the *Jerus* of note, who flourished in this city, may be seen in the following note (M).

THEY

^a Genes. xlix. 10.

^e Hist. de Juifs. lib. ix. c. 36. §. 14—24.

^f Ibid. §. 22. ad fin.

(M) *Joseph Attbias*, a Spaniard by birth, was at first a teacher of the thalmud at *Ham-berg*, but came afterwards to Amsterdam, where he bought the famed *Elzevir's* printing house, and became himself a celebrated printer in the *Jewish* way. His *Hebrew* bible, and other works,

being not only very correct and commodious, but in such a fair type as had not been yet seen, nor been outdone since, except by that of our excellent *Casson*, and with the *Maffortie* notes on the margin, and as such are highly esteemed by the learned.

R. *Isaac Abcub*, who came thither

THEY are no less numerous and flourishing at the *Hague*, *Rich ones* where they have also a noble synagogue, and where those who ^{at the} are *Hague*.

thither from *Brasil*, was not only a celebrated preacher but a great cabbalist; and translated from *Spanish* into *Hebrew* the treatise intituled *the Gate of Heaven* (18), written by another *Spaniard* named *Irirá*, or *Abram Cohen Herrera* (19), and from that *Hebrew* version it is, that a new *Latin* one hath since been made. *Abrah* likewise wrote a paraphrase on the *Pentateuch*, wherein he sings *Moses's* triumphs in heroic verse.

Benjamin Musaphia was likewise a very learned commentator on the *thalmud*, but applied himself to another study equally abstruse, viz. *the Flux and Reflux of the Sea*. He was so perfect a master of the *Hebrew* tongue, that he compiled a dictionary of it, in a quite new and easy method (20), and intituled it *Musaph Hagharuc*, or additions to the *Gharuc*, another lexicon, formerly mentioned (21). He likewise published his *Zeker Rab*, or large memory, which is a collection of all the *Hebrew* roots, to which he tacked certain sentences or maxims, for the better learning and retaining their significations. There is likewise an epistle attributed to him, on the subject of potable gold, and under the fictitious name of *Mizabab* (*de Auro*) (22).

But the most remarkable of the *Jews* of this city, was the late *Spinoza*, author of a new kind of *Atheism*, and went

to all the learned for his philosophical works. His parents were of *Portuguese* extract, and in good circumstances, but he was born at *Amsterdam*, an. 1632, and at his father's death, would only accept of a bed of all that he had left him, and chose to live in the meanest and lowest way, and get his living by polishing of spectacles and other such classes, which brought him so little gain, that tho' he lived chiefly upon milk and gruel, he was as poor at the year's end as at the beginning. He refused a considerable sum, however, from a friend; and consented only to accept of a very small pension from him, upon which he lived. Some think that he received the first seeds of his atheism from his *Latin* master *Vanden Ende*, who both professed and taught it. But whether so or not, it is probable that the philosophy of *Descartes* gave him a dislike to all *Jewish* learning, and at length to their religion. They soon perceived it by his absenting himself from the synagogue, and would have retained him by a considerable pension; but he rejected it, and became so odious to them, that some of them attempted more than once to stab him; upon which he left that city, where he found they were too power-

ful and exasperated against him, to stay any longer amongst them; thence he retired to *Leiden* and afterwards to the *Hague*. They

(18) *Barrios in vit. Isaac Hazzick*, p. 46.

(20) *Barrios ub. sup. Welf*, N. 422, p. 251.

§. 6. (22) *Welf*, ub. sup.

(19) *Vid. Cabbala Denudata*.

(21) *Id. ibid. Basnag. ub. sup.*

are become wealthy and opulent seek for a peaceable and delightful retirement. For here it is that they enjoy the greatest prosperity,

pursued him, however, with their grand excommunication; but he protested against their sentence by a writing in *Spanish*, directed to the rabbies of the synagogue. He soon after published his geometrical demonstrations, and his meditations, and brought forth at length his *Traclatus Theologico-Politicus*, in which was formed his new system of Atheism, for which he hath been so much admired and caressed by all loose lovers of novelty, both in *Holland, Germany* and *France*, from whom he received several invitations, and large encouragements, but refused them all, and died at the *bloque*, *an.* 1677, aged 44 years. We shall forbear other particulars of his life and death; such especially as his being overheard, in his last sickness, calling upon God to have mercy on him, a miserable sinner; his having always by him some piece of mandrake to hasten his death, and stupify him against the approach of it. The reader may see them in his life, written by a *Lutheran* minister, then at the *Hague* (23).

His books have been translated into divers languages, and in some with a different title, the better to conceal their author and poison. Particularly the *French* intitles his version *A Treatise of the ancient and modern ceremonies of the Jews*. We are told that he designed to have given the world a complete version of the Old Testa-

ment, and had gone thro' the Pentateuch, but burnt it a few days before his death. He did the same by his treatise on the rainbow, because some learned, who had read it, did not think it worth printing. He was likewise suspected to be the author of a treatise of ecclesiastical rights, published *an.* 1665, in which he maintained that the clergy being subject to the civil power, ought not to teach what they believe, but what that commands. However, *Spinoza* disowned the book, which hath been since supposed to have been written by the physician who assisted him in his last sickness, and who was also the writer of another called *Philosophia & Scripturæ interpres*, or the holy Scripture interpreted by Philosophy. He only put the initial letters of his name *L. M.* or *Lucæ à Mier*. *Spinoza* left another work which was printed after his death, and called his *Opera Posthuma*; among which one finds a moral geometrically demonstrated, the cure of the understanding, some letters, a *Hebrew* grammar, and a political treatise (24).

As *Spinoza* had many followers and disciples, not indeed united into one sect, but scattered here and there; so had he also many learned opposers, which it is out of our province to take notice of here. We shall content ourselves with mentioning those of his nation, particularly the learned *Balthazar Orobus*, a *Spaniard*

(23) *C. lvi. c. 11. Spinoza, p. 17. 174.* (24) *Id. lib. l. p. 97. c. 52.*

prosperity, and live in the greatest luxury, and in the most sumptuous edifices. Yet such is their happiness under that government,

by birth, and physician, whose parents outwardly professed Christianity, but he, it seems, could not dissemble well enough to escape suspicion, but was cast into the prison of the inquisition, and after three years close confinement, was put to the torture, in order to be made to confess himself a Jew. He, however, bore it with such constancy, that the inquisitors believing him a Christian indeed, discharged him.

Orobio who had studied philosophy (24) and had been professor of metaphysics at Salamanca, found so much leisure, during his imprisonment, to improve himself in that science, that he was become a perfect master of it; so that, instead of returning into some other country, he once more obtained the chair, and was some while professor at Thelose; till being at length tired of dissembling his religion, and coming to Amsterdam, he was circumcised, and made open profession of Judaism. He acquired such reputation by his success in physic, that he had hardly time to follow his studies; and when Spinoza's book appeared, he at first despised it, on account of its author, and thought his principles too evidently false to be espoused by any man of sense. But when he received Brouncker's answer to it, in which that author agreed with him in two dangerous positions, or seemed to

tate about them; viz. 1st. That nothing ought to be admitted in matters of religion, but what is agreeable to reason. And, 2dly. That as *ex nihilo nil fit*, God could not be admitted to have created the world out of nothing. Orobio therefore undertook to confute them both, and did it with success, and like the sound philosopher and metaphysician he was, though he seemed to level his answer only against Eridenburgh (25).

Orobio likewise entered the lists in defence of Judaism, with the learned remonstrant, professor Limborgh; which gave birth to that excellent conference, well known to all the learned (26), and died soon after the publication of it, *an.* 1657. He left some other works, of which the reader may see a farther account in the authors quoted in the margin (27).

There flourished about the same time several learned rabbies in other cities in Holland, whom we omit for want of room, and shall mention only two of the most celebrated,

David Cohen d' Lara, a disciple of the famed Huxiel, and author of the *City of David*, a treatise in which he proves the affinity of the Hebrew with the Greek and several other tongues. He compiled likewise the *Kether Kehunnah*, or *Crown of priesthood*, which is a much more precious lexicon than that of R.

(24) *Le Clerc Biblioth. univ.* 1687. tom. v. (25) *Isaac Orobio, certamen philosophic. adversus, I. B. p. 11.* (26) *Amici Collatio, cum eruditio Judeo.*
(27) *Debin, ed. Wolf, Bibl. Hæbr. N. 155. p. 64.* *Bafnap. lib. ix. c. 37. §. 16.*

government, that they enjoy their wealth and grandeur without raising the jealousy, zeal, and envy of the populace; whilst the rest carry on a considerable traffic both at home and abroad, without being liable to those heavy impositions, vexatious prosecutions, proscriptions, and other disasters which we have seen them groan under in other parts of *Europe*.

In Eng-
land;

divided
into Ger-
man and
Portu-
guese.

THOSE here in *England* have no less reason to praise the mildness of our government, and the hospitable treatment of our nation towards them. Here they are allowed full liberty of their religion, a full freedom of trade, and the quiet enjoyment of their properties. They are, like those of *Holland*, commonly distinguished into *German* and *Portuguese*, or, more properly, into northern and southern, and have each their respective synagogues, chiefs, schools, &c. but no academy; so that they are obliged to send their youth to be educated, the one in some of those in *Germany*, and the other, in that of

Nathan formerly mentioned, since he hath added about 2000 words to it. He also translated out of *Hebrew* into *Spanish* the book titled *Reshit Cockmah*, or, the beginning of wisdom (28). He lived first at *Amsterdam*, and died at *Hamburg*, An. 1674.

The last we shall name is the great *Jaacob Jehudah Leon*, author of the *Description of the Temple of Solomon*, which he compiled at *Middelburgh*. He was a *Spaniard* by birth, but retired into *Holland*, to be more at liberty to pursue his design; and in order to gain a more perfect idea of that noble edifice, applied himself to the building of a wooden model of it, upon the plans which he had met with among the several authors of his own nation. He afterwards formed his description from it, and published it in *French*, under the title of *Description du temple de Solom*. Near *Jaacob Juda Leon*, habitant *Middelburg, dans la Zelande*,

Par du monde 5403, that is, A. C. 1643.

He afterwards enlarged and improved it, and translated it into *Hebrew*, and gave it the title of *Tahnith Hekal*, the *Figure of the Temple*. It was greatly admired by the learned, and the duke of *Brunswick* ordered a *Latin* version to be made of it, with proper cuts, that he might judge the better of it. *Judah* added to it a description of the tabernacle, and a treatise about the ark and the cherubims, and an exposition of the *Psalms*, in which he undertook to explain the metaphorical expressions of the *thalmud*. For he said cost him no small pains and study. He likewise wrote an account of some conferences which he had held with *Christian* doctors; but these two last works, and a third, in which he designed to shew the manner in which the *Jewish* morning and evening sacrifices were offered, have never been printed (29).

(28) *Basn. ibid. Wolf*, f. 501. p. 316. (29) *Wolf*, ub. sup. N. 1048. p. 593. *Basnag. ub. sup. §. 18.*

Amsterdam. The former are by far the most indigent, as well as the most zealous for their religion, and most careful to instruct their meanest children in it, and in the knowledge of the *Hebrew* tongue : whereas the latter being rich, and some of them opulent, are more remiss in all these respects ; inso-much, that many of them cannot so much as understand the liturgy of their synagogues, but have it translated into *Portuguese*. However, both have had some learned rabbies, and, among the latter, the late *R. Netto* was justly esteemed a man well versed, not only in *Jewish*, but in every other kind of learning. But the generality of them are more used to merchandize and traffic, than to the study of their doctors. The rich among them are very generous and charitable, not only to their own poor, but to those of the Christians ; and some of them have diffused their beneficence among their neighbours, round their country seats, to such a degree, and in such a discrete manner, as the noblest Christians might be proud to imitate. As to those of lower rank, especially such as deal in the pedling mercantile way, one may say of them, what the *Spaniards* say of the *Andalusians* :

R. Netto:

• *El Andaluz haze la Cruz.* •

How they were re-admitted into this kingdom, after having been so long kept out of it by severe laws, we have already hinted, in speaking of *Manasse ben Israel* ; and this privilege hath appeared so considerable to them, that they have made a new epocha of it, which they cause to be ingraven on their monuments, and date their most considerable writings from it. And having obtained leave to build a synagogue, they stiled it *Holy Assembly*, and *Jewish Parnassus* . They are here much more affable, familiar, and conversible than in most other countries ; and will not decline a dispute about religion, where it is only done by way of conversation, and will express their ~~pinus with~~ great freedom. But when it is meant in order to convert some of the flock, the very priests and cachams will refuse it. Such a case the late learned bishop *Kidder* tells us happened unto him, who having desired a conference with one of them, in behalf of a young *Jewess*, who had already received some knowledge and relish for Christianity ; the cacham not only declined it, but advised her parents to shut her up^a. For, whatever kind allowance the strictest of them may make for those who renounce *Judaism*, to avoid death, persecution, banishment, or even the loss of their goods, in

Their new epoch from their admission into England.

Hatred against Christian converts.

^a *BARRIOS* Episc. ad. *Kahal Kadosh*, (Holy Assembly) de Londres, an. 1683. p. 22. ^b *Demonstration of the Messiah.* which

which cases some of their thalmudist doctors affirm, that the law doth allow them to dissemble; yet it is certain that even the most remiss and loosest among them, detest all that turn Christians on any other account; neither do any of these ever think it safe to go among, or converse with them afterwards.

Their present state in all parts of the world.

WE have now brought the history of the eastern and western Jews down to the close of the seventeenth century; there remains only that we give our readers a short account of their present state in all the parts of the world. Several eminent hands, both of their nation, and among the Christians, have endeavoured to come to some tolerable knowledge of their number; among whom we shall only select some few, who seem to us to have made the best enquiries after it.

R. Luzati's account of them.

ONE of their late writers, who taught at *Venice*¹, owns “it to be very difficult to come at the precise number of them, they being at this time dispersed over so many parts of the world. We can get no intelligence concerning the ten tribes carried away captive by *Shalmanezar*, nor of the country where they were settled, tho’ the globe is now so well known. If we begin with the East, we know that there is a vast quantity of Jews in the Kingdom of *Persia*, tho’ they enjoy but little liberty there. The *Turkish* empire is their chief retreat, not only as they have been long since settled in it, but because a very great number of those that were expelled out of *Portugal* and *Spain*, retired thither. They are more numerous in *Constantinople* and *Solunichi* (*Thessalonica*), than in any other part, and are reckoned to amount to above 80 000 in those two cities, and upwards of a million in the whole empire. A vast concourse of pilgrims flock to *Jerusalem* from all parts of the world, and bring thither great sums for the maintenance of their academies and numerous poor.

“THEY are likewise dispersed all over *Germany*, especially in the emperor’s dominions, but are still ~~more~~ numerous in *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and *Russia*; and it is there we have our academies, and several thousands of disciples, who study our laws both civil and canonical, because they there enjoy the privilege of judging all causes civil and criminal among themselves. They are not so numerous in the protestant states, which are severed from the church of *Rome*, tho’ they are treated with greater charity and mildness, in the *Low Countries*, at *Rotterdam*, *Amsterdam*, *Hamburg*, and other free towns, where commerce is open to all strangers.

¹ R. SIMON LUZATTY Discors. circa il stato degli Hebrei. c. 18.

"ALL the *Italian* princes tolerate and favour the *Jews*,
 "and inviolably maintain them in their privileges, without
 "any alteration; and I reckon that there are about 25,000 in
 "that country. In *Fez*, *Morocco*, and other states, which
 "are not subject to the *Turks*, they are so much the more nu-
 "merous, as they can so easily pass thither from *Spain* and
 "*Portugal*. There are many other places in *Africa*, along
 "the sea-coasts, which are mostly peopled by *Jews*; but as
 "they are not known to us, it is very difficult to fix the
 "number of them." Thus far our *Venetian* rabbi, con-
 cerning the present state of the *Jewish* nation.

ON the other hand, *R. Manasse Ben Israel*, lately mention-^{That of}
 ed, who believed the return of all the *Jews* to be near at ^{Manasse}
 hand, thought it clearly signified by the prophet *Isaiah* (N); ^{ben Israel.}
 and justly observed * that noble prophecy could not be meant
 of the return from the *Babylonish* captivity, because God did

* MENASS. Esperanza de Israel.

(N) In that day, says the pro-
 phet (30), the Lord shall set his
 hand again the second time to re-
 cover the remnant of his people,
 which shall be left, from *Assyria*,
 and from *Egypt*, and from *Pa-*
thros, and from *Cuth* (*Ethiopia*),
 and from *Elam* (*Persia*), and
 from *Shinar* (*Babylon*), and from
Hamath (the East), and from the
 isles of the sea (the West). And
 he shall set up an ensign for the
 nations, and shall assemble the out-
 casts of Israel, and gather together
 the dispersed of *Judah*, from the
 four corners of the earth, &c.
 And in another place (31) he
 adds, & in that day the Lord
 shall beat, or shake down from the
 channel of the river (*Euphrates*),
 unto the stream of *Egypt* (the
 Nile) and ye shall be gathered, one
 by one, O ye children of Israel,
 &c.

There are many other such
 passages in *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and
 other prophets, which expressly

mention a much more exten-
 sive recall of the *Israelites* than
 that from the *Babylonish* capti-
 vity ever was, in which not near
 one third part of even the tribes of
Judah and *Levi*, or, as the thal-
 mudists word it, only the bran or
 refuse, of them returned into *Ju-*
dea, as we have elsewhere shewn
 †. So that of course we must ex-
 pect a more universal one, and
 more conformable to these pro-
 phecies, and which the *Jews*
 understand literally of a return
 of all the 12 tribes, and from all
 the countries of their dispersion,
 under the Messiah, and of their
 literally re-inhabiting of *Palestine*,
 the seat of their forefathers;
 but the generality of Christian,
 only of their conversion to Chris-
 tianity. The truth seems to us
 to be between those two ex-
 tremes, as we have had occa-
 sion to hint more than once, and
 may still, in the close of this
 chapter.

(30) *Ijai*. xi. 11. 3. 7. (31) *Cb*. xxv. 12.

p. 179.

sq. & *note.*

not then call all the twelve tribes, much less all the dispersed of *Israel*, from all the countries of their captivity^k. He observes, in the next place, that this promised deliverance is stiled a second, because that universal one out of *Egypt* had preceded it; whereas that from *Babylon* was only confined to part of the two tribes of *Judah* and *Levi*, as was hinted in the last note: and when the *Israelites* left *Affyria*, to enter into the land of *Judea*, they did not go over any river either of *Egypt* or *Ethiopia*, as God promises they shall do, at their second or general return, when the waters of the *Nile* and *Euphrates* shall be parted, to open a dry passage to the tribes, as had been done at the *Red-Sea* and the *Jordan* (O).

BOTH

(O) According to this learned rabbi, the prophet chiefly mentions, 1. *Affyria* and *Egypt*, because it will be in those two provinces that the *Israelites* will be gathered together. 2. He speaks expressly of *Pathros*; by which must not be understood either *Pelusum* or *Petra*, but the *Parthians* near the *Caspian Sea*, where some of their doctors place the river *Sabbation*, on the other side of which a vast number of *Jews* are settled. 3. *Cush* is *Ethiopia*, where there are several tribes, especially in *Abyssinia*. 4. *Elam* is properly a province of *Perſia*, on the other side of the *Euphrates*, full of dreadful deserts, in which some part of the *Hebrew* tribes are concealed. 5. *Shinar* is another province near *Babylon*, where *Moses* places the plain of that name; and *Daniel* mentions the sacred vessels of the temple to have been transported by the king of *Babylon* into the land of *Shinar*. 6. The land of *Hamath* is often mentioned in the sacred writings and is rendered by the *Caldæe Paraphrast*, and those that follow him, the city of *An-*

tiach, by which he conjectures *Antiochia Asiatica en Tartaria* to be meant; for there were 12 cities of that name. 7. The *Septuagint* have rendered the word *Hamah*, or *Hamath*, the *Sun*, which it often signifies, in the prophetic writings, and doth therefore imply the East. So that the prophet speaks here of the *Jews* dispersed eastward of *Palestine*, that is in *Asia Major*, in the *East Indies*, *China*, &c. 8. The prophet foretells the coming of the *Israelites* out of the islands of the sea, which ought rather to have been rendered the isles or countries of the West (32), by which our rabbi understands all the countries west of *Judea*, or the *Jews* which are now settled in some parts of *America*.

Ninthly, and lastly, the prophet affirms that God will bring back the banished (or, as the word more properly implies, the cut-off or excommunicated) *Israelites*, because the ten tribes, severed from the rest, not only inhabit countries vastly distant from *Judea*, but lie concealed in the remotest parts of the

(32) *De hoc*, vid. *Genes.* xxviii. 44. in the original, & *Anc. Hist.* vol. xii. p. 419. (Z).

BOTH rabbies differ only in this one point, that *Luzatti* ^{Opinion of} gives up the ten tribes as long since lost, or so blended, that ^{the ten} they cannot be discovered with any tolerable certainty; the other affirms them to be concealed in *America*, and other ^{tribes be-} parts, where they have been miraculously preserved, by the ^{ing in} Divine Providence, against this glorious recall, when they shall come forth from their respective settlements, and be reunited to the rest of their brethren, in *Affyria*, whence the whole nation shall take their flight to *Jerusalem*, as birds to their nests. He grounds his opinion on several probable conjectures; as first, that some of the people of *America* are unknown to us, and seem to have no relation with the other nations of it. Secondly, the *Spaniards* affirm, that upon their landing in *Peru*, they found a large stately edifice, dedicated to the Creator of the world; which cannot be supposed to have been built by the *Indians*, who were idolaters, and wholly then unacquainted with the use of iron tools, such as appeared to have been used in the building of it; so that it must of course be supposed to have been a synagogue, erected by the *Jews*. And, thirdly, this seems farther confirmed by a tradition of the *Indians*, that this palace, as they termed it, had been built by a whole nation, that wore beards, and were antienter than their *Incas* ¹.

R. *MENASSE* doth likewise quote an inscription found ^{A Jewish} on a tomb in the island of *St. Michel*, which is one of the ^{inscription} *Azores*, and mentioned by *Genebrard* ^m, and which, though ^{at one of} somewhat difficult to be decyphered, unless it be by the transposition of letters; yet, by the character and words, appears plainly enough to have been done by some *Jews*, who were come into this island. To all which he adds the sentiments of a good number of Christians, who have helped to confirm him in his conjecture, concerning the ten tribes ⁿ. But all

¹ *Esperanza de Israel*. p. 114, & seq. ^m *Ibid*. p. 44.
ⁿ *Ibid*. p. 26, & seq. & 116.

earth, and among the Gentiles; but as to the *Jews*, the prophet says, that God will recall them from the four corners of the earth; because, in fact, the tribe of *Judah* is dispersed into divers countries; and as it hath synagogues in *America*, it will return from all parts of the world; tho' there will then be

no division or jealousy between it and the rest; for, adds the prophet, *Ephraim shall not envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim*. And accordingly *Ezekiel* affirms, that they shall then have but one king, and shall not be any longer two nations nor two kingdoms; (33).

(33) *Esperanza de Israel*. p. 103, & seq.

*His notion
confuted.*

*Ten tribes,
where.*

this put together will never out-weigh what is urged against it (P). We have shewn in a former volume †, that those tribes were settled in the East, and in the neighbourhood of the river *Euphrates*, or rather along the *Chaboras* that falls into it; so that God seems to have brought them back into the very country whence he brought out their patriarch. We have likewise taken notice formerly *, that a great number of them came back into *Ju'dea*, along with the *Jewish* captivity of *Babylon*, tho' they were from that time blended with them; and a late learned author, who hath endeavoured to vindicate *Aristea's* history of the *Septuagint* version, hath proved it still more fully ‡. As for those that *staid* behind, they not only spread themselves still farther: they multiplied, but kept constantly sending their deputies and oblations at proper seasons to *Jerusalem*, as long as the temple stood. They appear to have

† See vol. iv. p. 314, & seq. sub not. (F). * Ibid. p. 317, & seq. sub not. vid. & vol. x. p. 180. ‡ Vindication of the *Septuagint* p. 121, & seq.

(P) Much less will that which he adds of their being there concealed by a miracle, and their being conducted thither by the streights of *Aniar*, which were not formed till after their passage, and in order to divide them from the rest. His pretending that they have had their kings, ancient laws, and are in possession of vast territories, &c. may be justly reckoned a *Jewish* fable, invented on purpose to raise the glory of their nation; and their being thus miraculously preserved and concealed from other nations till the coming of the Messiah, as an evasion against the universal testimony of travellers and historians to the contrary.

For whatever stress he may put on some of those he quotes, there is scarce one of them that speaks of the ten tribes, or of this pretended *Jewish* colony passing into *America*. The *Spaniards* who have been so long masters of the greatest part of

it, mention nothing of it, or, at most, offer only some dark and vague conjectures about it. In a word, this settlement of theirs hath been sought for in vain hitherto, some placing it in *Seneca*, others in *Brasil*, others along that long ridge of mountains called *las Cordilleras*; and wherever they have found any people that differed ever so little from the native *Indians*, they have imagined them to be the *Jews* we are speaking of. So that we may safely conclude, that in the East, and not there, that we must seek for these tribes. *Jews* there are, indeed, in several parts of *America*; but as they form no body, but are dispersed in every place where gain invites them, they must be supposed to have come thither, since the discovery of that continent; for it would be strange, if the *Jews*, of all others, should have overlooked so rich a country, and not tried to share in the spoils of that new world.

continued

continued there till the 11th century; since, as we have seen thro' the course of this chapter, they had all that time their chiefs of the captivity, synagogues, and academies; and tho' they have since been greatly decayed thro' the various persecutions that were raised against them, and revolutions of that empire, yet they did still subsist in great numbers, during the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, and do so still to this day. So that we need not to go to *America* to seek them out, nor suppose them either lost or concealed in some remote quarter of the globe. And if they are so blended one tribe with another, that they cannot now be possibly distinguished, it could hardly, without a miracle, have happened otherwise, during so long a series of ages, and such various vicissitudes as they have undergone (Q).

SEVERAL authors, both *Jews* and *Christians*, have like-
wise affirmed that the ten tribes were still preserved in *Chi-*
na. And one of the former tells us that there was a syna-
gogue at *Peking*, the repairing of which had cost them 10,000
crowns, and that they had been settled in that province
above 500 years, and still kept one of the volumes of the
law. He adds, that in the city of *Han-ben*, capital of the
province of *Che-kying*, they had a great number of synagogues,
and *Israelitish* families; for that is the name they call them-
selves by; because, says he, being descended from the ten
tribes, they know nothing of that of *Jews*. *Abarca*, who
had lived in *China* a considerable time, affirms that they had
been settled there above 600 years, and had obtained several
privileges, on account of their services and fidelity to king

Jews in China and of that number.

Abarca's account of them.

P. MENASSI. Speranza de Israel, Trigant de Canisiana expeditione, apud Sinas suscep'a.

(Q) The two *Jewish* travellers we have quoted under the 12th century, have indeed presented those *Jews*, and their princes, or chiefs, as descended from the tribe of *Judah*, rather than from the ten tribes; and it is not unlikely, that great numbers of them might not only seek shelter there, among their brethren, after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, but in process of time, gain some kind of superiority over the rest, on account of the

sceptre and other prerogatives intailed on that tribe. But that will be no argument against what we have said of the other ten continuing still settled in these parts with them, and spreading themselves still farther eastward and northward; and what confirms still farther, is that many of the remotest of them still preserved the name of *Israelites*, and knew little or nothing of what happened to that of *Judah*, after their being carried away by *Chaldeans*.

Hun : that they were very numerous in some provinces, and have synagogues in most of their great cities, but more especially in that of *Ho-nan*, and in its metropolis *Kai-tong-fu*, where they have a fair synagogue, a repository for the sacred volume, adorned with rich curtains, and in which they preserve an ancient Bible in *Hebrew* characters, but refuse to let any one see it. These *Jews*, however, we are told, know nothing of *Hebrew*, and only mention the names of *David*, *Abraham*, and *Isaac* ; are very ignorant and remiss in their law, even to the neglecting of circumcision, because the *Chinese* upbraid them with the cruelty of performing that ceremony on innocent babes ^a (R).

THAT

^a ALVAR. *Lib. Hist. of China*, parti.

(R) It is not easy to reconcile this with what he there adds, that though they marry with *Chinese* women, they do not give their daughters to the *Chinese*, for fear they should follow the religion of their husbands ; that they live at a distance from slaughter houses and butcher's shops, on account of their selling of swine's flesh ; and that they have their own butchers to kill their beasts after the *Jewish* manner, and keep a strict eye over them. Another author tells us, that they neither use statues or pictures, but worship the deity under the title of *Tien-Chamlin*, the name by which the *Chinese* express the Creator of the universe (34). This is not the only thing they have taken from the *Chinese* ; for they do, like them, pay some honours to their *Chimghins*, or great doctors of their law, and burn perfumes to their memory, but do not use images or statues of them, as being forbid by their religion ; but have only a kind of incense pots of different sizes, the biggest of which

are for *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Moses*, and *David*. A table likewise they have over the altar, on which is written the emperor's name, and is instead of his picture or arms. They do moreover pay an honour to the great *Confucius*, as all the *Chinese* do ; and, when questioned about it, readily own'd, " That they honour him in the same manner, as all the literati of *China* did, " and that they assisted with them at the solemn ceremonies, which are performed in the hall of their great men. " They added, that they likewise paid honour to their ancestors, as the *Chinese* were wont to do, in spring and autumn ; but that they did not offer to them any swine's flesh, but that of other creatures ; and that in their ordinary ceremonies, they contented themselves with presenting them with china vessels full of sweet-meats, and other such refreshments ; and

(34) *Lattres curvæ et edifiantes*,^a ubi sup.

THAT author tells us moreover, that they have no notion of the Christian Messiah: whence he infers, that they were settled there before the time of Christ; though this rather proves their ignorance, than their boasted antiquity, if it was not rather a Jewish evasion, and such as they have since made use of to another of the same fraternity, who had the curiosity to go and visit that synagogue, *an.* 1704. This last, whose account we shall subjoin in the next paragraph, having asked one of their chiefs, whether they had ever heard of the promised Messiah, who, he told them, was called *Jesus Christ*? received this illusory answer: Our Scriptures mentioned only one holy man of that name, *viz.* *Jesus* the son of *Sirach*; and that they knew of no other but him. The reader may find not only the like equivocating answer given to the same Jesuit, upon his asking them, how numerous they were in that empire, in a former volume †; but such an one as not only contradicts all the other accounts we have hitherto quoted from other authors; and was, beyond all question, designed to conceal from him their flourishing state in that country, whether out of suspicion, or hatred to his society, we will not determine.

THE farther account he gives of those of this city is, that they had a stately synagogue with divers apartments in the heart of which was a high desk, on which they placed the volume of the law on festival days. They pretended to him, that they had a very ancient copy of it; but that the river *Huenho*, or, *Yellow River*, one of the largest in China, having overflown the city of *Caism*, capital of that province, they had, with much difficulty, saved it; but the leaves of it being wetted, and the letters effaced, they had caused twelve new copies to be written, which were preserved in twelve different tabernacles. There is no room to doubt, but that these were real Jews, since they not only distinguished the five books of *Moses* by their proper titles, but mentioned likewise the ancient judges and monarchs of their nation; and the testimony of that missionary is the less to be suspected, since, being ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, he relates those matters exactly as they were told to him. But

* ALVAREZ'S Hist. China, c. 30. p. 212. * Recueil de lettres edifiantes & curieuses, vol. vii. let. i. ad fin. † See before vol. viii. p. 139.

“ as to those that are accompa- “ in the synagogue, but in the
“ nied with profound bowing, “ hall adjoining to it.”
“ &c. they were not performed,

Their pretended antiquity. those *Jews* do most likely give themselves a much greater antiquity than is consistent with truth; seeing they pretend to have been settled there under the government of the first dynasty, or royal family called *Han*, computed to have reigned from 206 years before the Christian era, to the 220th after it. One might indeed imagine from thence, that they retired thither some time before or after the destruction of *Jerusalem*; but the difficulty is, how to suppose that they could go so far for a retreat, or reach it so soon, considering the little acquaintance, if any, they had of that remote part of the world. But we shall refer all further justification about them here, having given a fuller account of it from the same author in the history of *China*, to which we refer the reader.

A Letter from those of Cochim to those of Amsterdam.

WE are still more at a loss what to think of a letter, written in *Hebrew*, which the *Jews* of *Cochin* are said to have sent, some time ago, to the synagogue of *Amsterdam*; for they there tell them, "That they retired into the *Indies*, when the *Romans* conquered the *Jewish Land*. They pretend to have had seventy-two kings, who succeeded each other within the space of 1000 years, but that afterwards, the jealousy of two brothers having kindled a war between them, whilst they were contending for the crown, the neighbouring princes subdued them. Since which time they have continued in subjection to the *Indian* kings: but have, however, given such proofs of their fidelity to them, that *Samuel Capet*, who died an. 1640, was governor of *Cochin*, and left his government to a man of the same name and religion." It were hard to decide whether this letter be true or false, as we have no proofs against the *Jewish* historians; yet that succession of seventy-two monarchs, founded on their retreat to *Cochin*, ever-since the reduction of *Judaea* by *Titus*, seems rather invented to raise the glory of the *Jewish* nation. And we are only referred to distant times, and to unknown histories, because the present state hath nothing worth our admiration.

In the East Indies.

ALL that we can infer from the various accounts above-mentioned is, that the *Jews* are dispersed about in the *East Indies*; that they are settled at *Cochin*, at *Goa*, *Malabar*, *China*, and even in *America*; but that none of these are descended from the ten tribes, whom we have shewn to be seated near the *Euphrates* in *Persia*, and other neighbouring

* See before, vol. viii. p. 134, & seq. * BARRIOS's Hist. Universal. Jud. " BASNAG. ubi sup. c. 38. §. 15.

Countries, where though very poor, yet they have still maintained themselves to this time. The others are only families whose commerce hath attracted into those parts since their dispersion, but which can only be distinguished by some uncertain, not to say false, tradition. Neither doth it appear that they have had any monarchs or supreme government in any country. They live in the East, and in America, as Every-
they do in Europe, under the dominion of other princes, ^{where in} ~~where in~~ ^{together} Christians or Gentiles; and those in America, ~~elpe-subjection.~~ ^{the Portuguese and Spanish dominions, are often} pay dear for their avarice and dissimulation; be-
detected and severely punished by the tribunal
tion, as we have ~~nowhere~~ ^{nowhere} hinted. In Turkey, Fez, Barbary, and Egypt, indeed, they are somewhat more than tolerated, and are sometimes admitted into public functions (S), especially in Egypt ^{w.} The Ottoman princes do even send them on some embassies; at which times they value themselves upon making a more than ordinary appearance for the credit of their nation; and their flourishing condition under that government makes them so numerous, that they are reckoned to amount to a million: so that upon the whole, one may allow them to have about 1,300,000 dispersed all over the East, and upwards of three millions in all the world.

THE Jewish writers, whom we lately quoted, divide the Jews ^{a-} ~~Well~~ into two sovereignties, or rather into the two principal ^{among the} religions that reign in it, viz. the Roman Catholic and the ~~Popish~~ and Protestant; and by an odd perverseness, or perhaps flattery, ^{Protest-} ~~are~~ not ashamed to extol the kind protection and favour they ^{ants;} receive from the former, and to complain of the unkind treatment they meet with from the latter. *Roma pontificia*, says *their* ^{par-} Barrios, *siempre los ha patrocinada desde, quæ destruye Je-* ^{tiality to} ~~tusalem su general~~ ^{Tito} *: "Popish Rome," says he, "hath ~~the former~~ ^{the former}."

* MENASSE BEN JEREMIAH, *Esperanza*, p. 103, & seq. BAS-
KAR. ubi sup. §. 15. * BARRIOS, ubi sup. p. 3.

(S) A modern firms, on what gro-
easy to guess, that ^{man} ~~man~~ grant-
ed them a city w ^{all its de-} ~~all its de-~~
pendencies, ^{at the petition of} ~~at the petition of~~
one *Miche*, who was in high
favour with that *Sudan's* son
(35). But, as neither Jewish,

nor any other, writer that we
know of, takes notice of any
such grant, and we do not find
that they ever had any peculiar
town given to them, we may
suppose it to be either a mistake
of *Strada*, or else that it was
but a short-lived grant.

(35) *Strada de Bell. Belgic. lib. iv. p. 235.*

"always protected them, ever-since its general *Titus* destroyed *Jerusalem* (T)." It is true the generality of the popes have been their patrons and protectors; but it is no less certain, that some of them have likewise been their enemies and persecutors; and the same may be said of the other princes and states of *Italy*; though, upon the whole, they have received more good than harm from them, as we have shewn through this chapter. But how can this be said of *France*, *Portugal*, and *Spain*, from which they have been so long banished; and where those that have ventured to stay, were forced to do it at the expence of their religion, and where they live under the worst of dissimulation, and in continual danger of being persecuted and banished? They meet with kinder usage in the emperor's dominions, and especially in *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and *Russia*; but still, though their learning and academies thrive there more than in other places, they are still kept poor, or, at least, they fall far short of the flourishing condition of those in *England* and *Holland*; and this might, one way I think, make them give the preference to these, in point of civility, government and hospitality: yet so it is, that they complain against the Protestants without exception, as not treating them with so much humanity as they could wish: though, as we have already observed, they enjoy under them all the liberty, both of religion and commerce, and live in all the quietness and safety they can reasonably desire. But, it must be owned, they are excessively proud of their origin, and value themselves so much upon being *the witnesses to the whole world of the unity of God*, the favourite people of his providence, and the royal offspring of the friend of God, that they think it injurious to them, to suspect them either of baseness or treachery. On these accounts they highly resent, not only every slight they meet with, and every restraint that is laid on them, but are very uneasy and impatient under their present state of servitude and subjection to other nations; ~~when~~ they look upon as their inferiors, in point of antiquity, religion, and national pre-eminence.

UNDER all these grating disadvantages they comfort themselves with the assurance, that the so long promised Messiah's

(T) By this our readers may judge what an expert historian he was, that could imagine *Titus* to be the pope's general, and yet he is far enough from being

the worst of them, as appears by what we have observed of some of the rest at the beginning of this history (†).

appearance cannot be far off, who will turn the tables in their *the Mass-* favour; and, in the most triumphant manner, gather them *ab-* up from all the four corners of the earth, and settle them in the land of their fathers, where they shall, with inexpressible joy and wonder, see their holy temple and city rebuilt more gloriously than ever, their religion embraced by all the sons of *Adam*, and the whole globe submitted to his sceptre. These are their hopes; which not only they, but a great number of Christians, firmly believe, are founded on the clear-
est and most express prophecies of the Old and New Testa-
ment. But as to the time of their being fulfilled, both
sides

(V) To sum up here all these express texts and prophecies, about their final conversion, would be only to repeat what we have, upon all proper occasions, taken care to inculcate through the first and second part of their history (†); and what cannot fail of occurring to every attentive reader both of the Old and New Testament. Whoever considers part of the prophetic song of the good old *St. Jon* concerning Christ, that he was to be *the Glory of his People Israel* (36), or what the Apostle says of the latter being again to be received into God's favour and saving fold (37), and can persuade himself, that these promises have been as yet fulfilled? Let those who think so, tell us, what blessings or glory the *Jewish nation* have gained by the coming of Christ? That miserable nation, to use the words of a learned divine (38), "hath been scattered over the face of the earth; is looked upon as the curse and scouring of it; and groans under servitude and captivity of near two thousand

years, and, can it be supposed, that they shall continue so to the end of the world, and perish in their misery? If the case be so, we must look upon all those prophecies in their favour, as mere illusions; and that they have been deceived by false oracles, and with vain hopes; for it would be a mere ridicule on the Sacred Writings to tell us, that those promises have been fulfilled in those few *Jews* who embraced Christianity; a great part of whom proved such half convert, that they only served to introduce the cursed sect and heresy of the *Ebionites* and *Nazarites*. We must then say, that those great and singular promises will meet with their completion before the end of the world.

"And it is in fact one of the Christian doctrines, founded on a great number of divine prophecies, that the *Jews* shall be recalled; and the miraculous manner wherein they have been hitherto preserved, seems to be an unanswerable

(†) *Anc. Hist.* vol. iii. & x. *pass.* (36) *Luke* ii. 31. (37) *Vid. Int. al. Rom.* ii. *pass.* (38) *Jurieu accomplissement des propheties*, tom. ii. p. 205, & seq. & 307.

fides have been so often out in their calculations, that neither dare now pretend to guess; and the former have even forbid,

“ proof of it: for it is a fact
 “ without example, and, at the
 “ same time, beyond concep-
 “ tion, that God should pre-
 “ serve them these seventeen
 “ centuries, dispersed as they
 “ are among all nations, with-
 “ out being blended with them,
 “ or adopting their religion or
 “ manners as other dispersed
 “ nations have done. Which
 “ seems plainly to hint, that
 “ God reserves them for some
 “ great end. Let us now sup-
 “ pose, that they shall be con-
 “ verted, if the end of the
 “ world happens so soon after
 “ it, that neither they nor their
 “ children shall enjoy those glo-
 “ rious advantages which have
 “ been promised to them, how
 “ can they be said to see the ful-
 “ filling of so many oracles in
 “ their favour. Shall such a
 “ vast many million of souls be
 “ lost, during these 1700 years,
 “ whilst only few, in compari-
 “ son, shall be saved at the end
 “ of the world? And will these
 “ be sufficient to answer the
 “ high idea which those glori-
 “ ous promises, made to that
 “ nation, plainly give us?
 “ And here let us further ob-
 “ serve, that it was to them that
 “ the Messiah was promised;
 “ and that they were from the
 “ beginning nurtured up in the
 “ sure hope of his coming, and
 “ to look upon him as the great-
 “ est blessing that Heaven could
 “ pour upon them. He came
 “ accordingly; and the only ac-
 “ complishment of those great
 “ promises which they found,
 “ was to see their temple and
 “ city burnt to the ground, its
 “ worship abolished, and them-
 “ selves and children scattered
 “ over the world, and become
 “ the contempt and abhorrence
 “ of the rest of mankind. So
 “ that; instead of such signal
 “ and extraordinary blessings,
 “ as they hoped for, he
 “ brings them nothing but
 “ a long series of shame and
 “ misery, and such as never
 “ befall any other nation.
 “ But at length, about the end
 “ of the world, some few mil-
 “ lions of them will be convert-
 “ ed, and share a better fate
 “ than the rest; and this will
 “ be all the advantage they shall
 “ reap from all those magnifi-
 “ cent prophecies. If that be
 “ their case, there can be no
 “ reconciling the divine con-
 “ duct with his promises. A
 “ time therefore must either
 “ come, in which that Messiah
 “ shall reign over the Jewish
 “ nation, and raise it above all
 “ others in the world, accord-
 “ ing to these express predic-
 “ tions, or else they must be
 “ looked upon as false and de-
 “ ceitful, and only given to be
 “ a snare unto them.” Thus
 “ far our author, and, we may
 “ add, that these are not difficul-
 “ ties raised by an enthusiastic
 “ millenarian, but the reflections
 “ of a sound and unbiassed divine;
 “ and such as, we doubt not, he
 “ had either heard from, or read
 “ in, the Jewish writings: he had
 “ been conversant with, and any
 “ other man may have heard ob-
 “ jected by all the learned Jews
 “ he meets with. It will be there-
 “ fore

forbid, under the severest anathema, the very enquiring after it. However, both they and we believe, and not without good grounds, that it will not be long before we see some fore-runners of those glorious days, when that long-promised sun shall shine which will at once enlighten both hemispheres. But as these are points that belong more to divines than to historians to discuss, we shall dive no farther into them here.

Only thus much we beg leave to observe, from their wonderful preservation to this day, under all difficulties, hatred, persecutions, and other disadvantages we have seen them labour under, not only from their deliverance out of Egypt, and their rescue from the Babylonish captivity, but more especially from their last and universal dispersion by the Romans into all nations and countries, without either kings or princes, without temple, altar, priests, sacrifices, or any of those more sensible parts of religion, for which they had always such a natural fondness, and which kept them united in their own once happy land; or any comfortable prospect, much less assurance, of their seeing an end to their miserable slavery, to their doubts and fears, that the time of the Messiah's coming have been long elapsed, that nothing but a visible and miraculous Providence could effect it, or could have supported their faith and hope, and kept them steady to their religion, during above seventeen centuries, under such difficulties and discouragements.

AND, on the other hand, when we reflect on their numbers, *vain at* the great misery of some, and opulence of other countries, their earnest wishes for a deliverer, their readiness to close in with every impostor that assumed that title, and the many and strenuous efforts they have made under some of them, in order to recover their liberty, and raise themselves above the powers that oppress them, and how strangely they have been disappointed in them all, we cannot but conclude, that a Divine Providence must have displayed itself as much in their disappointment, as in their preservation, till he shall accomplish all his gracious designs and promises both towards them and all the rest of mankind.

fore in vain, to hope to make any sincere converts among them, till all these difficulties ~~to more~~ ^{are} essentially removed than they have hitherto been; or indeed by any other way than by allowing to them this second

coming and reign of Christ. But for this, we shall refer our readers to what we have hinted in a former volume (*), and to the additional remarks with which we shall conclude this.

(*) See *anc. Hist.* v. l. iii. p. 39.

*Aversion to
Christian-
ity.*

IF it should be objected, that we are here hardening them in their unbelief, and persuade them to put off their conversion till that promised time, let it be considered how few real converts have been made either here or abroad, since the first ages of Christianity, by mere dint of argument; how averse their doctors are to enter into a fair conference with Christians of any denomination, and how fearful their unlearned ought to be to attempt it without them; how many of those pretended and zealous converts have at length apostatized (of which we have given so many pregnant instances through the course of this chapter, and could have added as many more as would fill a volume); what rancours, as have shewn, what horrid blasphemies they have uttered, against Christ and his Gospel, after their return into *Judaism*; and what dreadful curses they all vomit against those of their nation that embrace it upon any laudable and sincere motive; and we shall have little cause to fear, that what we have said above will hinder their real, much less their general, conversion; and be apt to think, with our learned *Joseph Mede*, and many other eminent divines, that this last will not be effected without a miraculous intervention of the same Divine Providence, which so visibly displayed itself at the first planting and propagation of the Gospel.

*Final con-
version mi-
raculous.*

*An enquiry
into the
true causes
of the Jews
unbelief.*

As we are therefore drawing near the conclusion, not only of this thirteenth volume, but likewise of the history of *Africa*, and the next will bring us into a new part of the world, *viz.* that of the great continent of *Africa*, our readers, we hope, will not be displeased, if (setting aside all theological conjectures concerning the time and wondrous manner of their universal, whether recall into the ancient land of *Palestine*, or their admission into the spiritual church of Christ, which can claim no room in a work like this) we close up the history of their dispersion with a few curious and interesting remarks, which could not be well inserted in the body, without interrupting the thread and series of it: and herein we shall confine ourselves to such only, as will afford them the greatest light that can be possibly struck out of all the numerous volumes which have been written on that dark and so much controverted subject, and at the same time reconcile that unhappy wavering nation to the certainty and infallibility of the divine promises in favour of it, of which their mistaken notions about the time and manner of their completion, have made the major part of it, in a great measure, to despond, if not wholly to despair; inasmuch that, to our certain knowledge, and their own confession, very many of those in *England* and *Holland*, carried on by the rapid

rapid stream of infidelity now reigning, are sunk into a downright disbelief of the divine authority of their sacred books.

It will not therefore appear foreign to our subject, to point out both to our Jewish and Christian readers, the fatal rock on which the former have unhappily split, and lost all the benefit of those great and singular promises; and the wrong methods which have been taken by the latter to convince them of their error, and which have only served to confirm them the more in their fatal prejudices, against the person, character, and doctrine, of our Divine Messiah. These two points we think the more proper to be fairly stated, as they will once fully account for the invincible obduracy of the one, and for the ill-success of the other, in spite of the most soothing attractives, and most affecting deterrents, made use of in every age and country, and by no nation more than by those who professed Christianity, to induce or oblige them to abjure a religion so diametrically opposite to their present interest and peace, and so destructive to all their future prospects and ill-grounded hopes.

EVERY thinking reader, who hath seriously reflected on this invincible attachment of a whole nation, dispersed as they are over every part of the world, without king or high-priest, without authority, or any bands of society to keep them united, and what is still worse, despised, oppressed, and persecuted, yet persevering in it during above sixteen whole centuries, under all the imaginable discouragements, uncertainties, and anxiety of mind, and destitution of even the least glimmering prospect of their so long, so earnestly wished-for restoration; whoever, we say seriously, reflects on this their surprising attachment to a religion, which hath hitherto not only deluded all their fond hopes of a Messiah to come, but hath exposed them to the contempt and scorn of the world, will be forced to own, that some stronger tie than the bare prejudice of education, must have supported them in it, or else there would have been long since a total end of Jewish faith and hopes, as well as of all distinction between them and other nations, and they had long enough ago been blended with, and embraced the religion of such, as had given them the greatest encouragement to settle amongst them, had not the Divine Providence, for wise ends, no less in favour of them than for the confirmation of the gospel, prevented their total apostasy, and preserved a more than sufficient number of them every-where, to be standing, unexceptionable evidences of the divine authority of the sacred Hebrew code, either until the end of the world, or, as is most probable, till the pre-ordained time of the complete conversion

conversion of the gentiles, when they shall be admitted into the same fold with them, and readily acknowledge the divine authority of the New : so that what was once a great stumbling-block to them, viz. the incorporation of the heathen into the Christian church, shall, by a divine effect of his Providence, be turned into a means of their admission into it, and both become glad partakers of the same universal benefit.

Insurmountable prejudice against the Gentiles being called,

and themselves rejected.

THAT it was in favour of the former, that the same All-wise Goodness conducted the septuagint version, or translation of the sacred *Hebrew* books, into *Greek*, the language then most known, and in use over the greatest part of the world, some centuries before the completion of the most signal prophecies contained in it, we have fully shewn in a former part of this work ^b, and they alone received the benefit of it; whilst the incredulous *Jews*, even those among them who had expressed the greatest zeal for it, as having in a great measure lost their *Hebrew* tongue, being now enraged at the successful use which the primitive preachers made of it, to convert the gentile world, left no stone unturned, or foul means untried, to sink it into the lowest discredit ^c. It could not enter into their hearts, that the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, ever designed to be the God of the gentiles also, in the same sense as he was theirs, or would set them on a level with them. Whatever promises and prophecies they had that intimated any thing like it, such as, that in *Abraham's seed all nations should be blessed* ^d; that they should all in time be gathered under the banner, and be partakers of the light and blessing, of the Messiah ^e, they understood in no higher sense than that of a temporal conquest, which should bring them all under his obedience, yet in such a manner, that those who readily submitted to his sceptre, should esteem themselves highly blessed in the service of so illustrious a conqueror, and of a nation so peculiarly chosen, and so highly favoured by the Almighty; whilst those who either unwillingly submitted to the yoke, or had behaved contemptuously or cruelly against them, should become the unhappy objects of their resentment, and be doomed to undergo a more dreadful tyranny under them, than they themselves underwent in *Egypt*, *Babylon*, or since their last dispersion. This was their notion of the reign of the promised Messiah, at the time of Christ appearing among them; and how opposite to the na-

^b See *Ant. Hist.* vol. x. p. 244, & seq. & (O).
^d *Gen.* xxi. 18.
^e *Isai.* xlii. 6, 49, 60, & *lib. plur.*

^c *Ibid.*

ture of the Divine Being, *who is no respecter of persons, &c.*^f. How contrary to all his express declarations by his prophets; and much more manifestly, and, if we may be allowed the expression, how feelingly opposite to their completion ! which, to their dread and amazement, ended in their rejection, and the utter ruin of that small share of power and authority they had left. Nor was this fatal prejudice rooted out of their hearts by this severe shock, but hath been, with the most surprising obstinacy, propagated and cherished by the whole nation from that time to this; and to this day they still retain the same notions of a temporal conquering Messiah, who shall subdue the whole earth, rebuild the holy city and temple, restore the *Mosaic worship* of it, and oblige all nations and people to forsake their various religions, and observe the *Mosaic law* under the severest penalties.

THIS, therefore, is their grand stumbling-block, the fatal rock of offence against which they have split : nor will they acknowledge a Messiah under any other character than that ; how much less can they ever be prevailed on to submit to one who appeared, spoke, and acted, in a manner so very opposite to it, and to all their temporal views and expectations ? As for the difficulties which are justly objected out of the sacred writings, against this their vain expectation, such as, that no other Messiah hath appeared since in such a splendid character, much less within the time limited by the most celebrated prophecies that foretold his coming ; that is, *before the sceptre was departed from Judah* : 2dly, *before the completion of Daniel's weeks* : and, 3dly, during the standing of the second temple : these, and many more of the like nature, irrefragable as they are, and unanswered as they know them to have been by any of their rabbinic tribe, they have found some artful subterfuges and chicanery to evade ; but such as, whatever impression they may make on the mind and conscience of a prejudiced Jew, rather betray a tacit desire to disguise their inability to remove them, as we have elsewhere proved against them^k. And thus, by their false glosses upon, or unfair cavilling about, the most pregnant prophecies against them, they have made shift these sixteen hundred years to keep up the drooping and bewildered hopes of their nation, that whatever delay their sins, and those of their forefathers, may have occasioned with relation

^f Acts x. 34, & seq. ^g Genes. xlix. 10. See also A. c. Hist. vol. iii. p. 318 (G), x. 629. ^h See Anc. Hist. vol. x. p. 446 (Q). ⁱ Haggai, ii. 9, & seq. ^k See the quoted places out of the A. c. Hist.

to the coming of the Messiah, nothing but a total apostacy of their nation can possibly prevent his appearing in God's time, and in the glorious manner they have been taught to expect him : by which means, they have been enabled to linger out that long series of centuries in this dreadful state of uncertainty, ever eager to catch at the least shadow of hope, and to listen to every impostor, though at the hazard of the most mortifying disappointment, and in addition to their anxieties.

*Illustrious
hopes about
the Jewish
sceptre be-
ing found
in Abis-
sinia.*

OF this we have given a sufficient number of instances during the course of this chapter, and many more we might have added to them, had our stated boundaries permitted it. One, however, we cannot pass by, which happened soon after the pretended discovery of *Prester John's* kingdom, or empire of *Abissinia*, of which we shall speak in a subsequent volume. No sooner had the news reached *Europe*, that some *Portuguese* had discovered that much sought-for kingdom, and found it to be governed by a monarch lineally descended from king *Solomon*, the son of *David*, that he and all his subjects were circumcised, that they observed the sabbath, and abstained from swine's-flesh, and other unclean meats, &c. than the *Jews*, both in *Europe* and *Asia*, were elevated beyond measure at the report; and took it for granted, that both the *Ethiopian* monarch and his subjects were *Jews*; and that the promised sceptre of *Judah* was preserved among them by a Divine Providence. The vastness of his dominions, the magnificence of his court, and other particulars relating to that newly discovered empire, were greatly exaggerated by the two *Portuguese Jews* who were sent upon that discovery. The learned rabbi *Athalbaner*, of whom, and of whose works, we have given an account a little higher ¹, and who was then at *Lisbon*, took occasion, from this agreeable piece of news, to extol the glory and numerousness of the *Jewish* nation, in one of his comments on the minor prophets. About the same time a letter was trumped up, and printed by those of *Constantinople*, and dispersed amongst those of their nation, that emperors far and near, in the *Hebrew* tongue and character, and pretended to be written and sent to them by the *Abissinian* emperor. They had caused it to be translated into most *European* languages, and sent to the whole *Jewish* brotherhood, backed by sundry other artful circumstances, which failed not to raise, as usual, the spirits, if not the triumph, of the tribe of *Judah*, where-ever the news had reached.

*Forge a
letter from
Constantinople,
that emperors
far and near
pretended to
be written and
sent to them
by the
Abissinian
emperor.*

See before, p. 352, (C), & seq.

IT proved, however, but a short-lived one; and the *Portuguese* had no sooner penetrated into the *Abissinian* empire, than they found it to be all Christian, monarch as well as subjects; and that though they still retained the old *Jewish* rites above-mentioned, yet they had, by their own confession, been converted to Christianity ever since the time of the apostles, as we shall more fully shew when we come to that part of their history. This new discovery not only put an end at once to all the joy and hopes of the *Jewish* nation, but filled them with confusion and despondency: and since this so much wished and sought-for *Revenge* of *Judah* could not be found in any of the three old known parts of the world, they quickly resolved to go in quest of it among the many vast and newly discovered tracts of *America*, and try their fortune in that new world where we shall rejoin them again at the close of this chapter, and see to what a height of triumph one of their great rabbies improved a few dark and vague hints, sent him from thence in favour of the royal dignity and of the *Jewish* nation: so determinate are they, at all adventures, to compass sea and land in quest of it, or even to believe it still flourishing in the clouds, or depths of the sea, rather than allow it to have been absorbed in, or, to speak more truly, dignified and exalted into a spiritual sceptre and kingdom, by that very person, whom their grand sanhedrim condemned to the most ignominious of deaths, for impiously arrogating that extraordinary dignity to himself; and which, had it really belonged to him, that supreme court ought, and would, without all doubt, have been the first and readiest to acknowledge and proclaim it to the whole world. For so they actually judge, one and all, of that whole transaction; and cannot, without the utmost abhorrence, imagine the bare possibility, that the grand council of their nation, unerring as they conceive it then was, to have been so fatally blinded in a matter of the greatest consequence, and to have ever been capable of passing so unjust a sentence on a person of his extraordinary merit and character. This reflexion, just and affecting as it is, must of course give an additional weight to their averseness to the gospel, which represents them as guilty of that atrocious fact, and as rejected by God, their city and temple demolished, the whole *Jewish* nation as groaning under the most grievous captivity on that account, and the Gentiles as admitted in their stead into Christ's spiritual kingdom. And what a series of the most mortifying truths are these for that once so favoured people, to believe and acknowledge, before they can be admitted into it themselves; and what discouragement must it be, moreover, to so carnal a people, to forego

and

and renounce all their expectations of a temporal and glorious one, as their learned men had, with so much care and pains, delineated to themselves out of the figurative and pompous expressions of the prophets, and described as abounding with every thing that is magnificent and attractive, for the sake of one that was founded in the deepest humility and self-denial, and promised no other earthly satisfaction, but what resulted from the practice of the sublimest moral and social virtues, and the prospect of a future life. But more especially still, as that is in fact giving up the whole authority of their talmud, which, we have shewn elsewhere, they hold to be greater than that of the Hebrew text^m, and casting a heinous reflection on the writers and compilers of it, who have been most lavish in their descriptions of the earthly pomp and glory of it, as having represented it in a manner quite opposite to the meaning of the sacred volumes, and to what Christ now peremptorily assumed it was to be. And can we wonder at their crying out with one voice, as in the parable, WE WILL NOT HAVE THIS MAN TO REIGN OVER USⁿ, or at those who have come after them, for continuing in the same obdurate averfeness to a religion, which expects so much, and offers so little, of what they have been so long inured to esteem the greatest blessings of Heaven, peace and riches, power and plenty, a numerous posterity, and dominion over all the world? All which, and many more, they expect will flow on all hands like a torrent upon them, under the reign of their Messiah.

*Beavillier-
ed about
the tempo-
ral one.*

BUT, on the other hand, seeing such hath been their fatal blindness, to prefer the uncertain and temporal blessings of the old law, before the more sure, valuable, and lasting ones of the glorious gospel; (uncertain we call the former, because, as we have had occasion to observe more than once, the delay of the imaginary kingdom, so many centuries beyond the time prefixed by the sacred oracles, hath thrown them into the greatest uncertainty^o), and that preference founded only on an erroneous notion that the *Mosaic* dispensation, and consequently its promises, as well as precepts, were of an eternal and unalterable nature; what more effectual method could the Divine Providence take to undeceive them in both respects, after they had rejected the Messiah whom he had sent to them, in his predicted time and character, than, first, to cause his temple at *Jerusalem*, the centre of the *Mosaic* worship, to be utterly destroyed, and to lie in ruins ever since, to convince them of the abolition of the one, and then

^m See before, Anc. Hist. vol. iii. p. 7, (B). ⁿ Luke xix. 14.
^o Vid. int. al. p. 428, & seq.

to scatter them over the world, and make them undergo the longest and hardest slavery, under those very gentiles, over whom they expected to gain an absolute and irreversible dominion, under their vainly expected Messiah, till it had brought them to the acknowledgement of the true one. Such an affecting argument against them, should, one might have reasonable expected, been more than sufficient to have drove them to it; and to have convinced them long ago, not only of the vanity, but absurdity of their expectations; how derogatory to the Divine Justice and Goodness, and how opposite they were to the true interest and happiness of mankind; had not this partial, selfish prejudice, in favour of their own nation, too manifestly verified the charge of the prophet against them^p; That their hearts were become gross and carnal; so that, having eyes they saw not, ears but heard not, and hearts incapable of understanding what was the utmost consequence to them to know; namely, that the blessings designed by the Divine Wisdom to adorn and signalize the Messiah, were of a far nobler, sublimer, and lasting nature, than all that worldly pomp and grandeur they so stupidly dreamed of, and their carnal hearts were so strongly set upon. But since all these severe methods, the properest, if not the only ones, that could, without infringement upon their rational liberty, rectify this strong and long contracted bias, have hitherto proved ineffectual; need we wonder at the Divine Providence continuing them still under the same discipline and regimen, till their end is fully answered, and their cure effectually wrought. But we shall here refer our readers, for a farther display of this dispensation of God towards them, to that most learned and elegant account which the apostle hath given us of it in his epistle to the *Romans*^q; and where he will see the source of their incredulity, as well as their wonderful preservation to the happy time of their general conversion, to be standing monuments of the truth of the ancient prophecies, fully accounted for, and the Divine Justice and Goodness, with respect to his designs and dealings towards them, clearly vindicated, and duly magnified.

Nor hath this fatal prejudice in favour of a conquering Messiah, and his supposed glorious reign, stopped here. They have not only renounced, and still persist to do so, and vilify the promised, and more signal redemption, which Christ offered to them, from sin and punishment, as contrary

^p *Isai. vi. 9. & seq. & alib. Matth. xiii. 14. Acts, ult. 26, & seq.* ^q *Chap. xi. pass. & alib. plur.*

Impious
forgeries
against
Christ's pe-
digree.

His mira-
cles.

to their expectation, that he was to deliver them from the Roman yoke, and subdue those tyrants, and the rest of the world, under their subjection (though this notion of a temporal deliverance appears to have been only taken up about this time, when they had smarted so long under the Romans; the more ancient of their doctors entertained a much more sublime notion of it (W), and dreamed of nothing less than such imaginary conquests and universal dominion): but, in order to justify their unjust and impious deeds, and suppress as much as possible the murmuring and discontent of those few amongst them who condemned it, not content to have persecuted him with the utmost malice and cruelty during his life, they have, by the vilest arts, and blackest slanders, aspersed his Divine Character and Doctrine, and rendered his memory odious, and even execrable, to their nation. Instead of his lineal descent from the tribe of Judah, and the lineage of David, so clearly set forth by two evangelists (in which genealogies, though there be found some seeming difference and inconsistency, yet a careful and candid reader will easily observe it to be of such a nature, as rather confirms than invalidates their mutual authority, as we have fully proved in a former part of this work*, they have substituted a false and spurious pedigree, and made him the offspring of adultery and incest. His miracles, the vast number and variety of which they could not deny, but do even confess in their *Thalmud*, they have maliciously, and with the most absurd effrontery, ascribed to a diabolical power, and to the magic art, which they pretend he learned during his abode in Egypt, though but a child both on his going and coming out of it. Those of his disciples met, indeed, with

* See Anc. Hist. vol. x. p. 491, & seq. (R).
the book, intitled, *Tholedoth Jesu*.

See

(W) Of this we need no stronger evidence than the author of the *Targum of Jerusalem*, who, repeating the words of *Jaacob* at his blessing his twelve sons (1), "I wait for thy salvation, O Lord," paraphrases that pious ejaculation in these terms, "Lord, I wait for thy salvation; I look not for such a redemption as that wrought by *Gideon* the son of

Jaash, for that was a temporary one; nor for such a one as that of *Sampson*, for that is a transient one; but I look for the redemption to be wrought by the Messiah, the son of *David*, who is to come and gather together the children of *Israel*. This is the redemption my soul waits and longs for, and impatiently expects."

(1) *Targum Hierosol. in Gen. xlix. 18.*

no better reception at first, from their grand council and chief-priest, though with a milder treatment afterwards. But when they perceived what a powerful impression they worked upon the people, especially, as they came always backed with the irrefragable testimony of the sacred writings and prophecies, and accompanied with such manifest tokens of the sincerest conversion, and a devout simplicity of life, as astonished the very heathens who beheld it, both in the preachers and their profelytes; when, to their great surprise and perplexity, they found, that neither authority, threats, or punishments, were capable to silence the one, or discourage the other, but rather added fuel to their zeal, and daily increased the number of their converts; when, lastly, they heard themselves charged by poor simple fishermen with having impiously rejected and condemned the true Messiah, and that with such undeniable evidence, as the wisest of them was not able to gain-say, and yet persisted in the same obstinate opposition of the establishment of his spiritual kingdom, and prepossession and preference of an imaginary temporal one, (as if it had been indeed more glorious, or brought greater honour and advantage to the Jewish nation, to send them such a temporal conqueror, than a Divine Redeemer; one who could only subdue the world for them, than one who had dominion over this and the next, and could bestow on them the blessings of both in a most eminent degree); when, we say, all was reduced to this desperate state of infidelity and ingratitude, what less could be expected by them, than the speedy accomplishment of that dreadful prediction and sentence pronounced against them; that their city and temple should be reduced to a heap of ruins, and themselves be dispersed, and sold for slaves, among all nations; as they were soon after accordingly; and have continued ever since, and must still do, till a due sense and acknowledgement of their fault, (the express condition of their recall) obtains the long wished-for revocation of it.

*Doctrine
and disci-
ples...*

*Their just
punish-
ment.*

HERE then we may see the fatal cause of their long and severe captivity, as well as of the small number of them, on whom so dreadful an instance of the divine displeasure hath hitherto been sufficient to make a salutary impression, in comparison of those who have remained inflexibly attached to their old prejudices, under a most doleful and comfortless exile of near seventeen centuries, have still supported themselves through all persecutions and calamities, hatred and

*Small
numbers
converted
to Chris-
tianity.*

* De hac Catastroph. vid. sup. vol. x. p. 678, & seq. * Vid.

Deut. xxx. 1, & seq.

contempt of the rest of the world, by the bare and faint hopes of that imaginary temporal Messiah and kingdom; and rejected the offers of the true and promised one, against all the clearest evidence of scripture and reason.

*Imprudence of
their op-
posers.*

THIS surprising, and so long continued obstinacy, hath been variously accounted for, and combated, by their Christian opposers of all ages, ever since their dispersion, according as their various tempers, and systems of religion, led them: some of them ascribing it, though with more zeal than knowledge or charity, ~~to~~ total rejection, as guilty of the undardonable sin and blasphemy against the Holy Ghost^a; which charge, if true, was the more absurdly urged against them, because it excluded all possibility of their being either converted or forgiven. ~~whilst~~ others have, with more reason and equity, ascribed it to an ill-grounded confidence on the peculiar covenant made by God with Abraham, which they deem eternal and iralienable; that, in his seed, that is, as we interpret it, in the Messiah, *all the nations of the earth should be blessed*^b; that is, as they firmly believe, should be brought to the knowledge of the one true God, admitted into the covenant by the seal of circumcision, and, in consequence of it, to the privileges annexed to the observation of the *Mosaic law*, and live happily and peaceably under his obedience and auspicious reign. In consequence of which covenant, the land of *Canaan* was promised to him, and, in due time, given to his posterity, as their perpetual inheritance: a temple built, which was to be the centre of their religion; and *Jerusalem* that of their future monarchs, and chief residence of that promised Messiah. All which is exactly consistent with their notion of a temporal conqueror and deliverer; but in their opinion absolutely incompatible with that of a spiritual deliverance or kingdom, and much more still of an obscure, rejected, and suffering redeemer. How mean his character and appearance, to that in which the prophets have delineated him to us; how obscure and different his pretended reign, to the glorious description they have given us of it; how dreadfully abject and miserable hath been our condition ever since his appearing among us, to that peace and happiness, opulence and dominion, we were promised to enjoy under his conduct and government. In a word, how should such a Messiah be able to deliver his whole nation from captivity, who could not save himself from an ignominious death^c. Whatever, therefore, be the oc-

*Jewish no-
tion of
their Mes-
siah's
reign.*

^a Math. xii. 31, & seq. ^b Gen. xxii. 18. ^c Vid. SEPPER, NIZACHON, in Matth. xxvii. & alib. pass.

casion of our long and dreadful captivity, and to what length, soever it may please the Divine Providence to prolong it, we are sure he cannot be the object to whom the scripture directs us to look up for our deliverance, whom God permitted our grand sanhedrim to condemn and punish, as the vilest of impostors; and we must either give up the authority of his sacred oracles, and the infallibility of his often repeated promises, or we must look for one of a quite opposite character, under whose banners all *Israel* shall be gathered; who shall tread down and destroy all that oppose our re-entrance into our once happy land, cause our city and temple to be rebuilt, our sanctuary and worship restored, and the whole earth submitted to his sceptre.

It will not doubtless be expected; that we should go so far out of our province, as to mention here, by how many learned pens, and irrefragable arguments, all this specious reasoning, the pretended immutability of the above-mentioned covenant, perpetuity of the *Mosaic* law, and temporal kingdom of the Messiah, have been long enough ago exploded; the promise of another, and better covenant, the abolition of the *Mosaic* rites, and the appearance of the Messiah, under the two-fold character of his humiliation and sufferings, and of his exaltation and glory, have been demonstratively proved against them by the ablest divines, ancients and moderns, of every church and age of the Christian æra, and from those very prophetic writings on which the *Jewish* doctors have fetched the materials on which they pretend to found their imaginary system of a temporal and conquering Messiah. Our chief design, as hath been already hinted, is to confine ourselves, as much as possible, to such historical facts, as may best inform our readers of the various ways, and artful methods, which the doctors of that nation have made use of since their dispersion, to prevent the utter defection of the whole nation, which seemed but too likely to ensue the destruction of their city and temple, the only place appointed by God for the exercise of his legal worship, and which must therefore cease of course, whilst those two lay in ruins, and in a little time wholly obliterate the very remembrance of it amongst those unhappy exiles, unless some quick and effectual expedient was not found out to prevent it.

No sooner therefore were they recovered from the universal *Their* consternation and confusion, which must be supposed to have *for some time* followed them in every place and country of their captivity, *their hopes*.

† De his, vid. int. 2l. GROT. LIMBORCH, LA'BADIE, KIDDER, MEDE, et al. pl.

*Set up
schools and
universi-
ties,*

*and learn-
ed men to
preside in
them.*

*Excommu-
nicate new
converts.*

*Decline to
dispute
with Chri-
stians.*

than they set about it with all the zeal and industry they were masters of. Schools, and afterwards, universities, were immediately resolved upon, as the likeliest means to revive their drooping spirits, and expectation of a happy deliverance from above; and these were accordingly reared with surprising speed, as we have seen at the beginning of this chapter; and the most learned of their nation sought far and near to preside in them. These were quickly supplied with men of the greatest abilities, and crowded with scholars from all parts of their dispersion, and met with all possible encouragement, both with respect to their rich endowments, and the pompous titles, and great honours, which were shewn to their professors and professors; so that from them issued out yearly great numbers of disciples, who went and dispensed fresh light and hopes among their desponding brethren. But though they came out sufficiently qualified for that work, being first furnished with such arguments, drawn from the sacred books, as could best contribute to confirm them in their old prejudices, they found themselves greatly deficient whenever they were obliged to encounter with the Christian converts, especially such as came more completely armed and able to oppose an irrefragable evidence against them from the same divine repository, and such as they could safely challenge the most learned of their rabbies to confute. This proved, for some time, a mortifying obstacle, both to their professors and their disciples; against which, the speediest and most effectual remedy they could find, was to forbid the latter holding any conferences with the Christians, and confining their mission and preaching to those only of their own religion, whilst they contented themselves with excommunicating all converts from it to Christianity, and treating them as vile and execrable apostates; and accordingly loaded them with the most dreadful curses, both in their synagogues and at their private prayers.

This expedient did indeed so far answer their end, as to deter vast multitudes, not only from being converted, but even from listening to any thing which looked like an invitation or attempt towards it; but could not suppress the just and loud complaints of the Christian preachers against their foul proceedings, and frequently challenging them to public disputes, which being as stiffly declined and avoided by their adversaries, obliged the most learned and zealous of them to expose and confute them in writing. The misfortune was, that they were forced, for want of a sufficient knowledge of

the *Hebrew* and *Syriac* tongues, to make use of the *Septuagint* version, in their quotations out of the *Old Testament*, as they did likewise in their discourses, and other disputes. But this the *Jews* had, upon that very account, found *Scandalous* means to cry down and condemn, as spurious and corrupt, and to substitute other versions to it, more suitable to their *prejudices and designs*; and these *illusive shifts* gave still *some palpable countenance* to their obstinacy and jarring, whilst their disciples and agents were every-where employed in inventing, or dispersing, the most impious forgeries, and such defamatory libels against Christ and his doctrine, against his lineage and miracles, &c. as were most capable to inspire the people with the greatest contempt and abhorrence of him and his gospel. We pass by a great number of other artifices and impostures made use of by them with the same view; such as corrupting and curtailing the *Hebrew* chronology, in order to make them believe, that his birth happened in the year of the world 3671; that is, 329 years sooner than it did, or than the time prefixed by the prophecies: the lying encomiums they have written on those of their doctors, who have inveighed most bitterly against the Christian religion; some of whom they have raised to the degree of saints, prophets, inspired penmen, and workers of miracles, in order to give the greater sanction to their writings, and a kind of divine authority to those false glosses and interpretations, not to say wilful corruptions, of these prophecies and texts of scripture in dispute between us. These, and many more of the like nature, too absurd and bare-faced to deserve a farther mention, we gladly pass over, to come at some more interesting transactions relating to our subject, and which may be justly stiled the highest and most striking effort of *Jewish* policy and rabbinic craft.

THEY could not reasonably suppose, that so many learned and zealous antagonists as they had to deal with, would suffer themselves to be long baffled by their pretended cavils against the *Septuagint* version, in a matter of such high import, but that some of them would soon be induced to make themselves so far masters of the *Hebrew* text, as to be able to confute them, and beat them at their own weapons. It was therefore a thing of the utmost concern to them, to ward against a blow, which, once struck home, must prove fatal to their cause and nation, and expose their foul practices to all the world; for if these false traditions, glosses, and inter-

* See Anc. Hist. vol. x. p. 239, & notes.
SEPTUAGINT, Tholodosh Jesu.

* Vid. int. al.
pretations

pretations of the sacred writings, with which Christ, his apostles, and primitive fathers, had so justly and severely censured them; and more particularly of those which relate to that most important point of the divine œconomy, the character, sufferings, and doctrine of the Messiah, the time prefixed for his coming, and nature of his spiritual kingdom; if these, we say, came once to be fully and clearly proved against them, on the authority of the sacred Hebrew text, and by persons thoroughly versed in that language; what could they expect from such a conviction, but to become the scorn and abhorrence of mankind?

by raising
their Ka-
bala above
it,

To avoid, therefore, as much as possible, the fatal consequences of a discovery, which they knew to be out of their power to prevent, had for some time engrossed the thoughts and study of their ablest doctors; the unanimous result of which was at length, that their Kabala, or pretended oral tradition, was the most effectual rampart they could oppose against such a dreaded battery; and the most likely means, if not to repel the shafts of the enemy, yet at least to shield themselves and people from being either frightened or endangered by them. This Kabala we have given an ample account of in a former part of this work, and, as we hope, abundantly confuted, as a most artful and impious expedient, contrived and calculated by them to elude all the sacred scripture proofs alleged against them out of the sacred books, by declaring, upon its own bare authority, the whole Hebrew text, and much more so every version of it, a mere dead letter; the true genuine sense of which lies beyond all human reach, and is only to be found in the Talmudic books, whose compilers received it by an uninterrupted tradition from the mouth of the sanhedrin, or a great council of seventy, to whom alone Moses communicated it, in the same fulness and clearness as he had received it from the mouth of God, during his forty days converse with him on the mount (X). To this were added, a multitude of other oral

The pre-
tended ori-
gin of its
authority;

See Anc. Hist, vol. iii. p. 7, & seq.

(X) They add, that Moses, upon his coming down from the mount, sent for his brother Aaron, and seated him on his right-hand, to whom he recapitulated all that God had said and enjoined to him. After him were introduced Eleazar

and Itamar, his sons, who being likewise seated on each side of them, he again repeated the whole *verbatim*, to them. Next to these were admitted the seventy elders, who being also seated on each side of him, heard the same things recapitulated,

oral precepts, injunctions, expositions, not to be committed to writing, but transmitted in the same traditional way, lest, as they pretend, they should in time come to the knowledge of, and be profaned by, the gentiles: so that, according ^{above the} to them, this oral law had been preserved by a Divine Pro-^{Hebrew}vidence, pure and uncorrupted, during that long series of ^{text.} ages, till their frequent, and especially their last, dispersion; and the danger there was of any part of it being lost, made it necessary to have the whole collected into one body; which was accordingly done, as we have shewn before, by their famed R. *Jehuda Hakodesb*, or, the Saint, and afterwards published under the name of *Mishnah* and *Talmud*^a, consisting of two parts, viz. *Mishnah* and *Gemara*; by his learned disciple R. *Juchanan*, under that ^{of the} *Jerusalem Talmud*, enriched with a large and learned comment, in which he was assisted by a great number of the most eminent rabbies of that age^c.

THIS was an effectual way to stop, if not the censures and ^{Fraught} complaints of the Christians against them, at least the ears ^{with ear-} of the Jews against all arguments and remonstrances ^{from} that quarter; and thus far succeeded accordingly; for after ^{mis-} having once impiously stripped the sacred *Hebrew* text of its plain obvious sense and authority, and transferred it to this pretended collection of divine pandects, or rather to

See before, p. 156, & seq.

^c Ibid. 17, & seq.

these and expounded by him in the same manner as he had done to his brother, and to his two sons. Last of all were admitted those of the people, who were willing to come and be instructed; and had the same truths repeated unto them: so that by this time *Aaron* had the same truths recapitulated to him four times; his sons, three times; the seventy, twice; and the people, once (2).

They have since introduced a more modern sort of *Kabala*, which teaches how, by the power and affinity of numerical

letters, to discover deep secrets and mysteries in nature and religion; but is of too trifling and uncertain a nature to deserve any further notice. Only we cannot forbear observing here, that the adepts in it do greatly outdo lord *Peter* in their dextrous management of it; as whenever they cannot strike out the sense they search after, either *totidem, verbis*, or *litteris* (3) they have found out a way of transposing and jumbling the latter together, so as to make them spell, the word or name they want (4).

(2) *Vid. Maimon. Prefat. in Talmud. Vid. & Anc. Hist. vol. x. p. 139, 143 seq. & alib. pass.* (3) *Tale of a Tab.* (4) *Vid. Bunterf, Beseug. & alib. pass.*

this collection of human, if not hellish forgeries, what could be urged, or objected to them, from the one, but could not be as readily exploded by the other? And now it was that the Jews began to triumph against all gainsayers, and to be more than ever confirmed in their old prejudices. What encouragements they bestowed, both on the work and its compiler, we have already shewn; and though the latter really was a man of the most consummate pride and arrogance, have not scrupled to dub him a saint, an inspired writer, and a miracle-monger. The Karaites, a more honest and rational sect among them, of whom we have spoken in a former part, were the only ones who opposed them, and condemned the imposture, decried all those pretended traditions as vile forgeries, and closely adhered, and do so to this day, to the plain and obvious sense of the sacred text; and hence arose the distinction of Karaites and Talmudists, between whom hath reigned the most irreconcilable hatred ever since.

FROM that fatal period, we may date the invincible obstinacy and blindness of the Jewish nation; their implacable hatred of Christ and his gospel; of their irreconcilable prejudice and aversion to the notion of a suffering Messiah, and a spiritual deliverance and reign; and their unshaken hopes and expectation of a temporal Messiah, opulent and glorious beyond all conception, and which is to extend itself over all the world, and to endure to the end of it. All these, suited as they are to their gross and carnal genius, and authorised to them under the unquestionable sanction of their Talmud, have been ever since so deeply rooted in their hearts and minds, that they have rendered them more than ever deaf and inflexible to all conviction, in all the various scenes of life, through which we have traced them in the course of this chapter. But we shall have less cause to be surprised at this obstinate constancy, when we consider, that, besides the flattering prospect above-mentioned, which that book gives of the Messiah's reign, it furnishes them with such objections against Christianity, as those who own the pretended divinity of that book cannot but think irrefragable; and, on the other hand, denounces such dreadful curses against those who forsake the Jewish faith for it, as can hardly fail of deterring them from it. The greatest wonder therefore is, that any motive should ever have prevailed upon them to

See before, p. 134, & seq. (sub not. 158, & notes. 6 Anc. Hist. vol. x. p. 485, (C). 486, (D). 487, (E). 490, & seq. & notes.

ascribe to that wretched performance an authority so far superior to that of the *Hebrew* text, for which all that went before them had preserved so profound and inviolable a regard. This wonder will still increase, if we reflect on the many gross absurdities, and monstrous fables, these compilers, and their commentators, have filled that spurious volume with, in order to display the pretended glories of that future reign, and the avidity with which they are swallowed down by that insatuated people. It would take up a whole volume to sketch out the portentous wars which the Messiah is to wage against his two grand enemies *Gog* and *Magog*; and the manifold and unheard-of prodigies he is to work, in order to subdue and destroy them and their numberless hosts; the many and vast mountains to be levelled; vallies filled up; rivers, lakes, and even seas, to be dried up; and every obstacle to be removed that might obstruct or retard the *Jews* from repairing under his standards. But what are even these, to the astonishing care which the Almighty took, from the earliest days of the creation, to provide materials for a banquet suitable to his dignity, to crown his conquests, and regale his victorious *Israelites* (Y). But we shall readily dispense ourselves from the irksome and unprofitable task of exposing the monstrous absurdities of that book, and its insatuated commentators, which are so well known to every learned person, that is in the least conversant in the *Jewish* writings, and which some of the ablest men have endeavoured to allegorize into a more reasonable sense; whilst others, conscious of the impossibility of doing it, have been

(Y) They tell us, that God, in the beginning, created seven things before he made the world; these were, *Paradise*, or the *Garden of Eden*, the *Law*, the *Righteous*, *Israel*, the *Throne of Glory*, *Jerusalem*, and the *Messiah*. And that among other living creatures that were created on the fifth day, two of them were of an immense size, one of each sex: that to prevent their engendering, he killed the one and salted it, and let the other live upon the earth, and gave it a thousand moun-

tains for its pasturage; that this also will be slaughtered in the reign of the Messiah, and both the one and the other be dressed and served up at that banquet, to him, and all that have fought under his banner.

They likewise believe, there shall then be a general resurrection of all the righteous seed of *Abraham*, who shall also be admitted to partake of it; and this hope is so firmly rooted in their minds, that they frequently swear by their title to a share of it (4).

(4) *Vid. Munst. in Gen. i. & in Eschiel 38, & seq. 2 Esdr. vi. 46, & seq. Gualter, sub voc. Esdr. & al. pl.*

*but such
as may in
time open
their eyes
to the
truth.*

inspired with a singular contempt of both. And may not this, in God's own time, prove an effectual means of opening the eyes of the whole nation, and make them at length sensible of the dreadful effects of departing from the plain and obvious sense of the Divine oracles, to follow the dictates of their own carnal prejudices; of attempting to measure the unfathomable depths of God's councils, by their own short and carnal line; and imagining, that all the glorious dispensations of the old and new covenant aimed at nothing more than the exalting of their nation above all others, and setting up a people to reign paramount over the whole world; who, of all others, if we may rely on the authority of an unerring judge of mankind^b shewed themselves the most unworthy of it, and made the most ungrateful use of all his blessings and special promises?

A TRUE sense and acknowledgement of this, seems indeed to be all that is intimated in the scriptures to be wanting in them to hasten their conversion and recal: but how can they be ever induced to it, as long as that pernicious prejudice, in favour of their talmudic notion of a temporal and conquering Messiah, remains rooted and cherished in their minds? How shall they be convinced, that the promised Messiah really appeared in the true character, exact time, and true office, in which he had been delineated by the ancient oracles (and yet all other methods of converting them must appear ridiculous and ineffectual, till that capital point is fully proved to them), whilst their own melancholy state, and a wretched exile and servitude of near two thousand years, so sadly convinces them of the contrary; and that the greatest part of those extraordinary promises, so clearly revealed by the prophetic, and so gloriously displayed in almost every page of the talmudic writings, and were to make up the most distinguishing parts of the Messiah's reign, not only unfulfilled by every circumstance of their long captivity, but contradicted and confuted; the Jewish nation become the scorn and contempt, instead of the lords and rulers of the whole world; their city, instead of becoming the joy and glory of the whole earth, by the magnificence of the Messiah's court, and the vast enlargement of its walls and territories, reduced to a miserable slavery and merciless tribute, under a long series of insulting tyrants, and her once blest inhabitants scattered and vagabonds over the whole surface of it; the temple and sanctuary, instead of being become the centre of God's worship, and the joyful concourse of all nations, laid

*Averseness
to a spiri-
tual Mes-
siah and
kingdom.*

^b See Matth. xi. 21, & seq.

level with the dust, and the very ground on which it stood prophaned by the false respect paid to it by their worst enemies the Christians and *Turks*, instead of that additional extent, and unparalleled improvements which were promised to it under the eye and direction of the Messiah, and are so minutely described by the prophet *Ezekiel*, elegantly delineated by the Talmud?

THIS last particular, relating to the temple of *Jerusalem*, and the additional extent, and other extraordinary embellishments it was to receive in that reign, we purposely mention, not only as it is one of the strongest intrenchments the *Jews* fly to when hardly pressed upon, but as it will obviate an objection which may start into our reader's mind; viz. if this pretended authority of the Talmud be the main foundation of the *Jewish* obstinacy, and rejection of a spiritual reign and deliverance, how come the Karaites, lately mentioned, who express so great an abhorrence to that book, *Karaites* to persist in the same infidelity with them, and not rather *not yet* yield to the testimony of the *Hebrew* text, and acknowledge *converted* the Christian Messiah, on the irrefragable evidence which he gave of his being really such; and of his having supply fulfilled all that the law and the prophets had written concerning him?

BUT here it must be observed, that though those Karaites did wholly reject all the pretended traditions and legends of the Talmudists, in other respects they were as rank *Jews*, that is, as carnal, and as strongly prepossessed with the prejudice of a temporal Messiah, and of the peculiar blessings which *Carnal* *for a tem-* their nation was to enjoy under his reign, as the most zealous *for a tem-* Talmudists; and tho' they did not understand the prophecies *poral* concerning it in that gross and carnal sense that they did, yet *reign*; a temporal and glorious Messiah they did and do still expect, who was to bring the whole world under his obedience, and fill it with the knowledge of God, of his laws, and his worship; and, upon their due observance of these, was to dispense to them a fulness of all spiritual and temporal blessings, whilst the stubborn and recusants were to be punished with a total exclusion from both.

THIS is the sense in which they understood that future *and the re-* reign, and the glory with which it was to be accompanied: *station* but this did not hinder their adhering to the old prejudice, *of the tem-* that their nation would paramount above all others, rein- *tle, &c.* habit the portion of their forefathers, be nearest of all to the city of *Jerusalem*, enlarge their borders in proportion to their increase, and be abundantly supplied with every thing that was necessary for life, delight, or grandeur, by the voluntary

and all
nations
coming to
its wor-
ship.

Several
learned
Christians
of that
opinion.

tary tribute of all the nations round about them: but above all, they firmly believed, and still do with the Talmudists, that the temple and sanctuary shall be rebuilt and enlarged in proportion to the vast increase of its votaries; the sacrifices and festivals, and other *Mosaic* rites, be revived, and resorted to by all the people of the earth, and perpetuated to the end of time. In the full hope and expectation of all which changes and blessings, they think themselves sufficiently supported by the sacred text; particularly by the writings of the prophets, especially *Ezekiel*¹, without having recourse to the fabulous legends of the Talmud, much less to that pretended superior authority, which is impiously ascribed to it by its adherers, and was calculated merely to invalidate that of the *Hebrew* text, and the proofs drawn from it against them and their temporal reign, from which *Mohammed* hath, in all probability, fetched the greatest part of the materials of his carnal paradise. Our readers, therefore, we hope, will not be displeased, if we here subjoin a short sketch of the said temple and its dimensions, its economy, worship, and offerings of the tribes, their situation about, and with respect to, *Jerusalem, &c.* according to the prophetic delineation of it, divested of all its talmudic embellishments, and rabbinic reveries; and in the order in which not only the Karaite *Jews*, but many very learned, and, in other respects, orthodox Christians, believe they will be disposed by the Messiah, at his first coming, according to the former; but at his second, according to the latter, or, as these term it, his millenarian reign upon earth. And we think, moreover, this system, or opinion, so much the more worthy a place in this close of the *History of the Jews Dispersion*, inasmuch as the pains which some zealous Christians have taken to explode it, and every argument, they have urged against it out of the *New Testament*, hath proved an unsurmountable obstacle to their conversion, and been treated by them as a manifest contradiction to some of the plainest prophecies of the *Old*. It was doubtless this consideration, which induced so many fathers of the church, who were neither sectaries nor heretics, but men of piety, judgment, and learning, to embrace and defend that notion, long enough before the compiling of the Talmud; and which, though then very rise among the *Jews*, as may be seen by some of their apocryphal books², they were far enough from embracing out of complaisance to them, much

¹ *Ezech.* & *Isai.* ub. sup. ² *Vid.* int. al. 2. *Esdra*s, iv. 35, & seq. vi 18, & seq. *Tobit*, xiii. 9, & seq. less

lets from founding is upon their authority, as has been unjustly suggested, but chiefly believed it on that of the prophetic ones of the *Old and New Testament*, we mean *Ezekiel* and the *Apocalypse*¹, and other collateral proofs from the canonical books of both: The misfortune was, that *Papias*, bishop of *Hierapolis*, and formerly a disciple of *St. John*, who is supposed the first who wrote in defence of that second reign, adopted into it, probably in order to allure the Jews to acknowledge Christ to be the true Messiah, sundry of their selfish prejudices and carnal notions; which being found mostly antiscritptural, or at best, founded only on the allegorical expressions concerning it, brought the very notion of it into contempt among the Christians, and, by the fatal spirit of opposition, drove the proposers of it into the other extreme; and, in spite of all his arguments in favour of it, and pretensions that he had received it from the apostles, to deride, and treat it as chimerical, and a forgery of the arch heretic *Cerintus*^m; though, in fact, had they examined it with that candor and impartiality which the subject deserved, they would have found, that it wanted nothing but to be stripped of all those traditionary Jewish conceits, to make it appear more truly scriptural, and better founded than that of his opponents and censurers, as will more fully appear by the following delineation of its most remarkable transactions relating to, and foretold of, it.

FIRST then, if we seriously examine that notable prophecy, and displayed by wherein Christ's reign is so elegantly displayed, and the complete return of *Judah and Israel (Z)* into their own land, and *Ezekiel* under

¹ *Ezech. xxxix.*, & seq. *Isai. ii. pass.* *Apocal. xx. 2.* & seq. & alib. pass. ^m Vid. *EUSEB. Eccles. Hist. lib. iii. c. 28.* & 39. Vid. & *DUPIN* dissert. in *Apocal.* & al. pl.

(Z) The words of the prophet are these (5), after having prefaced that wonderful transaction under the most beautiful allusion of a resurrection of dry bones, re-clothed with skin and flesh (6), "Thus saith the Lord God; behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they are gone; and I will gather them on every side, or from every place, and bring them into their own land. And I will make them one nation in the land, upon the mountains of Israel, and one king shall reign over them all; and they shall be no longer two nations, nor be divided into two kingdoms any more. Neither shall they defile themselves any more, with

(5) *Ch. xxxvii. pass.*

(6) *Ibid. ver. 1, et seq.*

their

and the
complete
return of
the Israel-
ites.

under his conduct, so distinctly specified, we shall be forced to own, that it cannot, without the greatest violence to its plain and obvious meaning, be restrained to those small numbers which came back from the *Babylonish* captivity; and was by the *Jews* themselves compared, with respect to the rest, to the bran of the nation, and the flour to those that staid behind: much less still can those few stragglers from among the ten other tribes, which are supposed to have come up with them °, be supposed, in any sense, to include all that the prophet meant by the return of the complete tribes of the *Israelites*; or the fluctuating state the *Jewish* church and common-wealth hath been in ever since that time, answer the glorious and permanent one, which God expressly promises them in that chapter P. We must therefore either look for the completion of that promise to some future period, or elude the force of it by such allegorical explication, as will happily be admitted by any candid Christian, and must be despised by a *Jew*.

Division
of the land.

THE same may be said with respect to the other particulars, which were to dignify the Messiah's reign; such as dividing the land between the twelve tribes, and assigning to them particular lots and stations, with respect to their city and temple: according to which disposition, that of the priests was to be on the north, and that of the levites on the south; and between these two was the temple to be built, and, at a due distance round about it, the city of *Jerusalem*.

Portion of the priests. This portion, which the prophet styles *תרומה* *terumah*, and our version rightly translates *oblation* †, was to compose a square of 20,000 measures; which, if we reckon by the cubit only,

° See Anc. Hist. vol. x. p. 180.

• Ibid. & seq.

† Ezech. xxviii. 24, & seq. Vid. & Isa. xlii. 11. Jerem. xxv. 3, & alibi. pass. † Ezech. xlv. 2, & seq.

“ their idols, &c.—And David my servant shall be their king, and they all shall have one shepherd (7); and they shall dwell in the land that I gave unto Jacob—where in your fathers have dwelt—they and their children for ever; and my servant David shall be their prince for ever. Moreover, I will make an

“ everlasting covenant of peace with them, and I will settle and multiply them, and set up my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore—And the heathen shall know, that I the LORD do sanctify Israel, when my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them for evermore (8).”

(7) Ibid. ver. 21, et seq.

(8) Ibid. ver. 26, ad fin.

will

will amount to above eight miles on every side (A); of which portion, that of the priests on the north is to be 25,000 long, and 10,000 broad; or above eight miles in length, and about three and a quarter in breadth, and will be equal to that of all the rest of the tribe of *Levi* on the south, in which stood mount *Zion*, the place on which the temple is to be built. The other intermediate space between those two, will probably be the city of *Jerusalem*, and its suburbs, each according to their respective dimensions, mentioned in the prophecy, as well as the portion of land by which its inhabitants, who are to consist of a proportionable number out of the Christian tribes, are to be maintained *.

THE city, which is likewise to be of a square form, is to have twelve gates, three on every side, according to the number of tribes that inhabit it, and which are to be called by their names. The streets, which will probably run in strait lines, like those of *Babylon*, from gate to gate, will divide the city into sixteen squares, each having streets running to all the gates, will render it exceedingly airy, healthy, and commodious, not only to its inhabitants, as well as to that vast concourse of the other *Israelites* from all parts of *Palestine*, to the solemn festivals of the temple, but much more still for that multiplicity of nations that were to resort thither, at proper seasons, from all parts of the world, to the worship of the true God †.

THUS far we have seen how the first division of the land was to be made, and what portion the priests and *Levites* were to have in it in this reign of the Messiah. We should be led too far, were we to go through the same examen of the portions of the other tribes, of which that of *Judah*, (which was to lay north of that of the priests, as that of *Benjamin* was to be on the south of that of the *Levites*) was

* Ibid. ch. xj. v. 15, & seq. viii. 20, & seq. xiv. ib. & al.

† De his, vid. *Zechar.*

(A) The text doth not specify *if* measure, which is twenty inches and three-quarters, the whole will extend to above eight miles on every side, which may be deemed a sufficient allotment; whereas reeds, or even yards, would stretch it to an immoderate largeness (2), that even according to the

(2) De hoc cubit. vid. *Exech.* xl. 5. xliii. 13, et alib.

to be by far the largest, excepting that of the Messiah, which was to be by much the most considerable of all; as extending itself westward the whole length of the kingdom, quite to the great, or *Mediterranean* sea; and on the east, quite to the river *Jordan*. The remainder of the land was next to be divided between the other tribes, in proportion to their numbers; and with this proviso, that there was likewise a sufficient quantity to be set apart for the encouragement and benefit of their proselytes of either class^t.

THIS distribution of the land, according to the divine appointment, by which every man, or master of a family, was to know the extent of his possessions, was to be settled by the principal article of all, the building of the temple, according to the plan and dimensions given to the prophet by God^u; but not now upon mount *Moriah*, where those of *Solomon* and *Zorobabel* had stood, but upon mount *Zion*, the place he had now made choice of for the habitation of his glory, and to which all nations were to repair, to pay their vows and adoration to him^w, in common with the twelve tribes; hence it is elegantly styled by the Psalmist, the joy and wonder of the whole earth^x; and is by him, and several other prophets, marked out for the centre of his future religion and worship, for all nations and people to repair to. It was moreover the highest hill in *Jerusalem*, and consequently the fittest to display the magnificence of that structure, which was to be erected upon it, to the greatest advantage. We shall, however, dispense with troubling our readers with the farther particulars of it, as delineated by the prophet, which they may see at large in the authors quoted in the margin^y, it being sufficient to our present purpose, that no such edifice hath been erected on that mount; and we may add, nor any part of the prophecy above-mentioned, either with respect to the complete return of the twelve tribes, the division of the land among them, &c. has been ever literally fulfilled, from the time of their prediction to this day: much less was it after the return of the Jews from *Babylon*, to which this whole prophecy is pretended to relate; for during that period, the tribe of *Judah*, to whom the poor remains of the regal dignity belonged, was so far

^t De his, vid. Anc. Hist. vol. iii. p. 115, 117, & 119. (M).

See also Ezech. xlvii. 22, & seq.

^u Ezech. xliii. 1—10. xlv.

1—5.

^w Pf. l. 2. lxxviii.

^x Pf. lxxvi.

2, & seq. lxxviii. 69, & seq. lxxxvii. pass. & alib. plur. See also Micah iv. 7. Joel i. i. 17, 21. Zech. viii. 3. Isai. iv. 5, & al. pl.

^y Newton Chronol. Whiston, preface to his Vers. of Joseph. & al.

from having the largest portion allotted to it, that it scarcely enjoyed the shadow of it, and that too under a hard servitude to the *Babylonians*; and to sum up all, was even stripped of that shadow by the warlike *Maccabees*, and never recovered it from that time; and as to what degree of obscurity and poverty the house and descendants of *David*, from whom the Messiah was to spring, were reduced, by jealousy and hatred of the *Idumean* tyrants, especially *Herod the Great*, the abject condition into which the whole kindred of that Divine Redeemer was plunged at the time of his birth, sufficiently shews. So that this large promised portion of the tribe of *Judah*, and of that principal branch of it, the house of *David*, plainly appears to have been wholly possessed, and swallowed up, during this whole period, (that is, from their return from *Babylon* to the birth of Christ) one while by the priestly tribe, and during the remainder of it, by utter strangers.

BUT what doth farther demonstrate, beyond all contradiction, that this restoration of the *Israelitish* church and commonwealth, so amply described by the prophet, cannot in any sense be applied to their return from *Babylon*, is, that he ushers it in with a complete victory gained over some inveterate and powerful tyrant, whom he names *Gog*, in the land of *Magog*, and styles chief prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*; which victory was to pave a way, not to their entrance and re-possession of their land, but to that peace and happiness which they were to enjoy in consequence of it, and to those blessed changes, and glorious improvements, which were to establish their religion and commonwealth on a most lasting basis under the Messiah. We shall not here enter into a tedious enquiry about the prince and country, intimated by the names of *Gog* and *Magog*, *Tubal* and *Meshech* (P); it being sufficient for our present purpose, to observe, that

Ezech. xxxviii. 2, & seq.

Ibid. ch. xxxix, et seq. pass.

(B) It will not, however, be foreign to our subject, to observe, that in the language of the *Old Testament*, those nations, commonly called the northern *Celts* and *Scythians*, are understood by the descendants of *Noah*, the eldest son of *Japhet*, and

of *Magog* his second son (10), as we have plainly shewn in a former part of this work (11), whilst *Madai*, *Javan*, *Tubal*, *Meshech*, &c. formed other branches of that numerous family, which first inhabited those northern regions of *Tartary Scythia*, and extended

(10) *Genes.* x. 2.

(11) *See Anc Hist.* vol. vi. p. 1, et seq. et alibi passim

that the *Jews*, at their return from *Babylon*, were neither under a necessity, nor indeed in a condition, to wage a war against so powerful an enemy, but were dismissed from their captivity, and sent back in their own country by an imperial decree^b, which absolutely forbade, and excluded all opposition to their entrance into it, and re-possessed it accordingly without any obstruction, but what was afterwards occasioned by their refusal to admit the *Samaritans* to join with them in the service of God, and rebuilding of the temple^c. But this squabble can have no relation to their war with *Gog*, hinted at by the prophet; the one being a servile obscure people, under the same subjection with the *Jews*, and the other a powerful prince, and inveterate enemy, to whom they gave a total and final overthrow, whilst the former never ceased plaguing and annoying them with the bitterest hostilities, all the time they continued in their neighbourhood.

MANY, therefore, have understood this victory and restoration of that glorious state, which the *Jews* enjoyed under the *Maccabees*, and the many signal victories which they gained over *Antiochus*, and other enemies of their nation^d, as well as that over their great persecutor *Ptolemy Philopater*; and that they were the enemies intimated by the prophet, under the name of *Gog*^e. But besides that neither those *Syrian* and *Egyptian* tyrants, rightly square with the scriptural meaning of the names, and other expressions in the prophecy, as we have shewn in the last note, there is one irrefragable objection against that supposition, viz. that the tribe of *Judah*, according to the prophecy, was to be paramount above all the rest, and to have by far the largest

^b De hoc, vid. Ezra, 1 pass. p. 184, & seq. & (L) Anc. Hist. vol. x. p. 263, & seq.

^c See Anc. Hist. vol. x. 2 Maccab. iv. & seq. vid. & I id. p. 398, &

themselves quite through *Muscovy*, *Sarmatia*, &c according to their seniority, and left everywhere some footsteps of their ancient names and families, through which the learned and indefatigable *Bochart* hath been at the pains to trace them (12). The generality of the learned *Jews*, who are not infected with the romantic legends of

their Talmud, are of the same mind; and as the *Turks* are now universally allowed to be the descendants of these northern patriarchs (13), they understand by this defeat of *Gog*, the total overthrow of the *Ottoman* empire (under whose yoke they have so long groaned) in the reign of their promised Messiah, as we shall shew in the sequel.

(12) *Phaleg*. (13) See Anc. Hist. vol. xx. p. 6, et seq. xvii. 3, et seq. See also before, vol. iv. 1, et seq.

allotment; whereas, as we lately observed, in the period above supposed they were stripped of both by the *Maccabitisb* princes, and languished in an obscure and servile subjection to those politic chiefs. Upon all these accounts, the generality of Christian commentators, both ancient and modern, have chosen to take the words *Gog* and *Magog*, in this place, and the Apocalypse ^f, in an allegorical sense, and to signify the enemies of the *Jewish* and Christian church; whilst the whole *Jewish* nation, being more attached to the letter of it, as being more suited to their carnal minds and worldly views, firmly believe the nation meant by *Gog*, &c. to be that of the *Turks*, long since in possession of their wished-for *Canaan*, and holding them under a severe subjection, and wait impatiently for the happy completion of the latter part, by the total subversion of that powerful empire, by the irresistible arm of their Messiah; who having once wholly destroyed those enemies of their nation and ~~now~~, will then complete the remainder of the prophet's prediction, and raise their church and commonwealth to that summit of power and glory, opulence and perpetuity, which is there promised by God ^g.

THIS is the general belief, and firm expectation, not only of all the Talmudists, but of all the learned and sober *Jews*; and what hath supported them through such unheard-of persecutions, and other misfortunes, ever since their dispersion. From what we have hitherto said on that subject, our readers will easily judge, that it is not founded on the authority of an uncertain and exploded tradition, much less on the legendary dreams of its numerous herd of biased interpreters and commentators, but upon the indisputable evidence of an express prophecy, explained and interpreted in all its various circumstances, according to the plain and obvious sense of the sacred text. The only misfortune is, that a too fond and selfish prejudice, in favour of a temporal and conquering Messiah, hath sadly misled them to understand all the many promised blessings of his reign in too literal and carnal a sense, instead of that more noble and exalted one, which the genius of their language, and the nature of those prophetic allegories, they are couched under, both in this and other prophetic writers, might be justly seemed to imply. And it was from this, and other such gross prejudices and conceits, that Christ, the true Messiah, the Light

^f Ch. xx. 7. Vid. ESPERANZA D'ISRAEL, and the generality of Jewish comments on the above prophecy. Jos. MEDE on the Apocalypse, ad fin. et al. plur.

of the world, and minister of the new promised spiritual covenant^h, strove in vain to deliver them, upon the testimony of the scripture, as well as by his own authority and example; though this last, which should have proved^o the most powerful antidote against it, had they paid a due regard to either, served only to harden them the more in it.

NEITHER indeed could it happen otherwise, seeing the least degree of conviction, of his being that promised Messiah, must have effectually deterred them from accomplishing the determinate council of God, in condemning him to an ignominious deathⁱ. But then, as nothing but a firm persuasion of the contrary could have emboldened them to pronounce that unjust sentence against him, to which their fatal prejudice furnished them with a sufficient number of pretences; so their blindness and ignorance of the profound mystery of his suffering, was to be no longer pleaded as an excuse for it, than till that was more fully proved by the event, and confirmed by such irrefragable proofs, as it actually was after his resurrection, by himself and his apostles; for if after all this additional evidence they still refused to acknowledge him in his suffering character; if, still allured by the glaring prospect of a glorious temporal kingdom, or disgusted by their carnal prejudice, from accepting of that more exalted and spiritual one that was offered to them, they became equally guilty, as if they had wilfully and knowingly murdered him, and actually ratified (as they continue still to do to this very day) the sentence they had pronounced against themselves, *His blood be upon us and our children*^k, by breeding and confirming these by all possible, and even by the foulest means, in the same fatal unbelief, and abhorrence of him and his gospel^l.

WE have now gone through with our promised inquiry into the true causes of the Jews unbelief; and have, we hope, set forth their principal objections, prejudices, and other obstacles to their conversion, with all the candour and impartiality that the subject demands, and with that brevity which our stated bounds oblige us to. Some others we might have added, no less obstructive to it; such as their over-bearing confidence on their election; and being the offspring of Abraham^m, and of their being justified by the works of the law, and not by the righteousness of faithⁿ; and this, even to the monstrous neglect of the moral law;

Deuter. xviii. 15 Johr. i. 9, et seq. ⁷ Conf. Acts
ii. 23. iii. 17, et seq. ^h Matth. xxvii. 25. ⁱ See
before, p. 66, & alib. pass. ^m Rom. ii. pass. 28, et seq. viii.
3, et seq. x. 31, et seq. et alib. pl. ⁿ Ibid.

justice, mercy, charity, &c. *. But of all these, they are so clearly charged and censured in the gospel, that it were needless for us to insist longer upon them: and therefore, to those stubborn obstacles, already mentioned, we shall now, in justice to them, add a few more, no less powerful and cogent, which have been as unhappily as injudiciously laid in their way, from the time of their last dispersion, by those fathers and doctors of the Christian church, who have most zealously endeavoured to convert them.

VARIOUS were the ways and methods which these pious primitive preachers tried, according as their temper, genius, and course of studies, led them, to reconcile both the bulk of the Jewish nation, and especially their new converts, to the person and character of Christ, and the true nature of his spiritual reign and sublime doctrine, from the earliest ages of Christianity; but few, if any, which did not rather tend to confirm them in their innate hatred against the one, and contempt of the other. They soon began to be divided likewise about the treatment they ought to use towards them; more especially after their dispersion; the warmer sort observing them to persist in their inveterate obstinacy, and looking upon them as rebels to God, betrayers and murderers of his Son, the blasphemers of his name and gospel, the aspersers of his character, memory, lineage, and miracles, by the blackest calumnies and forgeries, looked upon all the miseries which attended their exile, as just judgments for their unbelief, and obstructing the propagation of Christianity, and thought they could not be treated with too great severity, contempt, and even abhorrence. Some went so far as to charge them with the irremissible sin against the Holy Ghost, and of course pronounced them irrecoverably lost, and doomed to the divine displeasure both here and for ever. In consequence of which, in violation of the divine and human laws, they declared them, in regard to the rest of mankind, unworthy of enjoying either liberty, or any social right; especially that of bringing up their own children; which ought in charity to be snatched from them, as brands out of the fire, and be educated in the principles of Christianity; no mercy was to be shewn to the parents that refused to deliver them up for that purpose, or secreted them to avoid it, seeing that was the only likely means to put an end to their incredulity, and to bring in time, their whole posterity into the Christian church.

* Matth. xxiii. 23, et seq. Luke xi. 39, et seq. Malib. pass.

OTHERS, on the contrary, weighing the matter with more becoming charity and impartial coolness, and reflecting seriously on those prophecies, not only of the *Old Testament*, but on the prediction of Christ and his apostles, particularly *St. Paul*, which promised them a recall, and universal conversion to the gospel, and that all *Israel* at length should be saved (C), did not only condemn, with a true Christian zeal, all such violent and unjust treatment, as point-blank opposite to the spirit of the gospel, but clearly confuted the false and uncharitable surmises of their pretended total rejection, from the plain and obvious sense of those predictions; in consequence of which, they judged, on the contrary, that

(C) We have had occasion to mention already some of those remarkable prophecies, and more particularly that express and irrefragable one of *Ezekiel*, concerning their return and re-establishment in *Judea* (14). That of the prophet *Hosea* is no less pregnant of the same kind of promises; where, after having elegantly described their long and dreadful captivity, under the figure of a people destitute of their king, priests, sacrifices, and altars, and other exterior marks of worship, concludes at length with these words: *Afterwards shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and DAVID their king* (15). By which last, both *Jews* and *Christians* rightly understand the Messiah, or promised deliverer.

Accordingly, the apostle having affirmed that all *Israel* should be saved, after their long rejection to make room for the gentiles (16), adds in the same verse, that their promised de-

liverer should come out of *Zion*; or, as some understand it, as more apposite to the apostle's designs (17), should come to *Zion*, the mountain now on which (and not that of *Morab* as formerly) the new temple, whether to be understood spiritually or literally, was to remain, during the Messiah's reign, as we lately shewed: which Messiah, *St. Peter* tells the *Jews* of his time (18), *the heavens must receive, until the time of the restitution of all things, when the time of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord; when he shall send Jesus Christ, which had been formerly preached unto you* (19); and then will that prediction of the redeemer be accomplished. *Verily, verily, I say unto you, you shall see me no more, until the time come when ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord* (20). Many other places might be quoted to prove this restoration, but these will be sufficient for our purpose.

(14) *Ezekiel* ch. xxxvii. et seq. *passim*. See before. p. 27. 52.
 (15) *Hosea*, iii. 4 et 5.
 (16) *Rom.* xi. 25. et seq.
 (17) *Jes. Meda, Jureu.*
 (18) *Acts* iii. 21.
 (19) *Acts* iii. 19. et seq.
 (20) *Luke* xxi. vers. ult.

no kind usage, caresses, or encouragements, ought to be neglected, to allure them to the gospel.

THESE opposite opinions and methods were strenuously maintained and put in practice by their respective partisans; and each side had for some time the pleasure of being attended with a surprising success; and that the desperate state the whole *Jewish* nation then groaned under, had so far rendered them equally susceptible of both, that each greatly contributed to the daily increase of their new converts; and those which could not be deterred by the threats and severity of the one, were yet easily allured by the caresses and generous treatment of the other, into a seemingly zealous conversion to Christianity.

IT was not long, however, before both sides had the mortification to see their pretended Neophytes degenerate, some into vile and imbittered apostates, and others into blasphemous scoffers of every thing that was held sacred and holy by the Christians; and that more especially, whenever the church, whether the *Latin* or *Greek*, laboured under the displeasure of, or a persecution from, the secular power; and they gladly beheld themselves at full liberty, not only to relapse and apostatize, but to vent their most invenomed rancour against Christ and his religion, by such horrid curses and blasphemies, as easily convinced the world that they still retained, under the specious cloke of proselytism, the same obdurate and invincible averfeness against the gospel and its professors.

THIS plain and open perfidy of theirs, of which we have given many pregnant instances through the course of this chapter, and to which they were either driven by the severe, or allured by the generous treatment which they met with from both clergy and laity, could not fail of awaking their diffidence, and dislike of all such forced and indirect conversions. Accordingly, some councils were convened, both by the *Latin* and *Greek* patriarchs, and sundry wise precautions enacted by both, to prevent all such scandalous abuses for the future. One of them was, that they should not be admitted to baptism, but kept as catechumens till they had given sufficient proof of the sincerity of their conversion; and another that some bounds should be put to that profuse liberality, which usually accompanied their admission into the church, lest that should still prove an inducement to a poisonous vermin to creep into her bosom. In other respects they were ordered to treat them with kindness, and a compassionate regard to their ignorance and prejudices of education, and to avoid every thing that might give them a disgust to the gospel.

gospel, or revive their native fondness for the more pompous and delightful rites of the *Mosaic* law. But these wholesome injunctions did not long continue in force, before their old jealousies awakened again, too probably, by the untoward behaviour of their proselytes, and obliged them, especially those of the *Greek* church, to have recourse to different measures, and such as, how expedient soever they might then think them, will, we doubt not, appear very injudiciously calculated, either to assure the church of their sincerity, or to confirm them in the faith they were going to profess, as the reader will see by the sketch we shall here subjoin of them, taken out of their own formulæ (D).

1. THEY were first of all to make them protest in the most solemn manner, that their desire to become Christians was entirely free from all worldly views, and uninfluenced by any secular hopes or fears; that neither poverty nor violence, nor the desire of riches or honours, or any other sinister motive, had any share in their conversion. 2. They were in the same solemn manner to protest themselves guiltless of any crime or misdemeanour, which might render them obnoxious to the punishment of the law, and make them seek to avoid it by their change of religion. 3. They were obliged to abjure every branch of the *Jewish* worship; the observation of the passover, unleavened bread, the sabbath, and other *Jewish* festivals, their fasts, &c. 4. They obliged them to anathematise all the various sects of the *Jews*, not excepting that

(D) *Cotelierius* mentions two of these formulæ, the one inserted in the *Greek* ritual, and another he found in the *French* king's library, which is of a later date, and contains some articles of abjuration which are not in the former (21); and amongst them, that mentioned above, under the head of their disculpating themselves from having incurred any civil punishment. But the most remarkable is that whereby they oblige the convert to profess his full and sincere belief of transubstantiation, in the following terms: I believe that the

bread and wine, mystically consecrated by the Christians, are the body and blood of Christ, which are thus changed by his Divine Power, intellectually and invisibly, and above all possible conception, and only known unto himself." From these two articles, but especially from the last, of which there is not the least hint in the old *Greek* ritual, it may be reasonably inferred, that new ones were added to the old ones, according to the exigence of the time (22).

(21) *Ordo et Catechism. ex Hebrais ap. Goar. Bazar. Hist. des Juifs, lib. ix. cap. xlix. §. 3.*

(22) *De his, vid.*

of the Pharisees together with their superstitious washing of pots, and other vessels, and all their other traditions. They made them likewise anathematise all that observed the feast of *Purim*, or of *Esther*^p, and the author of another called *Monopodana*, or more probably some *Jewish* dance in that way. To these they added the names of four other infamous villains of their nation; and above all, that of the Messiah whom the *Jews* expect; that is, according to their sense of it, Anti-christ, that is to appear at the end of the world. 5. The Neophyte was to make a public confession of his Christian faith, to which they added or changed some of the articles, as the time, or the present occasion, required. 5. The whole ceremony was concluded with a protestation of his sincerity; and wishing that if he was not really so, if he entertained the least desire in his heart of returning to his old *Judaism*, or held any converse with those that persist in it, either by going to their synagogues, or even eating and drinking with them, that all the curses of the law, the guilt and trembling of *Cain*, the leprosy of *Gebazi*, &c. might fall upon his head, and that his soul might go to the devil.

THE *Latin* made likewise sundry wholesome regulations concerning their converts, in several of their synodical councils; yet all too weak to put an effectual stop to those abuses, and to the just suspicion which their behaviour frequently gave them of their sincerity: and thence proceeded those pathetic complaints, and bitter indictments exhibited against them on the one hand, and the severe treatment which they brought upon themselves by their perfidy and hypocrisy, on the other. They found indeed, in some countries, a more effectual expedient to assure themselves of the sincerity of those converts, particularly in *France* and *England*, where, immediately after their baptism, they were stripped of all their goods, and reduced to live upon the charity of the clergy and laity, and often forced to beg their bread^q; the king, and peers of the realm, not only countenancing that injustice, but being partakers of the fruits of it; if that was not done rather to deter them from embracing Christianity, as it is likely too many did merely from such sinister motives (E).

UPON

^p De hac, vid. *Ang. Hist.* vol. iii. 74. ^q De hoc, vid. *CAROL.* vii. letter, ap. *Mabil. annal.* & *Bafnag*, ub. sup. ch. 33. (X).

(E) This abuse, it seems, of as long standing as it was was a practice amongst them, universal; inasmuch, that the emperor

UPON the whole, the experience of above sixteen centuries hath sufficiently shewn, what right unbiassed reason might have suggested to every thinking Christian, concerning these two opposite ways of converting this hardened and carnal people; viz. that how well and piously soever designed they might be, they would prove little better than incentives to the generality of them, to the most abominable hypocrisy and flagrant impiety, and a means of alluring, or frightening them, into the feigned worship of a divine Messiah; whom, far from believing to be such, they abhorred and cursed in their hearts, and would be ready to do so openly, whenever they found themselves in circumstances to do it with impunity.

WE come now to some others, which have been tried for the same charitable ends, and which have proved no less unsuccessful and obstructive to their conversion. One of these, which was attempted by some learned doctors of the church, was the pretending to prove to them the mysteries of Christianity by the writings of heathen philosophers; such as those of the Trinity, Incarnation, and death of the Word, or Messiah, &c.: for if those philosophers, who knew nothing of revelation, and followed only the dictates of reason, could yet discover and believe those mysteries, they concluded from thence, that there could be nothing in them contrary to reason, and consequently, that the Jews could have no objection to the belief of them: which way of reasoning, whatever impression it might make upon a candid Deist, could be of no weight to a Jew: for besides the singular contempt, which, as we have elsewhere shewn, that nation hath always discovered for prophane learning, it is not from reason, but from the scriptures, that they fetch their objections against those mysteries; and from a multitude of texts, both in the Pentateuch, and other books of the *Old Testament*, wherein the unity of God is indicated in the strongest and most express

† See Anc. Hist. vol. iii p. 232. (N).

emperor *Arcadius* having observed that the greatest part of them became proselytes merely to screen themselves from justice, either for crimes, debts, or law suits, enacted a law forbidding the admission of them

into the Church, till they had made full satisfaction in all those respects (23); which law was, in all probability, in force in *Balxamon's* time, who makes particular mention of it (24).

(23) *Arcad. Cod. Theodos.*
71. ap. *Eufnag. ub. sup.*

(24) *Balx. in nomine Phot. tome iv.*

terms. And they are too gross and stupid, as well as averse to human learning, to understand, much less to admit of the solutions and arguments which have been urged in vindication of, those Divine Mysteries: so that the calling in the heathen philosophers in confirmation of them, from whatever quarter they might have received those extraordinary lights, (which we have not room to enquire into) hath had this malignant effect upon the whole *Jewish* nation, that it hath confirmed them in a belief that most of the other superstitious ceremonies which they see practised in the *Latin* and *Greek* churches, such as the worship of images, praying to saints, reliques, pilgrimages, and a great number of others, were, like the mysteries above-mentioned, of heathenish extract; and, as such, were, with the utmost vehemence and zeal, cried down by the unanimous voices of all the *Jews* who assisted at that grand consultation, of which we have lately given an account *.

THE same ill success have the great *Picus de Mirandola*, and other learned Christians, likewise met with, who have had recourse to the *Jewish* Kabalah for proofs of those mysteries, as if the authority of the *New Testament* was not sufficient to support itself, and them, without the assistance of such precarious props. How much easier and effectual, if any thing can be so; against a people so strongly biassed by temporal views and expectations, to have proved to them the Divine Authority of the *New Testament*; which is in a great measure founded on that of the *Old*; and comes farther confirmed, by the numberless miracles of its Divine Author and his disciples, as well as by the irrefragable evidence of his predictions; of which their long dispersion, and the ruins of their city and temple, are such standing and unquestionable monuments. By this method (without the help of such lame auxiliaries as the precarious notions of a *Pythagoras*, *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Hierocles*, or of the *Sibylline*, and other heathen oracles, and much more of an enthusiastic Kabala) they might have cut the controversy short, and proved the chief and fundamental point beyond all reply, That the Messiah was really come at the predicted time, and that the Christ acknowledged by Christians as our Redeemer, is that very Divine Deliverer, so promised and foretold, both in the law and the prophets.

BUT the most injudicious, as well as the most unlikely method, the use of to convert them by the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, but especially by the latter, was the appealing to

* See before, p. 428, & seq.

their own peculiar miracles; such as were done, or pretended to be wrought, by the intercession of their saints, by crucifixes, reliques, images, and other consecrated places and things; especially by their miraculous host, or consecrated wafer, of which we have given many instances through the course of this chapter; not considering that if they were ever so real, or even were they to see them with their own eyes, they would still retort to them what the *Egyptians* did to *Moses* upon the like occasion, "Thou bringest coals to *Newcastle*, when thou pretendest to work thy miracles in "a country so plentifully stored with magicians:" for as we have shewn already more than once, there is scarcely a nation in the world that lays a greater claim to them, whether for number, or greatness, than the *Jewish* (F), to counter-balance all that can be alleged against them from any other quarter. Should any one exact from them a greater regard to be paid to the authority of the church legends, than to their fabulous rabbies, they will, besides the obvious retortion one may justly expect to such a demand, immediately recur to that passage in *Deuteronomy*, wherein they are not only forbid expressly to be seduced by any miracle, how specious or apparently real soever, from the worship of the true God, but even to put that prophet, or worker of the miracle, to death; alledging, that God permits such things to be done in order to prove their faith and obedience¹. And it is in consequence of this command, that their Talmud, which acknowledges the miracles of Christ, justifies the repulse and

¹ Ch. ix. 1, & seq.

(F) We have had occasion to mention a great number of them, pretended to have been wrought, if not by, yet in favour of, some of their great saints, and eminent doctors, as a testimony from heaven of their exemplary sanctity, and of the profound regard that was due to their writings (25). Such was moreover that which they report to have been wrought at the school of their famed rabbi *Joseph Karos*; not once or

twice, but daily; not in the dark, but in open day; not in a corner, but in the presence of a number of other learned rabbies: and of his scholars, who constantly heard a voice from heaven, explaining to them the deepest mysteries of their religion, and were so many authentic witnesses of the miracle; for which, and for his singular piety, and vast erudition, he was siled *Mopheth*, *Immor*, a prodigy of the age (26).

(25) See before, p. 26, et seq. (B), et alib. pass. (26) De bet. vid. sup. p. 369, sub voc. Vid. et *Tad*, *Khamakab*, *Sbalshelab*, R. Gantz, Wolf, Bibl. Rabin. sub voc. *Joseph*.

severe treatment he met with from the Sanhedrin; and that the whole nation is taught to reject all such as false evidences, and as designed to allure them from the true worship of God to their own ruin.

We shall pass over several other methods which have been tried to convert them; such as the founding of seminaries for instructing clergymen how to handle a controversy against them, preaching weekly lectures against them, and obliging them to be present, under some penalties, and others of the like kind; all which either proved abortive, or served only to confirm them the more in their prejudices. But upon the whole, we hope we have clearly shewn, that of all the obstacles which our Christian divines, of almost every church, have laid in the way to their conversion, that of their so stiffly denying the second advent of Christ, and their universal restoration, in that glorious manner in which we have seen it described by *Ezekiel*, and confirmed by other prophecies and predictions both of the *Old* and *New Testament*, hath proved the most deterring and insurmountable to them; inasmuch as it not only deprives them of all those blessed prospects they are taught to expect from his future reign, but leads them to utter despair of ever receiving the least benefit from his coming, much less of ever seeing the accomplishment of those glorious promises so solemnly made, and so often repeated in the sacred writings. Instead of which, (if all expectations of his second coming, before the great day of judgment, must be excluded) their retrospection of all their past miseries serves only to make them look upon him as a most severe, and all their future ones, as a merciless and inflexible judge. This is, at least, the light they imagine; all Christians behold their whole nation in, and the sad and desperate condition, to which those that deny a second coming and reign of Christ, apparently doom them, that do not embrace his gospel: and can we wonder at their averiness to it, and using all possible means to discredit and oppose it, not only among themselves, but with all other nations? But is that indeed the doctrine of Christ and his apostles? And doth it really exclude all hopes, all probability, of a recall and restoration under him in any sense? Let those look to it, be they of what church or sect soever they will, who maintain so uncharitable and antisciptural a notion; and, by pretending to found it on the authority of the *New Testament*, have added one obstacle more to all the rest, to disgust and deter them from becoming converts to it.

De his, vid. sup. p. 407, & seq. & alib. pass.

Those

Those who desire to see this disputed point set in a true light, may, among many others, consult the authors mentioned in the margin ^w. As for us, whose province and narrow limits exempt us from entering into the merits of that controversy, we think it sufficient to have pointed out the main causes of their unbelief, and the means by which they have, in spite of so many disadvantages and discouragements, as have attended their long dispersion, been able to preserve amongst them so firm and general an expectation of a temporal Messiah. Difficulties and discouragements, we say, not only from the Christians and other nations, but much more from their own doubts and anxieties about that capital point, Whether he was still to come, or was already come.

FOR however confident of the former they may outwardly appear, when they converse with Christians, or strangers; (which plainly shews how glad they are to catch at a shadow of hope, rather than live under the dismal apprehensions; which the contrary opinion, as held by the generality of Christian divines, must of course fill them with) yet there can be no greater proof of their extreme perplexity about it, than the debates and unhappy result of that grand assembly of theirs on the plain of *Ageda* in Hungary^x, formerly mentioned; especially if we add to it, the strenuous, and hitherto fruitless pains they have been at, to discover the royal sceptre of *Judah* still subsisting in some part or other of the globe, as the only stay they have left to support their expectations. We lately took notice both of their triumph and disgrace, upon their hopes of having found it in so flourishing a state as the *Abissinian* empire: the result of which disappointment was, that since it could not, with all their laborious searches, be found in the old world, they had now no other way left, than to send in quest of it in the new. They accordingly dispatched some of their own nation into those but lately discovered countries, with proper orders and directions for that purpose; but with as little success & satisfaction to the rest; and it was not till *Cromwell's* times that they received some intelligence that any *Israelites*, much less any *Jews*, were settled there ^y. This at first came by a letter directed to the rabbi *Menasse Ben Israel*, from *Aaron Levi*, alias *Montesinos*, or *Montesini*, then travelling in some of those parts, and through the province of *Quif*, under a

^w De duplici adventu Messie dissertat. dux cont. J. Gessner, 1701. JURIEU's prophecies, vol. ii. MEDE in Apoc. apoc. restaur. of Israel, Lond. 1747. ^x See before, p. 428, & seq. ^y De hoc, vid. p. 462, & seq.

